

24

Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru



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"So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote...the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being."

Indira Gandhi

**Selected
works of
Jawaharlal
Nehru**



INAUGURATING THE STATE OF ANDHRA, KURNOOL,
1 OCTOBER 1953

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

Second Series

Volume Twenty Four

(1 October 1953–31 January 1954)

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FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

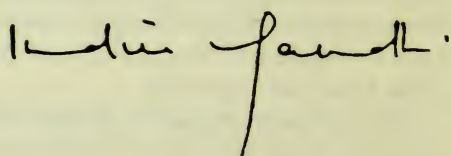
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively

and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Indira Gandhi". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Indira" and the last name "Gandhi" clearly distinguishable.

New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

EDITORIAL NOTE

The present volume of the *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* draws upon the period 1 October 1953 to 31 January 1954 and seeks to capture the growing involvement and the increasing stature of India in the world community. The volume also reflects the increasing complexity of the problems—social, economic and political—faced by Nehru, as he endeavoured to create for the common folk a new life of material prosperity and cultural enrichment within the country.

The skilful fashion in which Nehru combined intellectual reflection with concrete initiatives puts him in a rare category among the statesmen of the 20th century. Nowhere is this umbilical link between theory and practice reflected better than in the first section of this volume, entitled "General Perspectives", which draws upon Nehru's dialogue with ordinary Indians, peasants, workers, artisans, the intelligentsia and others, as he moved across the land, holding out the vision of a liberal and progressive society, wherein material and cultural conditions would have attained a commendable level of excellence.

The proximate context for this dialogue was the inauguration of the State of Andhra, on 1 October 1953, after a popular movement of great intensity, which set the context for the reorganization of the States of the Indian Union as a whole.

It is pertinent to remember, here, that Mahatma Gandhi had argued for linguistic States as early as in 1920; at a juncture when he was engaged in transforming nationalism in the country into a great mass movement. Thus the creation of the State of Andhra was the fulfilment of a promise held out three decades ago. Yet, with his deep understanding of the complex influences which shape political communities, Jawaharlal Nehru realized that the linguistic factor could damage national unity, if it was adopted as the exclusive basis for redrawing the territorial map of the States of the Indian Union. What was carried out in the 1950s, therefore, was a *reorganization* (instead of a *linguistic* reorganization) of the States of the Indian Union. True, this transformation recognized the legitimacy of language as an *important* factor in demarcating new States within the Republic; but a host of other considerations—economic productivity; facility of communications; the existence of administrative networks; cultural affinities and historical ties, etc.—were also to be taken into consideration in redrawing the boundaries of the States which went into the making of the Indian Union.

Immediately after the inauguration of the State of Andhra, Jawaharlal Nehru, who has been aptly described as a skilful communicator in a recent

work of scholarship*, travelled to the southern States of India. There he placed before the common folk the complexity of problems before both the leaders and the people as they jointly endeavoured to transform a classical civilization, with a distinctive history and culture, into a modern Nation-State, resting upon liberal, secular and democratic institutions. That such institutions were being conjured into existence at the same time as a mighty effort was afoot to bring about an industrial and agricultural revolution in the land, gives a true measure of the enormity of the challenge which confronted Nehru in the 1950s.

While we see Jawaharlal Nehru as a skilful communicator, the period under review was also characterized by diverse initiatives directed towards attaining practical objectives. Not surprisingly, education in all its diverse manifestations held an important place in the agenda of transformation which Jawaharlal sought to introduce within the country. In the concept of basic education, Mahatma Gandhi had even prior to 1947 formulated a new pedagogy appropriate to a rural society like India with a modest economic base. Now that India was free to shape its destiny, Nehru held out the notion of basic education, suitably adapted to the diverse cultures of India, as a highly desirable development. Yet he attached equal significance to other arenas of education, in the firm conviction that the intellectual skills and resources available to a nation were even more precious than the material resources at its command. Whether it was university education; or centres of higher research in the sciences and the technologies the importance which Jawaharlal attached to this arena of national reconstruction is vividly reflected in the archival richness of the present volume in the fields of education and research.

If the transformation of an ancient society characterized by a high level of cultural plurality into a more cohesive Nation-State was a complex task, then nobody was more conscious of this complexity than Jawaharlal Nehru. The unease of the tribal communities of north eastern India, as they were drawn into a new democratic order, was very much in evidence in the periodic crises which erupted in this region in the 1950s, and even later. Illustrative of such crises was the so-called "Subansiri" incident, concerning the Dafla tribe of the then NEFA, which took place in October 1953. Similar turbulence was in evidence elsewhere in the tribal belt. Jawaharlal was conscious of the fact that such incidents were partly a consequence of the endeavour, by the Republic of India, to draw the tribal peoples into a closer relationship with the mainstream society. He also realized that such an endeavour raised enormously complex questions about tribal identities and tribal lifestyles, to which there were no easy answers. Yet if India was to modernize, then the tribal folk could not remain insulated from the changes which were to sweep across the land. Hence it was essential to introduce democratic reforms with a sensitive concern for prevailing traditions among the tribal folk, who differed so enormously in their social and economic fabric from the caste based communities located in the basins of the Brahmaputra and the Ganga. Through a sensitive concern for

* A.K. Damodaran, *Jawaharlal Nehru: A Communicator and Democratic Leader* (New Delhi, 1997).

tribal cultures, and initiatives appropriate to tribal mores, Jawaharlal Nehru attempted to initiate change in the tribal regions of north-eastern India that would generate a new vitality among the tribal communities, without disrupting their time honoured traditions.

The vexed question of Kashmir, which is no less alive today than it was alive in the last quarter of 1953 was, of course, a question of an entirely different order. Its seminality stemmed from Nehru's determination, backed by the people, to mould the Republic of India into a secular polity, despite the partition of the British Empire over South Asia on religious grounds into two sovereign entities in 1947. Over and above this, it also spoke of Pakistan's determination to acquire the territories of the erstwhile Princely State, through military aggression, or through diplomatic coercion. All this despite India's willingness, at this juncture, to participate in a plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations, to provide a democratic sanction to the *de jure* accession of Kashmir to India by Maharaja Hari Singh in 1947.

Two events—each one of them crucial in itself—combined to precipitate an acute crisis in Indo-Pakistan relations over Kashmir in the year under consideration. Through the covert support of Washington, a new Government was installed in Pakistan under a diplomat and politician from the erstwhile East Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Bogra, at this juncture. The new Prime Minister raised afresh the question of Kashmir, and the prospect of its resolution through a plebiscite, with Jawaharlal Nehru. True to the liberal values which governed his worldview, Nehru stood by the commitment for a plebiscite undertaken earlier, despite the fact that Kashmir, like other States of the Indian Union, was in 1953 governed by a popularly elected executive, with a constitutional provision for safeguarding the distinctive cultural identity of the region.

Nevertheless, it soon became clear to Jawaharlal Nehru, that Pakistan was seeking a military alliance with the United States with the objective of increasing her bargaining power in respect of India. Such an altered balance of power in South Asia, the Pakistani Prime Minister believed, would oblige Jawaharlal Nehru to adopt a conciliatory policy towards Pakistan and acquiesce in her demands vis-a-vis Kashmir. Small wonder, then, that Jawaharlal Nehru would, at this stage, have nothing to do with a plebiscite in Kashmir, specially a plebiscite overseen by a UN functionary favourably disposed towards the United States.

Indeed, the closing months of 1953 witnessed some significant changes in strategic alignments and the balance of power in the global community. These changes took place largely through the initiatives taken by the United States, as a part of the Cold War it was waging against the Soviet Union. There is little doubt that the Government of Pakistan viewed its military 'alliance' with the United States as a move primarily with South Asian implications. Yet it needs to be emphasized, that for Jawaharlal Nehru, the prospect of a military relationship between Pakistan and the United States raised problems far beyond the fate of Kashmir.

Nehru made this clear in statements before Parliament and elsewhere. As he put it, the struggle for freedom in India under the leadership of Mahatma

Gandhi, had been, morally speaking, a unique experiment in human history. Conventionally speaking, wars and power struggles had been authoritatively defined by the distinguished German strategist, Clausewitz, as "a continuation of politics by other means." Nearer our time, an Asian statesman had defined power as an entity and resource that "flows out of the barrel of a gun." The nationalist struggle waged against the British in India, however, had rested largely on novel principles framed by Mahatma Gandhi. The Mahatma believed that power, in its most effective form, rested upon three closely related principles: first, upon the commitment of the leaders and the people to non-violence; secondly, upon the mobilization of the popular classes for a truthful cause; and finally, upon a persuasively argued constitutional brief.

The foreign policy of the Republic of India after 1947, rested upon a creative endeavour by Jawaharlal Nehru to place before the world community, the revolutionary principle of non-violence, as formulated by Mahatma Gandhi, as a basis for recasting relations between sovereign Nations, weak or strong, large or small. The experience of colonial societies in Asia and Africa, made the prospect of a Gandhian recasting of the world community, so Jawaharlal Nehru believed, a particularly worthwhile endeavour. The anguish which Japan had experienced in 1945, in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, pointed to a similar direction. The projected military arrangements between the United States and Pakistan, therefore, not only threatened India's unity and her secular identity, as reflected in her umbilical bonding with Kashmir as a constituent State of the Indian Union, they also threatened to undermine a likely realignment of the world community, through novel principles, which endeavoured to eliminate violence as a factor in global politics.

Such was the new vision of a humane and non-violent world order which Jawaharlal Nehru held out to the peoples of India; and, indeed, to the peoples of the world; in the last quarter of 1953, as he reacted to the changes which threatened South Asia through a possible extension of the Cold War to new regions of the globe. There was, perhaps, a high minded idealism in the Nehruvian vision; as, indeed, there was a moral loftiness in the worldview of his mentor, Mahatma Gandhi, that was difficult to realise, or sustain, in the long run. Yet such ideals provide the healing balm for that anguish which would otherwise strip humanity of all hope for a better future.

It is our very pleasant duty, in placing this volume before its readers, to thank various individuals and institutions for their support and help in bringing it out. Shrimati Sonia Gandhi graciously permitted us to consult the papers in her possession referred to as the JN Collection. The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has, as always, assisted in the publication of this volume by granting access to the papers of Jawaharlal Nehru. The Cabinet Secretariat, the Secretariats of the President and the Prime Minister, the Ministries of External Affairs and Home Affairs, All India Radio and the Press Information Bureau have allowed us to use relevant material in their possession. We wish to acknowledge in particular the permission given to us by All India Radio to use the tapes of the speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru. Some classified material has necessarily been withheld.

Last but not least, it gives us pleasure in acknowledging the help and support we received from our colleagues in the creation of this volume. In acknowledging this support, we also record with sorrow the demise of a senior member of our research staff, Shri L. Dewani, on 2 January 1999. Shri Dewani was involved with the *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* for more than two and a half decades. He carried out his duties with a rare sense of commitment to the project. Besides, we are deeply indebted to Shri M.I. Selvaraj, Shri N. Rajamani, Shri Shyamal Roy and Shri Bibhu Mohapatra, all of whom rendered scholarly assistance in the collection of archival material and its subsequent organization. We are no less deeply indebted to Ms Malini Rajani, Ms Saroja Anantha Krishnan and Ms Kulwant Kaur for undertaking the necessary typing work and assisting in the preparation of the index. Without their labour this volume, with its rich historical data, could not have been placed before the scholarly community.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIR	All India Radio
ATIRA	Ahmedabad Textile Industries Research Association
CFI	Custodian Force of India
CWC	Congress Working Committee
DCC	District Congress Committee
FOB	Freight on Board
INTUC	Indian National Trade Union Congress
KW	Kilowatt
KCC	Korean & Chinese Command
KLP	Krishikar Lok Party
KMT	Kuomintang
MEDO	Middle East Defence Organization
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
NR & SR	Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
NNRC	Neutral Nations' Repatriation Commission
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
NPL	National Physical Laboratory
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
POW	Prisoner of War
PCC	Provincial/Pradesh Congress Committee
Pepsu	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
PS	Police Station
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
PTI	Press Trust of India
RPGEI	Rules and Procedures Governing Explanations and Interviews
SG	Secretary-General
UK	United Kingdom
UN/UNO	United Nations Organization
Unesco	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UP	Uttar Pradesh
US/USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

GENERAL PERSPECTIVES

1. Grow into the Heart of India¹

... I am coming, as you know, from Kurnool, where yesterday we established the new Andhra State and, as I was there, my mind went back to a trifle over 300 years. It went back much more, of course, to 2000 years too—but specially a little more than 300 years, when in the year 1647 the first English factory was established in Madras, in this city. For exactly 300 years you had British rule in this city and round about, and it spread gradually. Indeed, Madras was one of the earliest places which came under British domination. Calcutta was built then and Surat and places like that later. And so, Madras grew up into a great city and a great State. In 1947, exactly 300 years after the first British factory went up here, a great historic change came over India, and India became independent. And now, yesterday this oldest memorial, if I may say so, of British rule, this old Presidency of Madras was being partitioned, split up. All these pictures came to my mind, because not only does the past fill my mind with its innumerable pictures, but sometimes I indulge in the fancy of peeping into the distant future, and trying to find out what it contains or what I would like it to contain.

What shall I talk about, then, about this future? Well, yesterday at Kurnool I said many things and among them I laid stress on the essential unity of India. Some people asked me and some newspapers have said today, "surely the Andhra State was not going out of India." Of course not, whoever thought so? Nobody is walking out of India, and if I may say so, nobody is going to be allowed to walk out of India. That question does not arise.

But there is another question and that is, how are we going to function in India, with what measure of cooperative work between the different parts of India and with what measure of unity? Unity will be there, of course. Political unity is there, the constitutional unity is there, and nobody dare challenge it internally or externally. But what is more important for us to understand is what lies behind that political, constitutional and legal entity called India. How do we think of it? Most of us think of it as something much more than a legal reality. But I have felt that we have to grow into the heart of India much more even than many of us have done, so that it may become a living, throbbing conception of unity for us—in the relative values that we attach in our minds to various factors—our city, our district, our province or the whole State.

1. Speech at a public meeting in Chennai, 2 October 1953. AIR tapes, NMML. Extracts.

It is important that we should realize that because most of us — you will forgive my saying so—are rather parochial in our outlook. Most of us, except in moments of emergency, are lost in the smaller problems, forgetting the major ones, forgetting that there will be no small problems for us at all, if those major facts of India and the independence of India and the Indian Union uniting all of us together were borne in mind. So, I lay stress on this unity of India.

India is a federal structure and, it is right and inevitable that India should be a federal structure, because in India there is, apart from that unity, a tremendous variety; because, while a unitary form of government gives perhaps greater strength, in a sense it does come in the way of that varied development and that feeling of each individual growing in his own environment that a federal structure may give. So, I hope, it is right and inevitable that we should have a federal structure. But we must always realize the importance of the Centre which binds all the different States and areas together. We must always realize the importance of that conception of India.

What is your position if you go out of India? The only position you have is in your capacity as a citizen of the Republic of India, not of a particular State of India. So it is well to lay stress on it. Specially, it is necessary to do that because we have apparently entered a period when many people's minds are agitated by the thought of this linguistic State or that.

I think it is right that we honour the great languages of India and encourage them. It is right that people should be educated in their own great languages in addition to the national language. But all this will become completely wrong if it serves to disrupt India or to weaken India in any way. Therefore, it is necessary to view this question in this larger context of India's unity.

We are going to appoint, not before long, a Commission to consider the reorganization of the States of India.² Please observe that we do not talk about the linguistic divisions of India. We recognize that, of course, and we shall pay due attention to that. We are not talking about the linguistic division of India, but the reorganization of the States of India, taking into consideration the cultural aspects, the linguistic aspects, the administrative and the economic aspects, the financial and security aspects, the defence aspects and finally the aspect of keeping the unity of India above everything.

In the economic progress of India, we must see the whole picture. While I lay stress on it, people may perhaps get somewhat irritated at my needless repetition of something that everybody knows — the unity of India. Everybody

2. On 29 December 1953, a Commission was appointed to examine the question of the reorganization of the States in the Indian Union. The terms of reference of the Commission emphasized the need to balance the linguistic principle with other factors such as national unity and administrative, economic and cultural concerns.

may talk about it. Nevertheless, people perhaps do not feel it with that intensity of emphasis as I would like them to feel. People do not feel it, not only when they lose themselves in their provincialism, as people often do, not only when they lose themselves in religious groupings and the like, more especially in that brand that is called communalism, when they think of this caste or that caste, of the tremendous divisive factors which have weakened India in the past and which we must face and overcome if we are to build up a great, healthy, prosperous and powerful nation. That has been the bane of India in the past and, with all our great virtues in the past, we suffered eclipse and disaster and defeat because we did not hold together in that way, because we thought of our own little patch of the country, or of our caste and religion, or of our group more than the fact of India, this huge country.

Well, we have changed but we have to din this concept into every mind so that feelings of casteism, communalism and provincialism are not allowed to overcome our better judgment. I do not expect that the 360 million people of India, each one of them, will rise to great heights of intellectual and emotional effort. But I do expect the great majority of our people to understand this thoroughly, to appreciate it, and to react to it in the proper way.

I have wandered about India a great deal, even in the villages and hamlets of India, and I have the greatest respect for the peasant of India on whose solid strength India rests, if I may so say. Let us not forget that fact. We, who call ourselves intellectuals and live in cities and the like, let us not forget that the backbone and the strength of our country lies in the peasantry of India — a peasantry which has often been exploited by us, city folks, a peasantry about whom we have thought with disdain, considering ourselves their superiors. A country which considers manual labour as something degrading is a country which is well on its way to degradation. There is nothing more ennobling than manual labour. In spite of the machinery and everything that has been invented, it is the human being and his work that counts.

I do expect the people of India, millions of them, to understand this. I am not making my appeal to persons whom I consider as intellectuals and highly intelligent, living in the city of Madras. People do understand this everywhere. Some, of course, do not.

Some people in the communal and other organizations have, unfortunately, developed a perverted outlook, or perhaps have nothing in them to develop at all and that emptiness sways this way or that. So we have these organizations, Hindu, Muslim or Sikh — and you have your own special brands in the South. So far as the Muslim brands are concerned, they were largely liquidated by Partition, though sometimes whisper reaches me that some relics of some geological age still remains in Madras and talks in terms of Muslim communalism and the Muslim League and the like. I have expressed myself in the past about it and I want to put it quite clearly again.

In India, we allow, as everybody knows, the greatest possible freedom of expression and conscience in politics and the rest. The only thing that we cannot, and no Government can, tolerate is violence and appeal to violence and violent conduct. Violence in expression of opinion is allowed, even though often it is highly objectionable. But this kind of disruptionist mentality which brought about Partition, and which survives sometimes here and there, whether in Hindu minds or in Muslim minds, is an evil tendency. Let us recognize it as such, and let us not give quarter to it wherever it may exist.

It is five or six years since we became independent. I do not claim that we have solved the problems of the country. But I do claim that these six years, in spite of failures, stand out as years of achievement. India, in the wide world today, is thought of with great respect. Her voice is listened to, and any opinion that she may give carries weight with innumerable people. It is a remarkable fact that a country, which seven years ago was under a colonial administration, and was part of a great empire, is today an independent country, and plays such an important part in world affairs — and, mind you, not because she sought to play that part — we do not. All those people who may talk of India's leadership of Asia or anywhere else, misrepresent us, because we seek no leadership except the leadership of our own country, of our own people. When I say "we", I mean the people of India, not I or anybody else. We seek to discipline ourselves and to remove our failings and our ills like poverty. We have absolutely no desire to play any extraordinary role in world affairs. And, certainly, we do not believe in the leadership of India, or in any country dominating over another country. But if events have forced us to play an ever-increasing part in world affairs that itself is worthy of your consideration....

We are a poor country. We are a weak country from the point of view of any standard by which a country's strength is measured. But we are not a country which is afraid of anybody. The policy we pursue is not dictated by fear and, therefore, it is distinguished in the world today. Most policies in the world today are dictated by fear. That is why a certain amount of respect is attached to what we say. It may be a policy which may be right or may not be right. But it is an honest policy, honestly thought out, honestly pursued, and gradually more and more people have come to recognize it as such.

I was telling you about these organizations in various parts of the country, which, because they cannot rid themselves of some tribal methods of thinking of the past, remain in their narrow grooves. Rajaji used the word 'tribal' in this connection.³ I think that is a correct word to use. That people indulge in

3. Speaking on the Resolution on Linguistic Provinces at the Hyderabad session of the AICC on 17 January, C. Rajagopalachari warned that dividing the country on the basis of language was a mistake and it was like going back to the tribal idea.

these tribal habits and tribal ways of thinking is a bad thing. It shows complete immaturity or incapacity of thinking. You have this in your own part of the country. I do not know the details of all this. But sometimes news of this reaches me.

You have some people who call themselves members of the Dravida Kazhagam.⁴ As a student of many subjects, including anthropology, I am interested in this movement. Sometime back, I expressed my opinion about certain antics that they were indulging in bordering on violence like stopping of trains and all that.⁵ I considered it as ridiculous nonsense. Unfortunately, this moderate description of mine of their activities was not wholly liked by them, and I believe they went about saying that because "Jawaharlal Nehru said this, we will do it all the more." It was a remarkable proof of that tribal stage about which I have just been referring to you. Because I referred to some of their doings as foolish they said, "We will indulge in them all the more." It is a little difficult to argue with them. But it is well that we should realize that we are living in a country which has a few thousand years of maturity, thought, achievement and culture behind it. Indeed, this is embedded in our racial consciousness and we can see it on the face of the peasant. He may not have gone to school or college, but he is a cultured human being. Are we going to allow this great country of India with its magnificent heritage to be blackened by such activities of these tribal folks? I must really withdraw the word "tribal" on second thought. I have mixed

4. The Dravida Kazhagam under E.V. Ramaswami Naicker led a campaign against what it called the domination of Aryan north over the Dravidian south. The worst feature of the campaign had been that the Khazaghham volunteers demonstrated against the Congress and the Government and precipitated incidents wherein clashes occurred and outbreak of violence took place between its own and the Congress adherents. Ramaswami Naicker advised his followers to carry with them swords or other weapons which were not prohibited by law. Its agitation was carried on with anti-north, anti-Brahmin, anti-Hindi and anti-God slogans.
5. The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam under C.N. Annadurai agitated against the alleged economic oppression of north India. The agitation was symbolically focussed upon the village of Kallakudi in Tiruchirapalli district, where Ramakrishna Dalmia, a North Indian industrialist, had set up a cement factory and got the authorities to name it Dalmiapuram. The DMK proposed to restore the original name to the village and demonstrated by stopping all trains from dawn to dusk on 15 July 1953 throughout the State.

with and seen the tribes of India in the North East Frontier, and elsewhere, and they are a fine folk. Why should I compare them to these degenerates of this State?

So let us understand that this is not a matter for jokes. An organized, intelligent community should not approve of, or permit this misbehaviour in its midst. It is open to them to say or do what they like. They can repeat to their heart's content the most arrant nonsense, if they like. We do not mind it. If they enjoy doing it, let them indulge in it. But it is one thing to speak nonsense, and another thing to act it out. There should be no toleration of such stupid, nonsensical and foolish acts. It is not for me, of course, to venture to say anything or to intervene in any way in the responsibilities of the Madras Government. You know that it would be wrong if I did so, especially, when a much wiser person than I, a much more experienced person than I, a person who is respected as one of the wisest persons in India, is the head of that Government. But I would venture to say to him that, looking at it from a great distance, he appears to me to have been remarkably soft in his dealings with these people.

These are petty matters, which will pass, but we have big issues to consider. Let us look back to history. I reminded you of the coming of the British to Madras, 300 years ago. If you add another hundred years to that, make it 400 years or so, you would see something happening, a big movement in history, the whole of Asia gradually relapsing more and more into passivity and inaction, and Europe, which was then much more backward than Asia in the arts and in civilization, becoming dynamic, expansive, growing and spreading out to the countries of Asia. It was not a sudden process. It lasted two hundred years or so, till it finally ended in these great empires which the European countries built up in Asia.

That was an amazing historic process. There are many facts which can be said about that. But one of the most outstanding facets of this phase is that this great country of India — and that applies to other countries of Asia, including the great country of China — was completely and absolutely ignorant of the rest of the world. They lived in their own shells. There were great imperial courts, luxury and even great learning and all that, but they were completely ignorant of the rest of the world. The rest of the world marched ahead while we were still ignorant. Even when the rest of the world came to us, still we remained ignorant of the most ordinary things the rest of the world possessed. The result was that, naturally and inevitably, we went down.

I want you to understand the motive forces and the strength behind the people and the governments when you read history. To see how India's history has been moulded greatly by the fact of our trying to live within an enclosure, and not going out of it. While the rest of the world progressed in many ways, we remained, Narcissus-like, looking at our own beauty of countenance, our

culture and so on, which no doubt had much beauty in them. But even beauty grows old and stagnates, if it is not freshened up.

The fact is that we in India, and the people in Asia, lived narrow lives, cut off from the world, ignorant of the rest of the world, and did not want to know anything about the world. The moment you, as an individual or as a nation, think that you are wise enough and do not want to learn anything from others, you are doomed. You stop growing. It does not matter how wise you are, you are going towards stupidity, or if not stupidity, then some kind of stagnating condition. That is what happened to India, China and the whole of Asia, and we suffered for it.

That particular phase cannot be repeated now. It is obvious. We cannot ignore the rest of the world today, with newspapers and radio playing a key role. The rest of the world would be hitting us on the head every day. In spite of that, what had happened before might happen again if we live an enclosed life, if we do not really rekindle that temper of curiosity, of understanding things wherever they may come from — north, south, east or west. If we are complacent, we shall keep thinking of ourselves as more virtuous. Because in the past Asia was cut off from the rest of the world, Asia fell. Gradually Europe began to think of Asians in terms of a backward, unprogressive people, tied up and weighed down by social customs like caste and untouchability and, therefore, a people to be ruled firmly, may be if you like with humanity, but ruled firmly.

When I was a boy, about fifty years ago, hardly anybody in Europe thought that the countries of Asia would become independent in the foreseeable future. Lord Morley, who was supposed to be a great liberal statesman of Britain, said about forty years ago, that his mind cannot conceive of the time when India can be free.⁶ Amazing! If that was the outlook of a Liberal, what do you think would have been the outlook of a Conservative then? So this is what they thought of Asia. They knew about the vast numbers of people in Asia, they had some knowledge of the past of Asia, the big empires and military genius of Asia, its arts and craft and philosophy and all that.

Nevertheless, that was their basic thought. In spite of all this, the people of the countries of Asia became free. And having become free, they began to make their influence felt in the world affairs. Yet you will notice that somehow that old idea has not wholly disappeared from the minds of the people of the west. It has disappeared to some extent, of course, but they have not quite

6. Lord Morley (1838-1923) declared in 1909, when he was Secretary of State for India, that he could not foresee a time when India would be free and self-governing.

realized the big change that has come over world affairs by the fact of Asia having been changed and great independent countries coming up. It is a patent fact. Asia may not have atom bombs or hydrogen bombs, but something has happened which has given to Asia, if not that type of pugnacious strength, the strength to resist being pushed about this way or that way.

When I talk about an independent foreign policy for India, other people talk about the neutral attitude of India. I object to the word "neutral". We are not neutral. We have positive ideas. When we talk of an independent foreign policy for India, some countries criticize it and do not understand it. They ask "what is this"? Yet, in the final analysis, what does an independent policy for India mean? It means refusal to be pushed about by others this way and that way. It means deciding what you want to do yourself. You may decide in favour of cooperating with this person or that person, but it means that the final decision rests with you, the people of India. Any person or country who disapproves of it, inevitably thinks in terms of pushing you about against your wishes or the wishes of the people of India. I strongly object to that. I have not been brought up to be pushed about in this way, even in the days of British rule here.

What is odd is that Europe has not completely got rid of this idea that Asia should still be a camp-follower. By some kind of an inverted logic, Europe is falling into that wrong path to some extent, which Asia fell into in the past, of ignoring Asia. Therefore, many of the policies which are being pursued in the world by some of the other countries somehow lack substance, because of a lack of full realization of Asia as it is today — of the mind of Asia.

Unfortunately, people still think too much in terms of the armaments of countries, of the armed might, which no doubt are important, than in terms of the economic growth of the country, which is highly important. Nevertheless, there is something which is at least as important, if not more, and that is the way in which the minds of millions of people work. I do not mean to say that the people of Asia think alike. Nevertheless, there is a certain commonness in approach in so far as colonialism is concerned, foreign domination is concerned, and in so far as this attempt to push one this way or that way is concerned. We resist that, and we intend to resist that. That is the normal reaction of the Asian mind. This is not adequately realized in Europe.

Because the changes that take place in Asia are not liked in Europe, an attempt is being made not to accept them. It is not exactly a sign of wisdom. Look at this business of a great new State rising in China. Nobody doubts that there is a new State in China. Does anybody doubt that it is strong enough to protect itself, and that it has a strong Central Government? It is not a question of your liking or disliking it. The fact is that a great State is existing there under a certain Government whose writ runs throughout that

vast country. And yet, there are people who say: "No, so far as we are concerned, that State does not exist and we are not going to recognize it in the United Nations or elsewhere." How can we argue with that position? And yet whole policies are based on that non-recognition of a major factor. How can a policy based on something that is wrong, be correct? I am merely pointing out to you this extraordinary way of great statesmen shutting their eyes to patent and existing facts of life. You cannot change the geography of the world. Europe and America, in spite of their having many wisemen, and in spite of their inquisitiveness and all that, have not somehow understood the tremendous changes and ferment in Asia. They ask us: "Are you with us or against us?" Both the sides in this world tussle have extraordinary questions to ask as if they only exist and that we only have to tie ourselves to somebody else's coat tail. Yet hundreds of millions of people in Asia exist and perhaps will continue to exist, according to their own way of thinking, not being pushed about by this or that power. That is a basic fact which has not percolated in the minds of many people in the West.

Do not imagine that I am speaking in a spirit of bravado. I know our weaknesses, internal and external. I am aware of our serious problems. I know still more the weaknesses of Asia. I am not exaggerating. But I am referring to the temper of Asia and it is the temper of millions of people that counts. It is a temper which refuses to be coerced and sat upon.

I want to put it to you how India and Asia suffered and ultimately failed completely, because of their complacency, because of the narrow confines in which they lived, and because they refused to look outside while the rest of the world progressed. I can enumerate any number of instances which led to that situation...

Most of us, belonging to the group of the kind that I belong to, that is, the politicians, are notorious for indulging in tall talk. Modern democracy encourages that kind of behaviour. Democracy, no doubt, is an excellent thing. But I regret to say that it often encourages people who are lacking in excellence completely. It is astonishing how it encourages wrong people and yet, somehow or other, it is the wrong people who have to undertake the right action. That is the problem of democracy. Because, the problem of choosing the right people by any other method has failed. So we take the risk of even choosing wrong people by the right method and hope for the best. But if you want democracy to succeed, you must realize what your responsibilities are. A successful democracy must have self-discipline. We must always know that freedom has obligations and various other duties that go with it.

Here in this big country of ours, spread out from the Himalayas to very near the equator in the South, the very thought of its enormous size with its great variety and charm excites me. It fills me with strong emotion, that it is my privilege to work for this country. All its past heritage comes before me

and presents India's great variety and charm. When I think of India, pictures of many kinds come before me, and above all, pictures of the masses of the people, individuals, of course, but even more than individuals, of masses of people, because I have seen the masses of people all over India, tens of thousands, nay hundreds of thousands of them — and I have tried to look into their eyes so far as one could, and they have looked into my eyes, and even when I did not understand their languages and they did not understand mine,—I have found that there was some communion between us. We were in tune with each other. We could see each other. And I was filled with great emotion.

When I think of this mighty land of India and all its people I am also filled with a great eagerness somehow to get over the enormous difficulties that engulf them. I know one cannot do that by any magical process. One has to work hard and we, all of us, have to work hard. There is no other way. You may, of course, choose the right or the wrong path, but whichever path you choose, your work has to be hard. Think of all this business as the most exciting adventure that you can possibly have. Think of this business in this changing world of today in building up a new India; trying with all humility, trying not to be pushed hither and thither by external forces; trying to be friendly to all of them; trying to throw our weight on the side of peace in the world and concentrating on building our own country, that is, building these 360 millions of our people, men and women and children, and if I may say so, above all, of children; because those who are older in years may live a few years and pass away, but the India of tomorrow belongs to those who are children today, and we are building the India of tomorrow today.

Therefore, look to the children and, above all, see to it that they get what they deserve, what every child of India deserves, that is, proper food, proper housing, proper clothing, proper education, proper health care, in fact proper opportunities for progress. Until you have provided for every child in India, you have failed and not succeeded anywhere.

You and I and all of us, in our respective ways, are trying to build this new India. And when I see anything that is built, whether it is a small thing or a big thing, it is a creative effort. It is, I see, something solid taking shape. That is new India. Whether I go to the huge establishments like the Sindri factory, or whether I go to the Chittaranjan locomotive works, or to the great river valley schemes, or to the new towns that have been built, or that are being built in various parts, they are all the result of man's labour, our people's labour, and it becomes exciting to me. Here is new India growing up, and so I begin to think as I said at another place today, that Mother India is in labour, producing, building herself up again, and we have to go through the pains of labour. But then we are going to produce this new India. *Jai Hind.*

2. A Call for United Effort¹

... It is seventeen years since I came here and these seventeen years have seen many ups and downs. Meanwhile, we have achieved much by following the path which was laid down for us by our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi. We were not very worthy followers of him, and very often we fell by the wayside, or we strayed from the objective. But still, because we endeavoured to follow that path to the best of our ability, success came to us...

Two days ago I was speaking on the occasion of the inauguration of the new State of Andhra.² But that made no difference to India. The Andhra State is just an administrative division. We all remain, as we were, citizens of India, and so we must not lose ourselves in what is called provincialism and parochialism, or think of our own corner of India, and forget the rest. We must not lose ourselves in thinking of our caste, creed or religion, forgetting that India harbours and shelters and mothers many other religious groups and creeds and castes. We must remember that in this great brotherhood of India, there are many people of various religions and all are equal sharers in this — Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsees, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains and all the others. Each one has every right to follow his religion in perfect freedom. Every person who is an Indian is an equal sharer in the freedom of India, and more especially so in the case of those whom in the past, we in our folly suppressed, those whom we call Harijans and all other suppressed people. It is our duty and obligation to raise them, so that they may also equally share in this freedom of India.

Having achieved our independence, what is the next problem for us? Obviously, our duty is not done, our pilgrimage has not ended. The next stage in our pilgrimage is to better the lot of the millions of our people economically, so that the curse of poverty is abolished, so that the curse of unemployment goes. These are great problems when we think of the 360 millions of our people. We can gradually put an end to the great difference between rich and poor. In our society people should have equal rights and privileges, and every person has equal opportunities. That is our objective. It is a great objective and it will take some time to realize it. It may be that we will not realize it fully in our lifetime. But we must aim at going speedily towards the realization of this objective.

1. Speech at a public meeting in Madurai, 3 October 1953. AIR tapes, NMML. Extracts.

2. For Nehru's speech on the occasion of the inauguration of the Andhra State on 1 October 1953, see *post*, pp

Look at the world today. There are many problems all over Asia, all over the world. I am not going to talk to you about these problems now. But I want you to look at the picture of India in the context of this larger world and to compare how we have advanced in these last five or six years. I think you will find we have made very considerable progress, and we compare favourably with other countries. We have done well, but not enough. A very great deal still remains to be done. To this great task, therefore, we must address ourselves now.

In the addresses of welcome, you have referred to the great economic problems before the country; particularly to the plight of the handloom industry of the South.³ I know that the handloom industry is the greatest industry in India. It employs a large number of people and it must be our duty to help, encourage and protect that industry. It is our definite intention to do so. But the problem is not a very easy one. We cannot solve this problem or any other economic problems by some magic or *mantra*.

The Five Year Plan is a heroic attempt to consider the problems of India as a whole, to find out what our resources are and to try to utilize them to the best advantage. Unless we have a complete picture of India, we shall never be able to make much progress. If we think of each problem separately, or each area separately, then we do not get a full picture of India. Therefore, we have taken to planning, so that all our resources might be exploited in the best possible way. That perhaps is a very great step forward. I want all of you to understand the meaning of planning, of economic planning and national planning, so that our country may advance on all fronts at the same time.

I would like you, if possible, to read something about the Five Year Plan which will give you a picture of our problems and our resources. You will then be able to help in improving the plan and change it if necessary. The Five Year Plan should ultimately have its origin and conception in the minds of the millions of citizens of India. It is not something coming down from the Government though, of course, the Government would help as, indeed it must. But it must come from the people of the villages all over India and reflect their minds and problems. In implementing it we shall have the support of the people because no progress can be made by Government efforts alone. If

3. Handloom weaving had become an uneconomic occupation owing to a fall in exports and reduced purchases in the Indian market since 1949. To help the five million workers engaged in the handloom industry in Madras State, the manufacture of dhotis with borders, and some other items had been reserved exclusively for handlooms. The manufacture of dhotis by the mills was restricted to 60 per cent of the figure for 1952. A sum of Rs. 98,38,677, from the Handloom Cess Fund, had been earmarked for the handloom industry in the Madras State.

the people set themselves to the great task, then there would be full cooperation between governmental activities and popular activities.

We have to set up new industries and build townships. We have to start many enterprises and, above all, we have to raise the standard of living in the villages, because eighty per cent of the people of the country live in villages. You will have to measure the success of your effort by the improvement in the conditions of the innumerable people who live in hundreds upon thousands of villages in India.

We have had in the past great leaders, and the greatest of them all was Mahatma Gandhi. But what we want today is not a few great leaders, but we should have hundreds of thousand of leaders in every village and in every little town, so that the people should not look up to some great leader. These leaders should have the courage and initiative to help the people of that village and cooperate in the larger activities of the nation.

Last year, we started what are known as community projects in various parts of India to help build up villages.⁴ This year we have started something which has a deeper significance. On the auspicious day of Mahatma Gandhi's birth anniversary yesterday, we started all over India a new scheme called the National Extension Service.⁵ It refers mainly to villages, to agriculture, and to the life of people living in villages. I draw your attention particularly to this National Extension Service because I think it is of the greatest importance and significance. In the course of the next three years we want to cover one quarter of the country and in a few more years, we want to cover more villages under the scheme. Already we have trained sixty thousand village workers under the scheme. That is a beginning. We shall have to train hundreds of thousands of village workers all over India, because we want now to start building India from the very bottom, from the grassroots, from the level of the ordinary villager. For if the villager is strong and if he gains a little more prosperity then, indeed, the foundation of India will be stronger and well-laid. This National Extension Service shall not be operative only for a short time. It is a permanent base to our administrative apparatus. Here in Tamil

4. The Community Development Programme was launched on 2 October 1952. This programme sought to transform rural India by an intensive campaign seeking to increase productivity, utilize surplus labour in rural industry, and overcome peasant inertia through education, better housing and health, recreation, and the establishment of village democracy. Development projects covering about 20,000 villages in the country had already been initiated.
5. A programme for the extension of the community development projects, adopted at the Conference of Development Commissioners in April 1953, envisaged extension of the scheme to 180 blocks in 1953-54, 270 in 1954-55 and 450 in 1955-56.

Nadu, I believe there are sixty blocks of this National Extension Service at present, each block comprising one hundred villages.

Big schemes are being put through, such as the Sindri Fertilizers Factory, the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works and the factory in Bangalore for making aeroplanes. You can also have automobiles, and motor cars gradually being manufactured in the country. Great river valley schemes are also taking shape all over India.⁶ These are great enterprises which are changing the face of India, and provide us not only irrigation facilities but will also generate power for industries, whether big industries or cottage industries.

We have also established national laboratories of science, great institutes of scientific research, which have come up all over India during the last five or six years. There are twelve or thirteen of them today, apart from the smaller ones.⁷ You should remember that the world today is based on science and hundreds of thousands of articles you use everyday are the products of science. If we are to progress, we must understand science and master it, not merely copy other countries and buy products from them. We have to lay the foundation of scientific work here. Only then can we build the structure of new India on a stable foundation.

Science has given good products as well as bad. Among the bad things is the atomic bomb but there it is. No country can get rid of poverty without the help of science. Therefore, we have to build scientific laboratories and institutes all over the country.

We must all develop the habit of scientific thought, because science ultimately is the search for truth. Science helps to seek truth wherever we find it and teaches us not to be afraid of changing something and not allow ourselves to remain in the same groove or rut of thought or action, because if we do so in a changing world, we will be left behind and suffer. Therefore, we must be wide awake and must always be in search of truth, and have courage to discard something that is not good enough. . . .

We must also think of this whole picture and reflect upon how we are trying to go ahead in a number of directions at the same time; whether it is

6. About 800 crores of rupees were being spent on multipurpose river valley projects which were expected to irrigate about 17 million acres and generate 1.5 million KW of electric power.
7. Six national laboratories were established within the first two years after Independence. These were: the National Chemical Laboratory, Pune, the National Metallurgical Laboratory, Jamshedpur, the Central Fuel Research Institute, Jealgora, the Central Glass and Ceramic Research Institute, Calcutta and the Central Food Technological Research Institute, Mysore. These were followed, in quick succession, by other laboratories and by 1953, Seven more laboratories for drug research, road research, electro-chemistry, leather technology, building research, salt research, and research on cloning of plants—had been organized.

large-scale industries or cottage industries or whether it is the development of sciences, or, in what I consider as most important of all, the development of agriculture and improvement of the living conditions of the village population. All these are parts of the same problem, and you have to look at it and understand this entire problem. Of course, there are also other problems like the development of education and health. But the main thing for us is to develop our resources today so that we can go ahead faster tomorrow.

In India, there are differences in several aspects. But I see India here in its amazing diversity, in its richness, and also in its amazing unity. I want you to keep and preserve this rich diversity, and I also want to lay great emphasis on the essential unity. For India is like a rich cloth or tapestry woven by threads which make it strong, and also rich in colour. We must not do anything to weaken the texture of the fabric of India.

I see all this, but I see also something that pains me greatly. I see poverty. I see little children, the lovely and beautiful children of India, without food, sometimes without clothing, without proper shelter, education and health care, and I feel very angry if even one single child of India should suffer so. Every child of India has a right to demand that the necessities of life should be given to it, that a full opportunity of growing up properly must be provided for. Looking at this picture, I grow impatient and a little angry at myself and others, that we progress so slowly. Why can we not tackle these problems of poverty and unemployment more speedily?

And yet these problems are tremendous and we cannot deal with them by impatience and anger. We cannot solve them by praying or by looking up at the heavens and the stars. We can only deal with them by understanding them, by hard work, continuous hard work, done from day to day, year to year, and from generation to generation. If we are strong in mind, and if we persevere, I have no doubt that we can solve them. But then we must have that intention, that desire, that urge to enable us to go ahead. That again is another aspect of, if you like, this scientific urge, this desire to go ahead, not by complacency or by accepting erroneous customs and evil habits, but by being strong enough to challenge every fate, break it and go ahead.

In the old days I invited you to join in the great struggle for independence. That was a great adventure, a joy-giving adventure, because when you ally yourself to a great cause, that act not only increases your stature but it also gives you joy. Even apart from the results of it, the act of striving for great causes itself is good, is strengthening, and it makes you grow. Today we have a greater adventure ahead, this great adventure of building a new India, of rejuvenating mother India. She has lived for thousands of years. She has had many experiences during this long history. She has thousands of years still to live, but not in poverty and dependence.

It is our high privilege to assist in this great process of building and creating a new India. However big and difficult the task may be, when the workers are so many and are striving hard, achievement will come soon. Remember not to make the same mistakes and fall into old traps which weakened India in the past. We thought in terms of so many divisions and partitions, we must now think only of the unity of India.

Nothing is more dangerous than anything that divides us. We have to think in terms of the great unity of India, which is growing, which is bigger than the provinces or States, the religions and castes, which divide us. Hold on to your religion by all means, but remember that there are others in India who follow other religions and have an equal right to that. Our Constitution ensures that every person in India must have equal rights. Therefore, one must learn this lesson from India's history that we cannot think in compartments, think of ourselves separated from others. We must always think that while it may be your privilege to live in this historic city of Madurai, your real position is not just being a citizen of Madurai. You may be proud of that certainly, but if you go abroad, how do you describe yourself, not as an inhabitant of Madurai. The world may not understand, may not even know, but wherever you go, if you talk of yourself as a citizen of the Republic of India, the world will know you and honour you.

I repeat this to you because I have been reading India's history in the past ages, and what I have gathered from that is that while we have great virtues in India, and while we have produced great men and brave men in every age, we have suffered from one great failing. That failing is that we tend too much towards faction, disruption and disunity among ourselves. That is a very dangerous aspect. To the extent that we overcome that failing, we achieve strength and independence. Now that we have achieved independence, some people may think that we have gained our objective and need not attach much importance to holding together. Our whole past has been one of division, whether it is political or social. Take the caste system which divides our society into compartments. All this has tended to disrupt and weaken us. We have to get over these fissiparous tendencies and encourage the tendencies which unite....

These are common problems of this country, of millions of people in this country, and we are all trying to solve them. We are all thinking of them, and we are determined to solve them. You will feel that although we have not reached the end of the journey yet we are marching along on the road that leads us to that end....

Before I finish I should like to remind you that whatever I have said applies not merely to men but also to women. It applies more to women than to men, because I am quite convinced that a nation can only go ahead when its women go ahead and advance. In fact, the responsibilities of women are

even greater than those of men, because women give shape and character to the future generation. In our struggle for independence, it was the coming of women into it that made all the difference in the world. It made a difference to us here. It made a difference to people in other countries who watched our struggle for independence. Therefore, a great task lies ahead for our women who have to take a full share and play their part.

I would like you to remember always the teachings that Mahatma Gandhi placed before the country and the world. If we are fighting for good causes, we must always do so by adopting the right means. You do not serve a good cause by adopting the wrong method. It is that principle which gave us strength in our struggle for independence. We must remember that, if we are to make our country noble and great.

Remember also that the test of our success is how far we raise those who are unhappy and are in distress in India today, that is, the great majority of our population. We are not going to be judged by a few people at the top, just as the city of Madurai will not be judged by the mansions of a few rich men; it will be judged by the slums and the houses of the poor. So also, India is going to be judged by the condition of the masses of her people. And it is for this reason that we have laid stress on the objective of putting an end to the great difference between the rich and the poor and produce as far as we can, equality of opportunity for all our people.

The greatness of a country does not depend on its vastness of territory but on the greatness of the mind and the heart. Greatness is a quality. A small country may be great and a big country may not be so. Therefore, if we want India to be great, as all of us want it to be, we have to be big and great in our mind and heart. Only then can we make India truly great.

3. Defence of Freedom¹

I have been here for the last three days, not in Coimbatore, but in this State, a day in Madras, a day in Madurai and a day in Coimbatore and round about. During these three days wherever I have gone, I have been overwhelmed by, what shall I say, affection and even something more than affection, and I have been greatly moved by this. I know that the South is not only warmer

1. Speech at a public meeting in Coimbatore, 4 October 1953, AIR tapes, NMML. Extracts.

than the North, but it is also very warm-hearted. Feeling the warmth of your affection moves me very greatly and I begin to doubt what I can tell you, whether we have not understood each other without much speech or talking.

I do not know, how to express my gratitude to you, and to others during these two or three days, for their exceeding friendliness. I looked into the eyes of tens and thousands of people of this part of the country, and they were friendly eyes, and eyes which not only showed their affection, but perhaps, if I may say so, some faith in me, and I felt very humble, and I felt that the burden of carrying this faith and this affection, was very great.

We have tremendous tasks before us. We have finished one part of our journey when we attained independence. But even a more difficult journey still remains to be undertaken by us. And we have to face great problems together. If you think that your Government in Madras or the Government in Delhi can solve these problems by itself, you are mistaken. They will have to be solved by the people. When I see your enthusiasm and the vitality that is within you, I feel that you, not I, or perhaps you and I and all of us together will solve these problems.

I do not want to speak to you as a Prime Minister, but as a friend and comrade, and as a fellow traveller. We have to go a long way together, to share each other's burdens, and share each other's triumphs, as we have done in the past. It is good for you to have this enthusiasm because enthusiasm uplifts us and strengthens us. Yet enthusiasm may go, and so we have to work on and, therefore, we have to understand. We have to realize that freedom always is accompanied by responsibilities, and so long as we do not discharge those responsibilities, we shall not profit by that freedom and we may even lose it ultimately.

Six years ago, when we attained independence, two big events happened. One was the mere fact of India's independence; and the second was the manner of our attaining it, in a peaceful way, after a peaceful struggle and in cooperation even with the country that had ruled over us previously. These were two very big events. The first thing, of course, it was a big thing for us to become an independent and united country, but it was a big thing for Asia also, and for the world. For that was one of the major signals, shall I say, of a new development that was happening all over Asia. Something that was reversing the current, which had flowed in a particular direction, during the last two or three hundred years or more, of European domination over Asia. That was stopped, not reversed. Nobody in Asia, I hope, wants to reverse it but that was stopped, and Asia again came into her own. By attaining independence, you and I and millions of our people in this country not only made history, but turned a fresh page in world history, and more especially, in Asian history.

And now, having done so, what have we to do next? If we take a historic

step like this, we cannot stop there, we have to go on, and we have to keep on making history. There is no escape from it, except an escape backwards, which of course, we are not going to accept. Therefore, this great responsibility has come upon us, the people of India and when I say so, I am not praising the people of India at the expense of any other people, that is a very foolish way, in which people indulge in every country. The people of every country try to praise their own country and their own people and imagine that they are better than other countries. I do not want you, and our people in India, to behave in this foolish way. Every country has its good points and perhaps, not so good points. It is not necessary for us to condemn any country or try to appear to be better than other countries. But it is necessary for us to function properly and rightly to strengthen our country, to strengthen it by good deeds, so that the millions, who inhabit this country, get rid of their burdens and their poverty, and march ahead and progress.

While we must not as a nation or as a people imagine that we are the elite of the earth, nevertheless let us take pride in ourselves, in our country, in our past, in our present and in the future to come. We are not citizens of any mean country, we are citizens of the Republic of India, which has achieved its freedom in the last few years, in an honourable, civilized way. We have greater things in store for us. You and I, and all of us, are privileged today, to live in this country to serve it and to advance the cause for which this country stands.

How can we serve those causes, and what are those causes? We are not going out to tell others, what they should do. We have to tell ourselves what we have to do. Let us first of all put ourselves right and straight, and consider our own problems and solve them, and thereby perhaps, help somewhat in solving the great problems of the world.

We have to guard the precious heritage of Indian freedom and all it stands for. We have always to think in terms of the whole of India, and if India prospers and goes ahead, all of us prosper. If India does not prosper, none of us prospers. These great States of India, great as they are, are but parts of that organism, that is India — limbs, hands, feet, legs, — but it is the body that counts not a finger or a part of the body by itself. If the body is ill, then every part is ill. If the body is well, every part will be well. Therefore, you must think always of India as a unit. I am laying stress on this very simple proposition, because it is important, and because people imagining that now we are independent, we can play about even with principles, sometimes forget them. They indulge in narrow provincialism, communalism, and casteism. All these dividing factors, which had come in the way of India in the past, will come again in our way, if we are not aware, and if we do not rise above them. Therefore, I want you to beware of everything that separates us, whatever its name may be, it may come to you even calling itself some kind of

nationalism. It is not real nationalism. It may come to you in the name of religion, but if religion comes to divide, it is not true religion. It may come to you in many ways....

All over India, if you travel about, you will see this process of building up, of creation going on. I can tell you that when I see it I feel excited, because I see this new India taking shape before my eyes. You may not perhaps profit by it immediately because we are laying the foundations of this new India, and foundations are not easily visible, nor do they immediately profit anyone, but they are essential...

The Five Year Plan was made only a year ago, and even now it seems rather moderate and we are trying to revise it.² But we cannot revise it in the air and put in all that we want to do. We have to be realistic. We have to assess our resources and try to increase them, but we cannot do anything beyond our resources. What are our resources? Our resources are not very great in money. But our resources in human beings in the country are tremendous. Perhaps it would be a good thing if the rate of increase of population of this country is reduced. The more it increases, the more, in a sense, the burden for us to carry. We have, therefore, a very large potential labour force or man-power. That is capital, that is strength, if we properly utilize it. Money is after all an over-rated commodity. It is human beings with intelligence and skill that create wealth.

Therefore, the question for us is to utilize our resources, to the best advantage. This is a tremendous business, a great adventure in which every one of us, man, woman, and even child to a certain extent, must participate and be a partner. If we do that, and if, the activity of the Government and the tremendous force of the people is joined together, then we can achieve something which may appear to be rather wonderful. But neither the Government by itself, nor the people by themselves, can achieve very much, the two together can. Therefore, I should like you to look at this great picture of India, and the great tasks that confront us, and I should like you to think that each one of you is a partner in this work. Let each one do his own bit in whatever way he can, and all these little bits put together will make something very big and then achievement will be ours....

2. It was proposed to increase the outlay of the Five Year Plan by Rs 150 to Rs 175 crores to tackle the unemployment problem. The schemes on which the National Development Council had decided to spend this amount during the remaining period of the Plan included the schemes to employ 80,000 teachers and to undertake large-scale road building.

4. The Passion to Go Ahead¹

It is my privilege on behalf of the Government of India and on my own behalf to welcome you all here. We have representatives here, distinguished and eminent men and women from our neighbour countries of South and South East Asia, as well as from more distant countries, who are playing such an important part in the work of this conference and plan, which had its beginnings nearly four years ago.

I remember, just about three years and nine months ago in Colombo, that the first idea was put forward at a meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Commonwealth.² I think it was the distinguished representative from Australia, the Foreign Minister of Australia,³ who put this forward, and it was welcomed then, and since then the idea has grown and taken shape, and the present shape is represented by this gathering here in Delhi of the Consultative Committee and their advisers who have been considering for the last, I believe, two weeks, the work done and the work to be done.

It is not for me, from a layman's point of view, to discuss that particular work which is being considered by so many experts. But I should just like to say a few words from a layman's point of view. The first thing is that, I hope, that apart from the experience and expert knowledge that you bring to this task, you will also bring an imaginative approach. The problem you are dealing with is exciting in many ways. Of course, as you deal with a large number of human beings, that itself is an adventure and there is excitement in it. When you deal with vast millions of South and South East Asia, I do not know how many of you think about the past history of this region because, after all, the present, with which we are dealing has its roots in the past. If we are to understand many of the forces that are working in the present, we should know something of the past, so that we might have some kind of a true perspective of events.

We are dealing with human beings, and each individual human being is

1. Speech at the meeting of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan which was attended by Ministers of eleven countries including India, New Delhi, 13 October 1953. AIR tapes, NMML. Extracts.
2. In January 1950. The Commonwealth Mutual Aid Programme, known as the Colombo Plan, aimed at the development of South and South East Asia through a variety of aid measures, such as technical advice and assistance, provision of capital goods for industrial and agricultural developments and sterling loans.
3. P. C. Spender.

an uncertainty. When you are dealing with millions of them, the uncertainty grows. Where too much human emotions and passions are involved it cannot be easily grasped by mere graphs and statistics.

My mind is thinking in terms of history and perspectives of history, and goes back to thousands of years. It looks at this region of South and South East Asia as it developed, its ups and downs, the contacts we had with each other, and so on and so forth. Great empires flourished. As you know there, sea-power was important, trade flourished, then changes took place, European countries intervened, and a change came over or began to come over round about three hundred years ago, which produced powerful reactions all over this region, some of which was good and some bad. Now we are dealing with an age when that period is over, by and large, and where it still exists, it is bound to end soon. We see tremendous changes and ferment all over Asia. We may like them or dislike them. That depends upon how we look at it.

But the point is that there is this tremendous ferment all over Asia. In fact we face this continent which has an element of volcanic upheaval. I am not using that word in any sense to frighten anybody, but in the nature of things, we are facing these conditions because for a long period in the past most of the countries of Asia were politically under the rule or domination of other countries. Their attention was largely taken up by the desire and struggle for political freedom.

Many of them have achieved freedom, and I am glad to say that some of them at least have achieved it in a friendly and cooperative way which has left hardly any trail of bitterness behind. Where it has not been achieved, inevitably those forces are urging the people, sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously, to drive them towards achieving their political freedom. Where political freedom has been achieved, the result has been the loosening of other forces. What I mean is that all kinds of forces that were suppressed attained prominence and their urgency came in the people's minds, and the people, who, for hundreds of years had been quiescent and accepted things as they were, even though they were not good for them, were no longer prepared to accept them. They now expect rapid changes to take place in their conditions.

In order to understand all these, it is not so much a question of what we like or dislike, but one trying to understand objectively what human forces are at work. You may use them to your advantage, if you understand them and direct them in right channels. If you ignore them, then your planning is likely to come up against grave difficulties. It is not a mechanical process of building a bridge or a road. It is a process of building human beings, and out of that material a society, a progressive society, an advancing society emerges. So you see that this vast ferment, this vast conglomeration of urges, desires, passions, in millions and millions of people, driving them hither and thither,

all of them, in the ultimate analysis, are seeking better conditions of living, or a lessening of the burden they have long suffered from.

In Asia, maybe in some other parts of the world also, we are a people generally lacking in the primary necessities of life. We do not have enough of them — whether it is food, clothing, housing, health care or education — our energies are necessarily, concentrated on giving the people those primary necessities.

Sometimes the problems that afflict the world elsewhere, though we are interested in them, are secondary to us. For a starving man the next meal is more important than any other bigger and graver problems. So in a country, which lacks the primary necessities of life, it is more important to get them than to talk of high philosophy or high politics. Politicians may talk of politics, but the major urge of the people is to satisfy that hunger. I should like you to appreciate that, because if you do not appreciate this, you will lack the understanding of what is happening here.

I am not talking of India only, but of various countries which are more or less of the same type. They differ, of course, but to talk of Asia as some combined unit would not be right. There are great countries in South East Asia and South Asia, with their individual outlooks on life. Their backgrounds might be the same, and, historically and culturally, they might also be connected with each other, no doubt. Nevertheless they have their own particular way of looking at problems because of particular histories which have determined them in the past.

Remember this, that the people of these regions have a very long past, running into thousands of years, and they have been conditioned, as everyone is, by that past. Naturally, our roots are deep down in the past centuries, and we cannot, and we should not, uproot ourselves from the past. We want to grow on those roots and flower and generally spread out, advance on many planes. If we try to forget the soil from which we have grown and the background — the historical, emotional, cultural, and all that — we must be lacking something that is essential to the understanding of the people.

At the same time, it is clear that if this background becomes static and lacks the capacity for progress the natural result follows. It is no good blaming anybody. If a country or any part of a country becomes static and loses the spirit of creativeness, it falls back and deteriorates. It may take some time but the result is inevitable.

Therefore, we have to take ourselves out of these ruts, and become dynamic again, become creative, become progressive and refuse to be tied down to a narrow, bigoted approach, which keeps us in those ruts. So we have to balance these two things. We have to remember our roots which are deep. We have to remember the soil from which we have come. At the same time, we have to get out of the ruts which have made us what we are today,

that is, rather poor countries, under-developed countries, while other countries have gone ahead.

But, nobody will say that there is anything inherently lacking in the capacity of the people of South Asia and South East Asia, who have played such an important part in the past. But something happened because of their own fault, my own fault, my country's own fault, that led to their remaining static and becoming somewhat stagnant, while the rest of the world was advancing.

Now, political and other new changes are taking place which have brought about a tremendous reaction to that static condition, a tremendous desire to make good in decades, what other countries have done in centuries. Not only is there a desire, almost a passion, but, even apart from that, conditions are such that there is even a feeling that if we do not act we go down. It is a struggle for economic survival.

We have no intention of going down whatever happens. That is why you see this passionate urge for survival. It is not merely an academic approach of the economists, statisticians, politicians and the rest. But something much deeper than that. We have to do it, we must do it or else we go down, and we have to do it quickly. Of course, that passion has to be controlled and directed into right channels. Otherwise it will mean waste of energy.

But I would beg of you to consider this background from an imaginative point of view, all this tremendous feeling that we must make good quickly. Our problems cannot be solved by magic. We have to work for them. There is a realization that we have to work very hard. We welcome the assistance, cooperation and help of other countries which are in a position to give us that help. But we realize very well that ultimately it is by our own hard work that we will have to go ahead. In fact, any progress which is not based on one's own efforts is not likely to remain.

Therefore, all our stress is on our own effort, though we welcome all the help we can get, partly because it expedites the process of recovery or of going ahead and partly because it brings us into cooperative efforts with various countries, and also helps in avoiding development in separate compartments, which would lead to isolation and to world tension...

It has been my privilege to move about the country, to come in touch with millions of my countrymen and to have a certain measure of emotional attachment with my people. I am not merely fond of them, but I admire them and I have respect for them wherever I go. I find even in the smallest peasant some degree of that passion to go ahead and make good. I go to the remote villages in our mountain regions in the Himalayas and the demand there is for two things: communications and schools.

It is extraordinary how anxious and keen they are to get a school. They go a step further and say "if you have no resources at present we will build

the school ourselves, give us a teacher. You take the school after we have built it, and run it." It is astonishing how much voluntary work has been done by our people in the last years. I cannot give you the exact figures. Many hundreds of miles of roads, many of them in the mountains have been made by voluntary labour, a large number of school buildings and dispensaries have been built and tanks and small canals have been dug. People are to do work, provided they have a feeling that they are doing something for themselves.

They are not prepared to work for somebody else's profit. But when they realize that it is something for their own benefit, then they work hard and do not mind how much trouble this causes them. It is not particularly easy, perhaps, to make a peasant in a small village even to think in terms of a great country, of our Five Year Plan and the rest and yet I find it is not very difficult either if a proper approach is made. Once he feels that partnership in a common task, we can get anything out of him — enthusiasms, of course, but hard work too.

The job we have undertaken is tremendous. In the ultimate analysis, it is that of making 360 million people in India go up in the scale of things. You cannot do this unless large numbers of them help you. If you think on democratic lines, you make the democratic approach. You go to them and do not order them about.

This requires an imaginative approach. The imaginative approach should be applied to the political field too, though for the moment, we are not considering the political aspect. So long as the imaginative approach is not applied to the political aspect, results will be very poor. The moment it is applied, the results are good and fast. So also when it is applied to the economic aspect. We are fighting for economic survival.

People think today in terms of social justice. They do not accept the dictates of fate any longer or of *kismet*, because I am poor I must remain poor. That is less and less accepted. So, inevitably, we have to aim at the removal of the differences between the rich and the poor. We have to aim at equality of opportunity for everybody.

These are big things, and we may not achieve them or realize them, well, within an appreciable span of time, but we have to keep that in view. We may be backward and underdeveloped. But our hopes and aspirations are high. We aim high. We are not aiming just at slight betterment here, or just keeping the wolf from the door, so far as the nation is concerned, or the individual, but at raising the standard of all the 360 million people in India. I hope that the millions of people of South and South East Asia will keep always the ideal of social justice in view.

You will hear a great deal in India or elsewhere, about the problem of unemployment. There is a good deal of unemployment and concealed or partial unemployment, which affects not only urban people but also rural people. It

is a terrific problem, and if we add to this the problem of growing population, you can understand the extent of that problem. I am not anxious that the population of India should grow. I should like it to be less than what it is and we should do what we can to achieve that end.

Nevertheless, I think that the argument that our main ill is this tremendous population and that we cannot economically survive or make our lot better unless the growth of population is arrested is not justified.⁴

Anyhow, justified or not, you cannot expect the population in India to disappear into thin air. It is there and it will grow. It won't grow, may be, at the pace it has been growing, even now the pace is slightly less. It will grow and we have to provide for it, and there is no reason why we cannot do that, if we think rightly and act rightly. Because every person who grows ought to be a worker, a producer, producing more than what he consumes. So I am not afraid really of the population problem, although it is important and has to be dealt with....

The individual is important. If we think of the 360 million people of India, it is not some statistician's figure, but it is 360 million individuals that we have to deal with. As I said elsewhere, when I was asked what are the main problems of India, I said we have 360 million problems. Every individual in India is a problem, to be dealt with, to be helped. We are not prepared even to, shall I say, increase our production by better techniques if that means retrenchment and would result in greater misery for a large number of people, who are thrown out of work.

I do not think that that conflict need arise, if we look at it properly. I am not putting it as inevitable conflict, but I am putting it before you just to try to explain our own thinking about it, our own approach to these problems. We must think more and more in terms of employment, of fuller employment and of course, in terms of greater production and higher technique and all that.

Sometimes arguments arise about the relative virtues of private and state enterprise. On the whole, if I may say so, there is no such argument in India. One may lay slightly greater emphasis on this or the other. But this kind of rather fierce argument about the virtues of the two as some rival things which must try to uproot each other, does not arise here.

4. R.S. Gopalswamy, Census Commissioner of India, had stated in his report on the 1951 census that in view of the rate of population growth in India "the assumption about availability of undiminished rates of food supplies is unlikely to hold good." There was a growing possibility of food shortages leading to the natural checks on population growth, such as famine and pestilence. This set off a debate regarding the rate of growth in agricultural productivity and population in the country.

You may have heard that our approach is, what is called, a mixed economy. That does not mean very much because it depends on what proportion is the mixture. Leaving out any kind of theoretical or ideological approach to this problem, we have to deal with it from the practical standpoint. Practically, it is the struggle for economic survival and the concept of social justice, which we have embodied in our Constitution, and which we have repeated a number of times. We are reminded all the time of these two things and it inevitably forces us in certain directions....

The pressure of events and the circumstances in this country all drive us more and more towards thinking in terms of public ownership. If we do not think about it, we would not develop adequately, apart always from that question of social justice coming in the way. So, while we have a mixed economy, we propose to give full play to what is called the private sector of the economy. Nevertheless, our tendency is towards public ownership. Sometimes it is a mixed ownership, that is private plus state, mixed, half and half or whatever it may be.

We are experimenting and approaching this problem pragmatically, and not dogmatically, always keeping social justice in view. In fact, whether we want to or not, we are forced to do that by circumstances, by our own people, by their very rightful demand that they should share and not a few people should profit by the changes to come.

I have ventured to place before this distinguished gathering some ideas that are constantly revolving in our minds. One thing else I would say or repeat, that this whole business of planning in India, as I said, is not an academic pursuit. It is something living, throbbing, vital, dynamic, dealing with large number of human beings, either they are dying in an earthquake or a flood, or rains do not come, scarcity comes over vast areas, the harvest fails; or we are building something. Even now in the last month or two, we have had tremendous floods. The floods in Madras State and in the new Andhra State are very big floods. We had floods in my own province of Uttar Pradesh and in the eastern districts. But the floods in Bihar had been something phenomenal. We cannot ignore the fact that one third of Bihar is under water. I read a journalist, I think, either an English journalist or an American journalist say that the floods in Bihar are the biggest in the history of the world. I do not know if that is so, whether they are the biggest in the world or not, they are tremendous. A vast number of people affected by it are all the time struggling against nature. Nevertheless, on the whole, in spite of all these calamities and difficulties India is making good progress. In spite of these floods, in spite of the whole crops being washed away, we have done rather well so far as the food production is concerned. In fact we have done, better than we expected. I do not say that we have solved the food problem completely, of course not. But, I think, we are on the way to solving it in the

next few years. We have increased our rice and wheat production. Still we are going to import foodgrains from outside but they will be progressively less.

And if we import foodgrains, it is obvious for us to import it from our neighbouring countries. It will be quite absurd to import foodgrains from thousands of miles away. If we want rice the obvious place for us to get it is from Burma. In fact previously we did it. If this is done we can help each other, we can provide each other's wants and thus help ourselves and, help the other country too. The improvement of the food situation has removed some of the heavy burdens that we suffered from. Anyhow, we are in good heart. It does not matter how many floods or calamities come, we shall fight and we shall win.

5. The Administrative Jungle¹

It has become a common practice with us — this applies to me also to some extent — to organize gala functions at a time when we should all be absorbed in work of great magnitude. A great deal of effort goes into pomp and show and very little into work. We exhibit ourselves as though we were some commodity. This is true of all organizations, governmental and non-governmental.

In Delhi, now a days, there are any number of conferences—so many that one does not find time even to breathe. Of course, I too attend several of them because I am very much interested. How I wish silence would prevail in Delhi for some days and all the conferences would be stopped!

New Delhi is a jungle, a jungle of able men, still a jungle. You are lost in this jungle of administrative maze and labyrinths because there are thousands of offices and roads. It is rather difficult to control this and it is for scientists to examine this problem and suggest remedies. True, the activities of a growing nation must expand, but how and in what direction should they expand? The child grows and looks handsome only when the body grows proportionately with the hands and feet. If the hands alone grow and not the feet, the child looks defective. That would apply to Government offices also.

1. Inaugural address at the twenty fourth annual meeting of the Central Board of Irrigation and Power, New Delhi, 26 October 1953. File No. 17(107)/48-PMS. Extracts.

In India, as in any other country of the world, there is a great need for engineers, and as our plans and schemes materialize, we shall be needing more and more engineers. Why only engineers? We need teachers also in great number, but we cannot recruit them straightaway. As our educational development plans mature, we shall be needing lakhs of teachers. Unless we foresee even now what we need after two or five years we cannot plan in such a way that we have enough of trained men to teach after some years. There are difficulties and bottlenecks in any undertaking. We have to improve and extend our health services but we cannot achieve this by merely planning on paper. Even money, which is required in large amounts, will not help us achieve such expansion. It can be done only by having a sufficient number of experienced men who have had sound training. But it takes time to acquire experience. Whether it be engineering or medicine or any other profession, one has to learn and work hard to gain the necessary experience. Therefore, if we plan to extend our health services in the next five years, we must begin getting prepared for it right now, so that we have the requisite number of qualified doctors after five years.

Training and experience are as essential for an engineer as for a doctor or a health officer. It will be risky to entrust a responsible task to an engineer who does not know his work. It can result in a great deal of damage. The country can sustain small losses, but losses in works of great magnitude cannot be tolerated because their repercussions will be serious and injurious. You know very well that if we undertake the construction of a large dam somewhere and, if by some reason of neglect or inexperience, the dam gives way at a future date, it will result in untold loss to the country. Not only will it be a great monetary loss, but it will also create misery and ruin. Therefore, in such works, it is not enough if we have men with mere academic degrees. We should have men with ripe experience who would not commit mistakes even inadvertently. Their eyes should ever be vigilant and their hands ever ready to work. But it takes time to have such men, as proper and thorough training is needed.

This leads us to the obvious conclusion that, whatever be our plan, we must keep one fundamental point in view: how best to train and equip our men properly, be they engineers or doctors or teachers or members of any other important profession, so that we may have men with training and experience when we need their services. Though this applies to all fields it is more essential in scientific and technical activities. In those fields we cannot even allow slips to occur because slips can cause disaster. And if we do not train our men properly it means only two things: either the work will have to be entrusted to second or third-rate men or we shall have to depend upon the trained personnel of other countries....

I agree, of course, that in India the number of engineers is smaller than

our requirements but even then the number is large enough. We should endeavour to increase their number and give them opportunities for better training.

Our country has produced a good number of engineers of high calibre, and some of them have achieved international reputation. We have ultimately to depend upon our own men in engineering as well as other fields. Opportunity for further training, if necessary, should be given to them so that we have a large number of engineers of high quality. We may have foreign men if we must, under extraordinary circumstances, because we should never allow work to suffer. A big undertaking can be completely ruined by employing an inexperienced Indian in preference to a highly experienced foreigner. If we are in doubt whether we have the requisite experience for an important project I have no hesitation in employing an experienced foreigner; because, first, the work will not be mishandled and secondly, our men will have the opportunity of getting training and gaining experience....

There is a weakness in our country—a tendency to look to the sky and stars for guidance and to try to foresee the future by astrology. Blessed be those who are interested! But our work lies in visualizing the future of our country not by looking to the stars and basing our calculations on their movements but by assessing our strength, resources and means, and knowing how best to use them. Several factors and efforts go to the making and developing of our country, but the engineers, probably, have the most active role to play for they have the largest share in the execution of any plan....

The Chairman² has raised a few questions with regard to the fact that while formerly engineers used to be the Secretaries to the Government, they are no longer so now. I have no objection to engineers being Secretaries to the Government, but I have objection to those who are specially qualified for a particular profession sitting in the office, quill-driving. I consider it a waste of their talents, knowledge and experience. Enough persons are available in India who can use their pens well in the office, but, the number of good engineers is inadequate. Why is it so? This is because, for some reason or other, we have classified people according to the position occupied by them in their official life, and we consider one class better than the other. Everybody desires to go to the upper class. But the irony of it is that such classification and gradation itself is absurd. You all know Einstein. He is working as a professor in an American university and is engaged in research work there. But how many of you, may I ask, know the name of the principal of that university? You do not know it. You do not even know the name of the highest officer of that university, but you know the name of one of its

2. Kanwar Sain, Chairman, Central Board of Irrigation and Power, New Delhi.

professors because of his exceptionally brilliant work. It is plain that according to the rules and regulations, the head of the university is the superior officer. But, in the eyes of the world, Einstein is a much greater man, one whose name will be remembered not only now but long after his death.

Our services are steeped in a system of gradation or caste system which is probably the legacy of British rule. One could explain such a classification in the old system because it was the very basis of the administration. All persons in the employment of Government were under the Viceroy, who was supreme, and perhaps such an arrangement was suited to those times. Such a pattern is totally out of place in the present set-up and conditions. But the pity of it is that people's minds still cling to the old system. It is possible that a renowned, first-class engineer might be much more needed by us than any of our Secretaries. Secretaries are available in abundance but engineers are few. It may be that though the engineer is working in his own sphere, yet in official status the Secretary is in a way his superior. This is just a gradation. Whereas engineers have a reputation all over the world, the Secretaries are not known to anyone outside Delhi.

What I am driving at is that it is a wrong way to assess a man's worth by the salary drawn by him or the designation attached to his post. Such a notion does not appeal to me because, as you know, I entered the administration at quite an advanced age. Whatever I learnt about assessing a man's worth had nothing to do with his salary, with his dress or with his house. All my life I have gauged people from altogether a different angle, and I still believe in the same method. It is possible that I may consider a peon with more pride and respect than his own officer, and I do not see any flaw in it. Essentially, respect is due for work and not for the salary drawn.

A man may be a famous poet, but his income may be meagre; still, he should and will be respected much more than officers drawing high salaries. In short, the idea of money being made a yardstick for assessing a man's worth has clouded the issue and created confusion. The practice of grading people according to their status in official capacity should go.

As I told you earlier, the need for engineers will increase day by day in India, nay, in the world.... By engineer I mean a worker. An engineer who sits in the office and does not know how to work with his own hands is useless. However big an officer he might be, and whatever his age, he should be retired. The test for engineers should be whether they are working with their own hands or not. An engineer becomes useless and reaches the stage of retirement when he begins to desire a comfortable office chair to issue orders.

I would say that I want all people, whether engineers or non-engineers, to possess an engineering approach to the problems facing them. The scientific approach means that a person has a systematic way of thinking and arrives at reality through reasoning. The engineering approach would be a scientific

approach coupled with the urge for creation, the urge to make and produce new goods for the common good. When the people of a country have such an approach to their problems then that country progresses. For this to happen, it is not necessary that all people should study engineering, but it is essential that all should have the proper approach to their problems....

Now let me warn you against one pitfall. I see a strange maldevelopment in the country and it conjures up before me a figure of a man five feet tall but with arms four feet long. The way Government organizations and departments multiply leads us nowhere but to waste. With the growth of offices arises the problem of coordination between them. A coordinating agency is created and, as usual, its size also goes on increasing. Then arises the problem of how to coordinate the activities of the coordinating agencies. All this is at once baffling and amusing. If it is not stopped, I tell you, the head will remain small while the body will go on increasing in size. Such maldevelopment of organizations is dangerous to our country. It means that quality will suffer and quantity will increase....

India being a vast country, it will be proposed that there should be one Director-General of Hydrology. Then we will think how many Deputy Directors-General should be under him. Next we will think about Assistant Directors-General. Then we will think of some high officers or an inspector above all these people. The aim is to evolve a reasonable scheme. We then require accommodation, both for offices and residences. Where will the Director-General of such a big office live? Again, there will be proposals for a Secretary, Joint Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Assistant Secretary and so on. Two to three years will be taken up this way in deciding these proposals. When these proposals are ready, we would have forgotten why we started all this. This is strange and funny. In Delhi, you would have noticed, there are no Directors—all are Directors-General! We feel that the bigger the designation, the higher our status.

I have spent my life in quite a different sphere. It is six years since I have been in this office and yet I fail to understand what this affair is. I do not want you to convert the whole population of India into Directors-General. I want you to take up only one area at a time. Plan for this area, with the material that is with you; and after planning for this area, I do not want a big officer to come to me and say: we have to do this and that, we want so much staff, we want so many peons because our status is so high that each should have three or four *chaprasis*. I have neither any complaint nor any grudge against peons. They are very good men. But as long as this practice of getting the work done through peons lasts, Delhi will not get out of the old rut. The new age will dawn only when there are no *chaprasis*. But here the practice is entirely different. Nobody wants to walk even to the neighbouring room. Even in this age of telephones, everybody wants to send messages through peons. I

have heard that before the War there were only 3,200 peons here in Delhi but now this number has increased to 19,000. No doubt the work has somewhat increased but the pomp has increased much more. The poor *chaprasis* do work and they are not to blame. Nor do I mean to dispense with them. But I am against the mentality of those who sit in their rooms, press the button and want the peon to come. Maybe they would have just two steps to take, but they won't like to go and personally discuss a matter for five minutes. They won't even talk on the telephone. They would write long notes and send them to the other man because each has his own room. What fun is this? What is this method of working? This way not only will no work be done, but we shall be wasting time and money. We have to adopt an entirely different way. This is a very important aspect, and requires deep consideration. Much work can be done without any pomp and creation of big departments.

When I see the immense devastation caused by floods in Bihar³ and sometimes by famine, I at once think what the basic causes of famine and floods are. Such a study has to be done by a few men only, and without peons. After a detailed study they should send the report which can form the basis of our planning.

If you examine your problems in this manner, I am confident you will be successful in your projects. On the engineers of India rests a great responsibility and you have to show how you shoulder it.

3. Over six million people had been affected, crops standing over an area of two million acres had been seriously damaged and 77,000 houses had collapsed during the recent floods in Bihar.

6. Problems Facing the Nation¹

...The most important task before us is to defend and preserve our freedom so that it does not slip away. This is extremely important because history tells us how we lost it again and again through our own mistakes. Therefore defending our freedom is the first task. At the same time, making progress and strengthening the country, and relieving the people of their sufferings is also our task. All these tasks are interlinked.

1. Speech at a public meeting in Patna, 1 November 1953. From AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi. Extracts.

How does a country grow strong? It can be strong only when its people are well-off and prosperous. If not, it becomes weak. A country's strength does not consist merely of military force. That is only a small part of it. The real strength lies in an organized and united people. People gain strength from many factors, and an important factor is their economic condition. This is the problem before us today — removal of poverty.

There is unemployment² in the country which we have to rectify. We must increase production so that our wealth increases and poverty is eradicated.

Where does wealth come from? Many of you apply to the Government for assistance — and you have every right to do so — but where do the Governments of Patna and Delhi get their money from? It does not come from outside. It has to come from your pockets as taxes and *malguzari* or whatever it may be. That is the money which is used for the programme of development, whether it is education or medical assistance or police or military arrangements or rail service. The money collected from the people in the form of taxes constitutes national wealth and is spent on the tasks of development. It does not come from other countries like the United States or Europe or China or Japan. After all we are not beggars to go around with a begging bowl. Wealth has to be produced in the country by our own effort and hard work. Gold and silver are not real wealth. What the farmer produces in his fields or the factory worker produces in his factory is the wealth of a nation... If we wish to remove poverty from our country and make her wealthy, we have to produce wealth by hard work. We have to increase production in our fields and factories and through cottage and village industries. All this together will make us wealthy. The more we produce, the more rapid will be our progress.

I am telling you about extremely simple matters because I do not want you to commit the error of thinking, as some of our young men and women do, that you can change the social system by making a noise or shouting slogans. It cannot be done.

There was a big revolution in our country. What bigger revolution can there be than winning freedom? People fail to realize its magnitude because it was done peacefully. It was a great revolution, the effect of which on the world can still be seen. Well, whether a country is democratic or communist, there is only one way for it to progress, and that is by hard work.

2. According to one estimate in 1951, 3 million persons, largely urban, were totally unemployed and 30.3 million rural agricultural workers were employed for only seven months in the year, 4.8 million rural non-agricultural workers were employed for six months, 0.8 million urban workers were having work for seven months and 2.1 million urban non-agricultural workers worked for six months and were idle for the remaining six months.

Take the example of the Soviet Union or Germany or Japan. As you know, they had been ruined during the last War. Two atom bombs were dropped on Japan. Yet today Japan has become strong and powerful. Germany has recovered and has become a strong country once again. The people of these countries are extremely hard-working and are capable of working unitedly. So they are back on their feet. So has China....

You may have heard of the Five Year Plan which was launched two years ago. We took into consideration the situation in the country and the resources that were available and drew up a list of priorities. The first task was to provide enough food for everyone, second was cloth; third, houses to live in; fourth, education for everyone, and the fifth was proper medical attention and hospitals. These are essential for everyone. Other things can follow but these are the basic necessities of life for everyone—food, cloth, shelter, medicine and education. They are not available to everyone even now. There is not enough food in the country. So we must increase our food production. When there is not enough food, we have to import³ it and our foreign exchange reserves are being drained. We are importing wheat and rice. For importing it from the United States we are spending crores of rupees, which could be put to better use in the task of development.

The food problem is gradually being solved. Production has increased and the prices of wheat and rice are falling. So there is no cause for panic. But floods have caused great havoc in Bihar and destroyed rice crops. In spite of that, rice production has been more this year than at any time in the past and we are almost self-sufficient.⁴ We may have to import a little to keep in reserve but not very much. So gradually the food problem is being solved. But we need to increase production so that we become self-sufficient and avoid shortages. We do not then have to import foodgrain and the money thus saved can be used in various other tasks or to import machinery for factories. Gradually our economic condition will improve and then we can go on to other tasks and put up more factories which will open up new avenues of employment and add to the wealth of the country. All these things have to be done. They cannot be done at once because we do not have the money or trained personnel....

It is very important to improve the condition in the rural areas. During the days of the British, attention was concentrated entirely on the urban areas and none was paid to the rural areas. In fact, towns grew on the income

3. India had long been importing food at the rate of about 3.5 million tons a year. Because of the improvement in the food situation in 1952-53, as against the target of 29 lakh tons for 1953, only 20.03 lakh tons of foodgrains had been imported.
4. Since a stock of 14.4 lakh tons of foodgrains was available with the Central and State Governments by the end of 1953, food self-sufficiency was within sight. The imports were made to build up a reserve to meet security.

derived from the villages. Nearly eighty per cent of the people in India live in villages and the country can grow only when the villages become prosperous. You may have heard of the new schemes for rural development. We have sixty lakh villages in India. It will be difficult to take up all of them at once. So it has been decided to select fifteen to twenty thousand villages, in groups of 100-110 villages each for these schemes. Attention will be paid to all aspects of development, help to farmers, building of roads, schools, hospitals, etc. Soon the entire country will have a network of these schemes for rural development. Another project that is being taken up is the National Extension Scheme, which we want to spread all over the country.

We are looking at the problem of development from several angles. First of all, we are laying the foundations of basic industries so that we can become self-sufficient. Secondly, we have taken up great river valley schemes which will be especially useful in producing electricity and that power can be used in a thousand different ways. The third problem is of rural development. We cannot expect anybody from outside to help us in lifting up the villages. We have to do it ourselves. We are training people to undertake these tasks and have selected many thousands of village workers who will start their work soon. They will be given training for a few months and then sent to the villages. The development of sixty lakh villages is a gigantic task but we hope that within the next five to ten years, the new arrangement will spread to all the villages. Even within the next two or three years, it will cover a large part of India.

So you can see that we are taking up the task of development from many angles. It is very important in all this to have your cooperation, especially in the area of rural development. Development can be of two kinds — one is on a large scale, like river valley schemes, where we require highly skilled engineers. The other involves many small areas, but does not require advanced training. If this is done by mutual cooperation and help, you will see a rapid transformation of the rural areas. We must take up these tasks soon in all our provinces if we wish to build the edifice of a new India.

In my travels, I always look for some new development or improvement and when I find it I feel very happy. You may have heard of the great national science laboratories which have been set up all over the country. We have to promote scientific thinking in India, for the modern world is based on science. Europe and the United States of America have grown rich and powerful because of science. We must also develop scientific thinking and modern technology. Our young girls and boys will be trained in these national laboratories and help in the country's progress, for any task of development requires skill and training. So the question of college and university education is extremely important. I meet many young men and women who are doing excellent work in our science laboratories, in the army, navy, air force, etc., and I feel happy

to see their skill and ability. On the other hand, I find rowdyism in our colleges and universities and young boys frittering away their energy in useless ways instead of working hard at their studies. It is indeed strange that our students are beginning to do all this almost as a wholetime vocation, going on hunger-strikes and what not. I am extremely upset about this because I think people who go on hunger-strikes are absolutely wrong. They may think they are very brave. I can only say that they are of no use either to me or to India.

India needs people who are prepared to shoulder responsibility and are trained for some job. I denounce the behaviour of students of Lucknow and Allahabad.⁵ It looks as though our youth have taken leave of their senses. I for one am not prepared to tolerate indiscipline and would rather close down our universities than let the students make a spectacle of themselves. How can any country work like this? I am not talking in anger when I say that we will close down the existing universities and open completely different kind of educational institutions. I do not want a university, whether it is in Calcutta or Lucknow or anywhere else, where such behaviour is seen. Universities are meant to train people to shoulder the burdens of India in the future.

I am around for a short while and I shall certainly work as long as my strength holds out. But it can only be for a few years. Ultimately it will be our youth who are pursuing their studies in universities today who will be the leaders of the country and shoulder its responsibilities. Can they fulfil their duties or solve difficult problems by going on hunger-strikes? I have always thought that universities are places where students grow in body and mind so that they can understand the problems of the world. Instead of that I see that a handful of indisciplined students prevent ninety per cent of the good students who wish to work hard and learn something. It is really strange. Any sensible person who sees the situation in our colleges feels disturbed about where modern education is taking our girls and boys. The answer to that is that there are many who turn out well and many who do not. But we want that all of them should turn out well. So the system of education will have to be changed. It is my firm conviction that we must follow the system of basic education which Mahatma Gandhi had favoured. It is because there has been delay in implementing that scheme that we are in a mess.

5. In some of the universities in UP there had been trouble over the issue of membership of students' unions being made compulsory for all students and the union fee being realized on behalf of the unions by the university authorities. Lucknow was for a number of days in October 1953 the centre of students agitation.

I said at the beginning that we must look at the past and future of India. What is India's future? The boys and girls who are reading in schools and colleges are going to be the future of the nation. I belong to the past and perhaps to some extent the present but the future belongs to the generation which is in schools and colleges and universities today. When I go anywhere, I look into the faces and eyes of students to see what the future of India looks like, because they would have to guide the destiny of the nation one day. If they are not strong in mind and body and lack courage and character, how can they handle the reins of government? This is something that we must think about.

The problems that confront India today are greater in magnitude than those of any other country. The population of India is one-fifth of the world's population⁶ and raising thirty-six crores of people is not an easy task. Every fifth man in the world is an Indian. What can be more difficult than raising one-fifth of the world?

In the last six years during which we faced tremendous problems and disasters, our country's stature has gone up in the world. We have not tried to get entangled in world affairs, but an independent country has certain responsibilities. Our responsibilities have grown and in fact sometimes I feel a sense of alarm whether we shall be able to discharge them properly. But we cannot run away from our responsibilities either....

Let everyone understand this simple matter. India is a great country and is held in respect in the world today. Our greatness does not lie in our military strength, for we do not have atom bombs like some other countries. We do not have wealth, for ours is a poor country. Our strength lies in our courage and our ability to walk fearlessly along our chosen path. We shall fulfil our responsibilities in Korea to the best of our ability.⁷ The manner in which our forces have conducted themselves and discharged their responsibilities so far has earned the respect of the world... It is obvious that they could not predict everything that was likely to happen. But we did know that the prisoners had become uncontrollable due to various reasons. We knew this but it was impossible to draw back out of fear. Well, we weighed everything in the balance and took this step. We shall continue to do so peacefully.

6. The 1951 census of India registered a population of 359,220,000 and the Planning Commission estimated the population growth during the period of the First Five Year Plan at an annual rate of 1.2 per cent, approximately 4.5 million persons.
7. Since June 1953, India had been striving to bring the war in Korea to an end. When the two sides agreed to a procedure for the repatriation of the prisoners of war India was invited by both the Commands to assume certain responsibilities under the Armistice Agreement. Accordingly the Chairman and the Executive Agent of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission were provided by India. She also sent a Custodian Force to guard the prisoners of war for the period specified in the Agreement.

We do not have the strength to bring about a complete change in the world. But we wish to try for a peaceful settlement with all our might and shall come back only when that task is over....

The situation in the world is very critical. I do not say that a war is imminent. But the atmosphere is bad and people's thinking leans more towards war. There is tremendous fear and it is difficult to know what to do. We have to do our duty. How can we take on the burdens of others? We must become stronger, for when the world is heading towards disaster, we should be able to defend ourselves, which we cannot do if we are weak. Therefore, we must become economically stronger, for undeveloped countries will always be weak. It is for this reason that we have taken up the Five Year Plan and Community Projects and National Extension Service. Everyone must help to make them a success so that we become more organized and stronger and are prepared to meet any danger that arises in the world. But behind all this is the basic need for unity.

We often shout *Jai Hind* and *Bharat Mata ki Jai*. Have you ever paused to think who or what *Bharat Mata* or India or Hindustan is? I wander all over the country from the Himalayas in the north to Kanyakumari in the south and from the Burma border in the east to the west, and in my wanderings, an ever-changing panorama of India unfolds before me. India has myriad forms, and wherever I go I see a different image. You must realize that India is not merely the city of Patna or Darbhanga or Bhagalpur or even the whole of Bihar. India is larger than all these. Bihar is a large province but even bigger than Bihar is Uttar Pradesh. Then there are Bengal, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat, Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad, Travancore and many more. Each State of ours is equal to a small country and all of them together constitute India. Freedom has come not to one province but the whole country, through the efforts of the entire country. A country is free or in bondage as a whole. But people often forget the underlying unity of India among her diversities. Though our people may speak in different tongues, there is an invisible bond among all of them and if one section falls, others fall too. So you must try to understand what India is all about... India is not the personal property of anyone. She belongs to the thirty-six crores of people who inhabit the country. The heritage that has come down over thousands of years belongs to all of us. Those who think that only the corner in which they live is India are mistaken.

Apart from the various provinces there are different languages and religions in India. There are Hindus who are in a majority. Then there are millions of Muslims and Christians. Christianity came to India even before it reached the shores of Europe and Christians have lived in India for the last 1900 years. There are Christians, Buddhists, Jains, Parsees and Sikhs. All these religions are indigenous to India and are not alien faiths. Whether they came 1500 years

or 500 years ago, they have become part of India. There are thousands of castes and tribes, some extremely advanced and some backward, some brilliant and others not so intelligent and all of them, together make India. Whatever separates us is bad and whatever unites us is good.

Communalism is extremely dangerous. Bringing religion into politics and promoting communalism have led to the downfall of India again and again in the past. Religious feuds, casteism, etc., are dangerous things which had weakened India in the past as there was no harmony among the various groups. People live in various compartments and forget their country. We must remember that there is only one caste and that is of Indians. All of us belong to it and form one large family, to whichever religion, province or village, we may belong. This is the most important thing. So the rest is secondary. If you remember this, the country will become strong and strength brings unity. This was the lesson which Mahatma Gandhi taught us and by which the Congress became a great organization. People of all religions and castes were in the Congress.

Among our greatest leaders was the great Pathan, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan who is now languishing in prison in Pakistan.⁸ It is our misfortune that a great leader who played an important role in the freedom struggle has been in jail for the last five years. Among the Congress leaders were not only Hindus but Muslims, Sikhs, etc. The first great leader, Dadabhai Naoroji, was a Parsee. The Congress was instrumental in welding the country with its different provinces and religions and castes into one. Ultimately Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest leader of all, came on the scene and united the country into one. If we forget this and start pulling in different directions, it will be unfortunate. We had made the country strong with a great deal of effort and if we fall once again into the same trap, it will weaken the country. We must promote unity among us and keep communalism at bay. You must remember that if any part of India is weakened, it will bring down the rest of the country too. If any caste or province or religion falls, it pulls the others also down. No one can exist in isolation. We are in the same boat and can only swim or sink together. I want you to think about these problems in this way.

Congress is a great political organization, and I am extremely proud of its work. I want to remove the weaknesses which have crept into it. Bihar is a good State and we have always had excellent Congress workers here. I feel that once the air is cleared, the work will improve. But we want to bring into the Congress people of all religions who are willing to do some active work

8. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, along with nearly 1,000 of his followers, was under detention since June 1948 in the Frontier Province under one Act or other. The entire property of some of the detenus had been confiscated without making any allowance for their families. He was finally released on 5 January 1954.

in their villages and cities. It is a strange attitude which has developed among us which makes us feel that manual labour is beneath one's dignity. Those who work at desk jobs are considered big and those who do nothing but sit idle are the greatest. Perhaps even greater are those who keep lying down. This is absurd and we do not need such people in our country. We do not need people who keep lying down or sit idle. We need people who can work hard and run, if necessary. Those who feel manual labour is beneath their dignity do not have a place in the world of today. They belong in the past. We must eradicate this thinking. There is nothing more satisfying than manual work; as a matter of fact, it benefits one physically and also stimulates the mind. Half your maladies will disappear if you do manual work.

I would remind you that a new organization called the Bharat Sevak Samaj⁹ has been founded. The Samaj will not interfere in political matters. It does not even have much to do with the Congress. People belonging to any party can join it. There will be no elections, no pay and no kudos. The Bharat Sevak Samaj promotes the dignity of labour. There can be no argument about that. There can be debates and arguments in politics but there can be none about hard manual labour. If you need roads, or a canal has to be built or wells dug or houses constructed and schools made, build them. They will have to be done by mutual cooperation and hard work. I hope that they will be done in Bihar and Patna and a new atmosphere will be created.

I see that there is a new wave in the country. Vinobaji has done a great deal of good work in Bihar in connection with Bhoodan and Bihar has responded very well to his call.¹⁰ He has also given the call for *shramdan* which is spreading throughout the country. I am happily surprised to learn that thousands of miles of roads have been constructed in the last one year in various provinces by voluntary labour. Well, these are very good things. It will be wrong to say that I never feel disheartened. But in spite of the thousands of responsibilities and harassments, when I see the new India that is being built gradually, there is fresh hope and enthusiasm in me and I feel that we are indeed lucky to be alive at a time like this when a fresh chapter has opened in the history of India and to have been given the opportunity of building the edifice of new India.

There are no regrets in my life but sometimes I wish I was younger at a time like this when the task of building India anew lies before us. There can

9. The Bharat Sevak Samaj was constituted in August 1952 with the object of enlisting public cooperation in constructive activities, especially those relating to the Five Year Plan.
10. During the Bhoodan movement of Vinoba Bhave, about 21 lakh acres of land had been collected so far through voluntary donations for redistribution.

be no greater good fortune than to be young in the India of today. The whole country spreads before them and what greater task can there be than to work for her progress and development and to watch the country grow? Sometimes I am amazed that when there are such urgent challenges before us and when India's voice is ringing in our ears, people turn a deaf ear and indulge in gross acts of indiscipline.

I am here because of an old promise of mine. But I have come specially because the recent floods in the Kosi have caused great damage to Bihar. Today, I had gone to see the area by plane and I do not know what can be done to bring under control the Kosi, which is like an extremely spoilt child. As you may know, sometimes even the Himalayas play childish tricks and there are earthquakes and things which have far-reaching effects. But we have to tackle all these somehow. The most important thing is to take up this entire question of the rivers which flow just below the Himalayas, the Kosi and the Gandak, etc., and pool all the available data with the help of engineers and draw up some plans. We shall have to take into account the data of the last fifty or sixty years, about rainfall, the cycle of monsoons, etc., and then draw up a list of the fifteen or twenty remedies which have to be carried out. The small things can be done immediately and the bigger ones will gradually follow with your help and cooperation.

Disasters and natural calamities cause great havoc and unhappiness. But a nation is strengthened by facing problems and difficulties and not by having a soft life. In fact softness and luxurious living ruin a nation. I went to Monghyr yesterday after twenty years.¹¹ On the last occasion when I went there, a great earthquake had hit the town and the picture of Monghyr that I saw in my mind's eye was of a great debris. Yesterday I saw an entirely new city of houses and buildings and was happy. I am always happy when a problem is faced squarely. Only those who are willing to face adversity become strong. Those who merely wail and bemoan their fate are useless. Bihar faced that earthquake with courage and gained in strength. We faced the might of British imperialism and emerged stronger. Now we have to face the problems of poverty in the country. We must not give in to despair. The stronger we grow, the better equipped we will be to conquer these problems. I do not make empty promises about what we will do in next five or ten years. I can promise, however, that I shall pit my entire strength and energy into this task as long as I am able to and hope that you will cooperate. If all of us work together, we can make rapid progress.

11. Nehru visited Monghyr on 10 February 1934. See *Selected Works* (First Series), Vol. 6, pp. 195-196.

There are great problems before us. But there is no cause for losing heart, either in the face of natural calamities or other disasters, and we must all help the afflicted people. I have heard that the Bihar Government and its officers have done excellent work during the floods. Wherever I have gone I have heard them praised. They worked with devotion and I am very happy about it. I wish to congratulate the Bihar Government and its officers on this. But this is just the beginning and we must keep up the good work. The Central Government will give all possible help for it is its duty to do so. After all, Bihar is not separate from the Centre.

I want you to think about all these things and understand them. I want you to understand the problems of the country and of Bihar. I like to share my thoughts with you, but the trouble is that so many of them crowd into my head that I cannot express them all at once. I take up a lot of your time in talking to you about them in order to make you think. You have already given me a place in your hearts. How I wish to capture your minds as well, because we can go ahead only by understanding each other and working together. There is no question of one or two individuals going ahead. Millions of people have to march together and that is possible only when there is unity, cooperation and the ability to work together. Please pay attention to this, and when you go back to your villages, tell the others as much as you can remember. Talk to them, for that is the only way to spread ideas among the people and make them work. Remember that it was the fundamental principles taught by Mahatma Gandhi which got us our freedom and the respect that our country enjoys in the world today. If there is respect for India in the world, we owe it to a large extent to the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. We must bear them in mind constantly. We must never deviate from that path. It does not matter if we make a mistake occasionally as long as we come back to the right path. If we stumble and fall, we can get up and go ahead.

7. Work Hard and Stand United¹

I came to Chandigarh two years ago and saw the work just being started.

1. Speech at a public meeting on the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of the new Secretariat building in Chandigarh, 7 November 1953. From AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi. Extracts.

Now I see a great deal of progress. I shall undoubtedly come again to see how you are going on because I wander all over India constantly searching for signs of progress in the country and the work that is going on, especially the tasks of development. I am impatient to see that the work gets done fast. Most of you are young and have all your life before you to see this nation grow and develop. I have very little time left to me and even in this short while I want to see the country rapidly changing and growing. That is why I am impatient and I often become irritable. At the same time I realize that the great task of nation-building cannot be done by making a noise. It is done by the people working hard.

What can be a bigger task for us than to rebuild our country once again? We were in bondage for centuries. There was disunity among us and we fell by our own foolishness and mistakes and weaknesses. Why should we blame others? The British conquered us. It is the conquered and the fallen who get a bad reputation, not the conqueror or those who cause the downfall of others...

The story of India has much to teach us, good principles which we should follow, and things which we should avoid. We should know what constitutes our strength and our weaknesses. All this is clearly engraved in thousands of years of our history, if we would only keep our eyes and ears open...

The work that we had done so far was merely in the nature of clearing the ground. The task of building confronted us, starting with the laying of the foundations of a new India, in order to make the millions in the country better off and to provide opportunity for their progress. We want this for all the thirty-six crores of Indians, and not merely a handful of them. The time has gone when a handful of people had to be catered to. How are we to provide employment for thirty-six crores of people? The Government may be able to give employment to a few but what about the millions of jobless people? We need people in government but ultimately the nation does not need bureaucrats alone. When it is a question of uplifting millions of people, new ways of development have to be found. In fact, they will have to be found by the people themselves, by their hard work. A nation which has hard-working people will go far. It is the duty of the government to help in this task by making good laws and abolishing laws which are an obstacle in the path of progress. But ultimately a nation grows not by official orders but by its labour and strength.

As you know, India's population is one-fifth of the entire population of the world. It is a tremendous task, a task requiring great daring, to lift up one-fifth of the world after centuries of suppression, and to remove the poverty of the people. It is a grand task. We must always bear in mind the magnitude of the task before us: we are building a new India, though that does not mean that the old one will disappear. We must preserve and use our ancient traditions and culture. At the same time, we have to clothe the nation in a new garb and

strengthen it by making it more prosperous. I do not say that it can be done in a hurry or by some magic. It cannot certainly be done by chanting a *mantra*. There is ultimately only one *mantra* which works in this world and that is hard work and cooperation. Nothing else can take us very far. So the task of nation-building is not a short-term one. In a sense, for a growing nation there is no final destination. It goes on from one generation to another. But we want that there should be rapid progress in our own life time so that we can see our efforts bearing fruit. We want to alleviate the sufferings of the masses.

Yet what worries me is not so much the present as the future of India. What will the India of the future be like? Some people go to astrologers to find out about their future. They waste a lot of money. No sensible person should stoop to such levels. But people are welcome to do what they like, for there is no law against fortune-tellers though personally I would be happy if there would be a law, which could ban fortune-tellers.

However, I am myself an astrologer in my own way. I can predict the future of the country not by gazing at the stars but, by looking into the eyes of the people of India. My stars are the eyes of our people. I try to reach into their minds and hearts by peeping deep into their eyes, and learn what our future is likely to be. I look at our younger people especially, because the future of the country lies not in the stars but in the youth of today, the little children who will grow up to be the future citizens of India...

This is the way I look at these problems and I want you to do the same. I am prepared to accept, and I want you also to accept some discomfort and suffering just now for the sake of a more prosperous future for our children. They should reap the full benefit of freedom.

We are trying to plan for India's future progress. You have heard about the Five Year Plan by which we are trying to set targets of achievement in five years. I am talking about big projects and schemes which will increase production in the country and make her strong.² Bhakra-Nangal is one such huge scheme, which has been in the process of being built and is almost complete now. It will be complete within the next three or four years. It is something which will benefit not only the present but the generations to come. This is the sort of work that I think is important. The Nangal project will enable the farmers of the Punjab to grow more from their land and free them from their dependence on the monsoons. Rains are necessary but we should not have to be totally dependent on them. Canals will supply water for

2. Agricultural production recorded an annual average increase of 6 per cent and industrial production, 8 per cent during the Five Year Plan period.

irrigation. We shall also be producing hydro-electric power, which can be used not only for lighting but for industries and other purposes. It will be a tremendous source of energy in our hands and will provide greater opportunities for progress. We are trying to build dams and canals on our big rivers for harnessing their resources.

We are putting up various big industries. There is a huge fertilizer factory at Sindri. We have to import some machinery from England and Germany and Japan even now, but we are beginning to produce some ourselves. We have started making aeroplanes in Bangalore, railway engines and goods trains elsewhere, and ships in Vishakhapatnam in Andhra. You will find that people are being trained in science in our national laboratories.

Have you ever tried to think what all these changes mean? What is this tremendous thing which has transformed the face of the world in the last hundred to hundred and fifty years and made Europe and the United States so powerful and wealthy? It is science that has enabled them to advance so far in the last two hundred years. Scientific techniques have enabled them to increase production from land and set up industries. Ultimately wealth is what the people produce. Wealth is not gold or silver. These are merely tools of trade. Nothing new is produced with gold or silver. What is essential is to increase the production of consumer goods. The more we can produce from land the more our wealth will grow. Similarly, what we produce from our industries, or what a carpenter or an ironsmith produces in his workshop, constitutes wealth, however small it is. There are thousands of ways of producing wealth from small industries, from land and big industries. The more a country produces, the wealthier it becomes...

Therefore, we must try to understand science, worship it, for it leads to prosperity and power. We cannot go very far by copying others, or by the boys in colleges and universities playing around with test tubes, etc. We have to lay stress on learning the highest scientific developments and techniques and doing original research in our own country. The huge machines that are being used today in Bhakra-Nangal and elsewhere have had to be imported from the United States and England and other countries. Until we start producing them, we shall remain backward. If the machinery cannot be imported for some reason, our work will come to a standstill or at least slow down, which is not right. Therefore, we have to pay special attention to two aspects all over the country. One is scientific advance for which we have opened big science laboratories all over India where our eminent science professors and scientists will train our boys and girls. I have great faith in these thousands of boys and girls for it is by their work that India will make real progress. We need original scientific discoveries. Secondly, as I told you, it is not enough to import some machinery and set up an industry in Jalandhar or Amritsar. You may be able to earn some money. But we need to produce

the machinery ourselves if we wish to progress in a fundamental way. So long as we are dependent on others for our basic requirements, we will be helpless.

So we must pay attention to basic advancement instead of superficial progress here and there, which may yield some immediate benefit. We must build our nation in such a way that we become self-reliant, increase production and acquire the ability to earn wealth for the country. We must increase production from our land. Your Punjab is very rich compared to the other states, but there is plenty of room for further development. The people here are hard-working and strong. There is no reason for them not to double or treble production. Why is it that the average yield per acre of wheat in India is ten or twelve maunds, whereas in other countries it is between twenty to forty maunds? We can also produce that much if we select good seeds and fertilizers and look after our crops. Even if we produce fifteen maunds, immediately the production goes up by one and a half times. It will not only benefit the farmers but the national wealth will also increase and immediately the door opens to further progress. Progress depends on the wealth of a nation. It cannot be taken out of anyone's pocket. Wealth can be produced only by increasing production from land and industries...

You must have heard of the community projects which we have started all over India to ensure better methods of agriculture, health care, education, better roads, etc. The aim of this scheme is to educate the village people in modern methods of production so that they get better yield from land and improve their standard of living. Ultimately you must remember that it is the men and women of the country who have to progress. Our industries and river valley schemes and science laboratories are all very well. But the ultimate test is that our men, women and children should become better off, grow in stature, enlarge their minds, hold their heads high and serve the country well....

There is constant tension and uproar in Pakistan, our neighbouring country. There is a great deal of bitterness and fear. What has happened is a matter of regret.³ But wisdom lies in our being friendly with Pakistan. We are free to

3. The place of Islam in the Constitution of Pakistan which was being discussed in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, was a major issue causing concern in India. Only a Muslim could be the head of the State and the State itself was to be known as the "Islamic Republic of Pakistan." The overall impact of political debates, formal policy statements, parliamentary discussions and organized public outbursts had been one of deepening the consciousness in Pakistan that India was her only enemy. This created tension and reciprocal reactions in India.

do what we like in our respective countries but we must establish trade relations and friendship with Pakistan and other countries. That is the only way and that is where our inclination lies. Very often Pakistan takes steps which we do not like, and wrong decisions are taken by them. However, if they follow the wrong path, it is they who will come to grief. Why should we interfere? There are some people in our country who raise their voice against Pakistan and abuse them. I do not know about you but this is not a sign of civilized behaviour or of a great nation...

Some people have always talked of war between India and Pakistan. Apart from the harm this kind of irresponsible talk causes, it lowers people's opinion about us. Have you ever considered why our status in the world is so high today? There are many reasons but the most important is that a great leader like Mahatma Gandhi was born on this soil. A frail little man, he succeeded in lifting weaklings like us to great heights and infused bravery and self-respect into us. So the world sat up and took notice of us. We must bear all this in mind constantly....

The diversity of languages and habits and customs in the various States of India ought to be preserved and nurtured. There are various languages in India and a quarrel between them is futile. There is often a meaningless debate on Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi. The strange thing is that the debate is very often in Urdu. We must have Punjabi, Hindi and Urdu. Why should we have to give up one in order to adopt the other? Each language must strengthen the other. The more languages we can learn the greater will be our capacity to work.

Everyone must be free to follow his own religion but they must not interfere with the others. Moreover, religion must not be dragged into politics for there is no connection between the two... As far as India or her politics is concerned, there is no Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or anything else. Everyone is equal.

We have to progress as one nation and for that we need unity. Unity does not mean that we have to become a flock of sheep. You must think for yourselves, express your views, join any party you like but there are certain basic facts which you must never forget. One of them is the unity of India. You must not let provincialism and communalism flourish....

We are embarked upon a great task, the uplift of India's millions. It is a big thing and there are bound to be difficulties. But we can do it by working hard and by unity and cooperation. Our battle is not against any outside country, but against the poverty and unemployment within our own country. We shall wage a war against them and ultimately overcome them. I feel happy when I see a new India emerging....

8. Goals and Challenges¹

.... In spite of the terrible wound that had been inflicted on the Punjab, it is amazing how quickly the people of the Punjab have recovered from that traumatic experience. They were given some help, it is true, but ultimately the entire burden fell on them. They not only managed to stabilize themselves but have made tremendous progress. This is the sign of a bold and daring nation which looks forward instead of wallowing in self-pity. The impression that I gathered in these three days is that the factory of the Punjab, if I may use that word, of the millions of its people, is running smoothly. It is obvious that there are faults, and I do not say that everything they have done is right. Mistakes have been made. But the general picture is of a smooth-running machine which will achieve its targets. So I was reassured.

I went to Chandigarh for a day after an interval of two years. New houses have come up. The city is not fully ready yet it is coming up rapidly. I think within six months you will see it taking some shape. I liked many things about Chandigarh. For one thing, there is no special effort to build palaces on one side when the common people are living in hovels. The ancient tradition of our country was that huge palaces were built for the rich, while the poor lived in small, dark hovels with no water or light. This cannot be tolerated in today's world. I saw that even the large houses in Chandigarh are small in comparison to other places and the houses which have been put up for the masses are much bigger than elsewhere. The disparity between the two classes has been reduced, though it still exists.

Our entire effort should be to reduce this disparity among human beings as far as possible. There are bound to be some disparities but they should be because of merit, ability, strength, etc. If a man is more hard-working than the rest, it is obvious that he will go far. Similarly, the abler people will be given more responsibility. That is a different matter. But everyone should get equal opportunity. How can you judge a man unless he has had the opportunity to go ahead? It is only when human beings are given equal opportunities that you can judge the progress each individual is capable of. People do not get equal opportunities today. Millions of people do not get enough by way of food, clothing and education. Once everyone gets equal opportunities, then it

1. Speech at a public meeting in Jalandhar, 9 November 1953. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi. Extracts.

is obvious that those who are more intelligent or experienced would get the more responsible jobs.

Bhakra-Nangal is a huge project. It adds to one's morale on the one hand and also creates a sense of awe on the other. Sometimes it makes one feel happy and proud that we have had the daring to take up such great tasks of building dams, shifting mountains and changing the entire map of the country. We are doing all this in order to benefit the farmer as well as the city people. These waters will reach not only the Punjab and the Pepsu but go far into the deserts of Rajasthan. The moment this happens the deserts will begin to bloom as if by magic. These are going to be the long-term benefits. We are going to generate electricity from Bhakra-Nangal which will be a great source of power. You must go there and see the marvellous things that are happening and the huge machines which are in operation. Hundreds of engineers are working there, the more experienced and skilled getting the more responsible and higher positions. That is how it should be. It is absurd to say that all the engineers should have complete equality. If we do not get experienced engineers here, we shall get them from the United States or Germany or other countries, because we want our work to be first-rate. We cannot afford to have such a big project ruined by inexperienced people. We must train our people and hundreds and thousands of engineers are learning at the site of the Bhakra. We have to shoulder greater responsibilities in the future and must be prepared for them....

One of the many things I saw in Chandigarh was that the houses being built there are not replicas of the ugly architecture which unfortunately became prevalent in India during the days of the British, which neither has architectural beauty nor takes into consideration our climatic requirements. I want that whatever we build in this country, even if it is a mud-hut, should be beautiful. A new experiment in architectural design is being tried in Chandigarh and some engineers have been called in from abroad to help. I think soon these designs will be tried out all over the country. It is possible that we may improve upon them. What matters is the new idea behind all this. Even before this new capital of the Punjab has been built fully, it has become famous. Normally it takes hundreds of years for cities to gain fame. They become historic with time and legends grow around them. You are to be congratulated on having a new city which is becoming historically important even before it is fully built. It makes up for your having lost another historic city—Lahore. Strangely enough, Chandigarh's fame has spread more in Europe and the United States than in India as a beautiful new city which is going to be the capital of the Punjab. Chandigarh reveals a progressive outlook which is necessary for a state or a nation to grow. Such an outlook cannot come about by a government fiat or by laws. It has to come about through the effort of the people and their forward thinking....

Long ago, we used to dream of India's freedom, of putting an end to her bondage and to the might of imperialism. We were groping in the dark then. It took years to achieve our aim. There were ups and downs and a great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, came on the scene. We followed him as best as we could, though we were nothing compared to him. Yet we learnt something from him and that is how we could give reality to our dreams. India became free and in a unique way, not by violence and bloodshed, but peacefully. We set an example to the world. An old, old dream came true.

But that was only one of the dreams that we had dreamt. Our other dreams are to remove poverty from India, make the people better off and to ensure that every man, woman and child in India should have the opportunity to progress and serve the cause of world peace. Having won our freedom, we must help other countries to win their freedom. We have never had any intention of committing aggression against other countries. Our desire for freedom was always linked with that of others.

We have to work hard to fulfil our dream of removing poverty from India. I shall not extol the virtues of poverty though I have full sympathy with the poor. We must fight against poverty and regard it as an enemy. Let no one think that to be poor is something great, for poverty diminishes an individual. A nation cannot advance if its people are poor. We must help the poor and lift them and make them better off. This is the battle that we have to wage. When I see Bhakra-Nangal or Chandigarh or our community projects, which are spreading all over the country and helping farmers and others in the rural areas, I feel that another dream is gradually coming true. I see a new India taking shape. I know that we have to go far and will have to work very hard, for nothing can be achieved by magic. It will take time and perhaps I shall not be there to see that dream come true fully, because it has no final ending. There is no final destination for a nation on the march. It just goes on. But every little step that we take towards building a new India makes me feel happy...

Now what is the first step before us? We need proper planning. There is no finality to our plans by any means, because we cannot see what the country's requirements would be ten or twenty years hence. It will be up to the people who come later to make whatever alterations and changes that are necessary. But we must have a sense of direction and plan accordingly. We must be aware of the broad lines along which we wish to progress. We have the right to make any changes that are necessary. It is not enough to say that the nation should progress. There must be proper planning. The time is past when an individual could go his own way without bothering about his neighbours. Today we need cooperation among all the people. It is for this reason that we drew up the Five Year Plan.

What is the Five Year Plan? I should like you to understand the principle

of planning, for it gives us a broad picture of the tasks before us. We shall not go very far in five years but at least we shall travel in the right direction. We cannot afford to have everyone pulling in different directions. We won freedom under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi by following a particular path in an organized way. Likewise we have to have a plan and then try to work according to it. Changes can always be made, for that is well within our discretion.

How is planning to be done? We cannot build castles in the air. You and I may have a hundred different dreams and desires. But merely dreaming about things cannot take us very far. We have to base our plans on reality. We can go only so far as our resources will permit. We shall not become strong by making a noise. What is the yardstick with which to measure the strength of a nation? It is ultimately the people who count, their training, and their physical and intellectual strength. Money is also important but the first thing is the people. You can get money somehow but it will be of no avail if you do not have trained people. It is man who makes wealth, not the other way round. So we must have an idea of our people's capacity. Then comes the question of resources. Ours is a poor country with limited resources. We have to spend them usefully and not waste on useless expenditure. Even among the necessary tasks, we have to have a list of priorities for we cannot undertake everything at once.

So planning means taking into account all these factors and then deciding upon a course of action for the entire society and the nation. We have to decide what kind of social structure we want to build, economically and in other ways. Then we have to take into account the resources and manpower at our disposal and the number of trained people we have in the country. Suppose we decide that education should spread to the whole country and want to open ten lakh schools. The question that arises is whether we have ten lakh trained teachers or not. A school is not built merely with brick and mortar. It needs good teachers. The same thing applies to other things as well, like hospitals, for which we need trained doctors. For factories we need engineers.

This is what planning means. Our First Five Year Plan is not a rigid or final document. We made some changes last year and there will be more in the future. But at least we are trying to put together scattered thoughts and give them a proper shape. That will help us to plan a course of action. In the last few decades we were busy fighting against British rule. At the same time we were engaged in a different kind of occupation. Communalism and tensions among the Hindus and Muslims and Sikhs built up. Even now, when we no longer face an opponent in the form of the British Government, we spend our energy in fighting one another because it has become a habit. We should harness this energy for fighting against poverty and building a new India. It

is not a question of any great sacrifice on your part, because in the process you will benefit. People with narrow minds can think only petty thoughts. Immersed in their petty problems, they forget the larger tasks. Where is the comparison between these gigantic projects like the Bhakra-Nangal or Damodar Valley or Tungabhadra, which are attracting the attention of the whole world, and the petty arguments and quarrels, threats and agitations, which the newspapers are filled with? Just compare the two: on the one hand a grand thing by which the nation will advance and grow in stature, on the other, petty matters thought up by petty people. I do not say that we should always have our heads in the clouds. We have to come down to earth, for we are after all human beings and have to be practical. But we must always remember the existence of the sky, remember the goals before the country, and also that we are citizens of a great nation. Do not forget that though we have got freedom, the world is a dangerous place today in which even if we stray a little, that freedom could easily slip away from our hands. Therefore, we must make ourselves strong and united. However clever and well-trained we may be, our energy will be wasted if there is no unity among us or we indulge in petty feuds, as has happened again and again in the past in India. I want all of you to think about these problems....

Our army, though very good, is not large compared to the armies of other countries. We have no atom bomb or other such deadly weapons and no wealth. But our great asset is that we have no fear of anyone. I am amazed to see that even the big powers are living in constant fear of war and accumulating more and more deadly weapons. The nations of the world are engaged in a terrible arms race.

We are not afraid of anyone attacking us. But if there is a war in the world, it is bound to affect us in some way or the other. We must therefore make ourselves stronger so that we can use our strength in the cause of peace and if unfortunately there is war, we can protect ourselves from its consequences.

I should like to say one thing in this connection. Some irresponsible people in the country often talk about going to war with Pakistan. Some people demand that there should be an undivided India once again and Pakistan should be merged into India by force.² I do not know if people say these

2. At least five Indian dailies in August 1953 reported about meetings held on Akhand Bharat Day (United India Day) at which the reunification of the subcontinent was presented as the goal of the patriots. An editorial in one of the papers, *Prabhat*, stated that, "Pakistani leaders are well aware of the fact that the majority of the Indian people does not accept the Partition of 1947 and will come out in the open to do away with it at the first opportunity."

things in good faith or merely to deceive themselves and others. I think that it is basically and fundamentally wrong and deceitful. Partition came about due to various reasons and it certainly did not make any of us happy. It happened because of the force of circumstances and it is now a geographical fact. When hearts have been sundered, how can we hope to bring them together at the point of a gun or a sword? India had been partitioned emotionally from within long before the actual physical division took place. I shall not go into that old story. It was our misfortune that these events happened and all of us were its victims....

I feel perturbed to see the activities of the communalistic parties, whether they belong to Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs. The Muslim League has no influence in India any more, except in a few pockets. It went to Pakistan at the time of partition. But it is strange that the Hindus and Sikhs should want to follow in the League's footsteps. They are adopting the principles of an organization which they had opposed with all their might earlier. This is absolutely wrong. It will ruin the country. That is why I am stressing this point, and not because I am afraid of communal activities. I do not think they are powerful enough to have much of an impact on India. But I want the people to understand the problem quite clearly because it comes up in different disguise, in the name of religion or nationalism and *Hindu rashtra* and what not. People may be misled into approving of this without pausing to understand what a *Hindu rashtra* means. It means having a country based on one religion as it is happening in Pakistan where the non-Muslims are regarded as second or third-class citizens.

Why should any community tolerate it? How can you have democracy in India if you permit such discrimination to exist? One does not have to give assurances about protecting the minority community. I want everyone to have equal rights in India irrespective of his caste and religion. There should be no law or custom or tradition which creates inequalities. As I said, laws cannot make everyone equal physically and mentally. The doors of opportunity should be open to anyone, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or Christian, who has the ability to progress. You cannot force anyone to progress. However, the Hindus have been guilty of doing a grave injustice for hundreds of years to their own brethren. They suppressed some sections of society by calling them untouchables. They perpetrated a grave injustice against them. Right or wrong it is bound to be repaid in kind. There is no doubt about it that the suppression of the Harijans was an act of inhumanity and we have been punished for it.

It was to atone for our sins that we had given everyone equal rights under the Constitution. We have also removed the bane of separate electorates.

We have done other things also to ensure equality. The biggest problem

before us has been the uplift of the downtrodden sections of the community. We have to pay special attention towards giving them an opportunity to progress economically and socially, of educating them and providing jobs for them.

Mahatma Gandhi named them as Harijans. He laid great stress on the removal of untouchability and now it is banned under the Indian Constitution.³ Then we felt that in their condition it may not be possible for their candidates to succeed in the elections. So we have incorporated a clause of reservation of seats for ten years for purposes of elections and education. We have to help them in every way to come up. This will have to go on until they achieve a position of equality. But as far as elections are concerned we have reserved seats for them for a period of ten years so that they may not get left out. We have given them a sort of handicap in the race of life or politics for ten years, out of which two and a half are over. In the ordinary course of things, there can be only two or three elections during the next ten years if you do not count the first which is over. After that the reservation will stop. Please remember that voting will be common and seats are reserved only for the scheduled caste candidates. We owe it to them for having put a black mark on them and kept them in a state of suppression for centuries.

There are other economically backward communities among the Sikhs, Muslims and Christians but at least they can proudly boast of being equal within their religious fold. There is no caste system among any of them except the Hindus, which is what ruined them in the past.

This problem concerns the Hindus in particular. The other economically backward communities must also be given help for education, training and so on. We have to uplift anyone who is not well off, irrespective of his religion. But as far as elections were concerned, we made special reservation so that the scheduled caste candidates may not be elbowed out. When this question came up, some people had drawn our attention, or rather Sardar Patel's attention, to the fact that there are some sections among the Sikhs also who can be classified as Harijans. Sardar Patel replied that he had always understood that it was a proud boast of the Sikhs that there was complete equality among them. Anyhow, after some debate, it was decided to include four groups from among the Sikhs under the heading of Harijans and some were given a few seats. Only a few of them were left out. This had been agreed upon by the leaders of all the parties.

Now for the last year or two, there is a demand that those Harijan Sikhs who had been left out earlier should also be included in the scheduled caste

3. By Article 17, the Constitution of India abolished untouchability and forbade its practice in any form and declared it punishable under the law.

list.⁴ It was not a question of principles. After some deliberation, the Punjab Government has taken a decision to give the same benefits of scholarship, etc., to all Harijans, so that the ground for complaint has also been removed. One very small question that remains is whether they can stand from the reserved constituencies or not. This is a very petty matter because all the other benefits will apply to all of them equally. The reservation of seats for elections is after all for a very limited period. Everybody has been given the right to vote and though some seats have been reserved, voting is common. The question of who can contest these reserved seats is a very small matter which does not concern more than a handful of people in the whole of the Punjab. Even if they are allowed to stand, whether they will be elected or not, depends on the voters. I do not think this is a very important or earth-shaking issue. Nor is there any question of injustice. I am amazed at the heat that it has generated and we have had letters from all over India asking that we should increase or decrease the number of reserved seats. If I had been in such a position, I doubt if I would fight to be included in the list even though it may be of some temporary benefit to me. It would be detrimental to me emotionally if I accepted the fact that I should be included in such a list.

India is an amazing country with its diversity. We have received applications from several groups of people in Rajasthan, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, and the hill areas asking to be included in the scheduled caste list. These are being looked into. There is no hurry about it for the question will not arise for the next three years unless there is some by-election. After all, it concerns only a handful of people. First of all, the question is extremely petty and concerns in all ten or fifteen people who may wish to contest the elections from the reserved constituencies. Secondly, the question may not arise for years. Neither does it involve any principle. Whatever decision is taken will be well considered. But to blow the whole thing out of proportion or to use threats and make a noise is absurd. It shows a tendency to attach undue importance to petty issues and failure to understand the bigger problems. On the one hand we see the changing face of India towards which we are striving with all our might and such meaningless, petty issues are raised on the other. On top of it, the whole thing is given a religious garb which is absurd. It is misleading. Any community which pays more attention to such things than the important problems of nation-building will obviously become backward in the rapidly changing India of today.

4. The Akalis demanded the inclusion of all Sikh Harijans in the Scheduled Caste list and launched an agitation to secure the demand. They withdraw the agitation following an assurance by K.N. Katju on 18 November 1953.

9. The Larger Scheme of Things¹

....Independent India has taken her place in the world as a nation. Since then many developments have taken place in the world and in India. There are great problems before us, as there are bound to be before any country in which thirty-six crores of men, women and children live. Please remember that the population of India is one-fifth of the world population, that is, every fifth individual in the world is an Indian.

The moment we became free, the entire burden of governing the country fell upon the people. If you think that the responsibility is of the Governments in Delhi or Bengal, it is not correct. You must understand that in a democracy, the entire burden falls on the shoulders of the people. An individual cannot govern according to his own whim, but follow the path of the people's choosing. At the same time, the people should also be trained to undertake the responsibilities.

If you look at the great international problems today, you will find that we are not concerned with most of them. However, in a sense, we are concerned with all of them because, were there to be a war in the world, it is bound to affect us as well. We have declared that we do not wish to get involved in any wars and we shall stand firmly by that. But if the whole world lies in ruins, it is bound to have an effect on us. Therefore, we have great interest in ensuring that there would be no war in the world.

What do we want at the moment? The one desire which is strong in our minds and hearts is to build a new India, to remove the poverty which stalks the land, and make the country powerful in every way, not in a military sense, but in all the fields which make a country great. We want to progress culturally and in the field of science as well. This is not something that can be tackled by a handful of people. The problems before us cannot be solved by providing employment to a few. The activity in the country has to be increased in all directions and new avenues of work must be opened.

Ultimately we have to produce wealth within the country, By our hard work we must increase production from land and from industries and crafts. America is a rich country because she has produced enormous wealth with the help of science and technology from her farms and factories....

1: Speech at a public meeting in Calcutta, 13 December 1953. From AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi. Extracts.

We can raise India by our own intelligence, hard work and unity, by recognising our mistakes and learning from them. There is no other way. One of the great problems before us is about the policy that we should follow. There are a number of alternatives and there is a great ideological debate going on in the world. We must think of that and choose what is proper for our own country. It is not right that we should copy any country blindly, whether it is the United States or the Soviet Union, both of which follow diametrically opposite ideologies. We can learn from both. But we shall follow a path of our own choice and not copy anyone else, although we would be ready to learn from others in a friendly spirit.

Our policy was not very well liked by many countries because the big powers in the world have got into the habit of ordering the smaller ones around and expecting them to toe the line. But we are not in the habit of bowing before anyone. When we challenged the might of British imperialism, we had no arms or wealth or power and the British were firmly entrenched here. Our great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, showed us a path of peace and non-violence and above all, taught us not to be afraid. The more fearless and unified we became, the stronger we grew. If we were not prepared to bow down before anyone when we were weak and unarmed, why should we do so now? It has always been our principle, even before independence, for in it lie the roots of all quarrels and instability in the world....

The fact is that, whether we like it or not, we have to play a rôle in the world theatre. We cannot evade our responsibilities. We have no choice. There are many countries in Asia and Africa who are still struggling for freedom and they look to India and try to learn from the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi. When India attained freedom, she demonstrated that freedom could be achieved peacefully. You must remember that countries of Africa who have been suppressed for centuries now look to India for guidance. We do not wish to take on other people's burdens when we have not been able to shoulder our own properly. But our sympathies have always lain with those countries and we have never tried to hide this fact or keep it a secret....

Now we are living in historic times and we can see the trend being reversed, slowly in some places and rapidly in others. But there is no doubt that the trend is being reversed. The greatest example of this is India and her neighbouring countries becoming free. Even in the countries of Asia which have not become free, this has become a burning issue....

This is the picture of the world today and nobody can say when peace may be shattered. I do not mean that there is going to be a world war immediately. But nothing is certain for when preparations are being made on a large scale, even a spark will be enough to light a mighty conflagration. When I talk about war, you must realize how lethal the new weapons that

have been invented are. There can be no comparison with the wars in the past. Any war in future will destroy the world.

We must look at our problems keeping in mind this picture of the world and try to find a solution for ultimately, our job is to solve our internal problems and not to interfere in the affairs of Asia or Europe. There are innumerable problems in the country... The rich countries do not owe their affluence to their stock of gold and silver, but to the goods that they produce from their soil and their factories. We too must increase production by putting up more industries and by scientific methods of farming. It cannot be done by passing a law, though it would be quite easy to sit down and pass a law that there should be no poverty hereafter in India. These things cannot be changed by laws. If we pass a law against unemployment, it does not mean that immediately everyone will get jobs. We have to look for new avenues of employment and it is essential to have the cooperation of the people.

You must try to understand the economic problems of the country. There are people belonging to various professions among you. Calcutta is a big city, with large industries, trade centres, shops and offices. All of you must have been facing problems and many of you may be in great difficulties. Your income may be low, many of you may be unemployed. How are all these problems to be solved? You may take out processions and shout slogans, but the problems are so complex that they cannot be solved by making a noise about them. Suppose you wish to put up a bridge on the Hooghly, you cannot do it by taking out a procession and shouting slogans on the river bank. The bridge can be built only by engineers and workers and after years of hard labour. If such hard work is essential to put up one bridge, you can imagine how much harder we would have to work to build a new India....

It is extremely important for us to learn the lesson of unity. The moment you forget it, you will be working against the interests of your country. What does unity mean? There are many religions in our country: The Hindus, of course, are in a majority. There are nearly four crore Muslims, one and a half crore Christians. Then there are Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists in different parts of the country. All of them are Indians. The Hindus are in a majority. But there are innumerable castes among them which keep them in separate compartments. If the people of any one religion feel that they are separate from the others or that they have a special place in the society, they break the unity of the country and weaken its nationalism. Nationalism does not permit this. All of you are entitled to follow any religion you like. You have full freedom of faith and can practise your own religion. But if you try to bring it into politics, then there will be problems.

Communalism is neither good religion nor good politics. Communalism

has caused damage to the country in the past. Therefore, we must understand that all those who live in this country, irrespective of their religion and the province to which they belong, have equal rights and that suppression of any one of them by the others, by law or by tradition, is wrong because it harms the nation and weakens it. So the basic requirement of whatever policies we may formulate, is the unity of the country, regional and religious unity.

There is yet another, equally important, issue. We are free to adopt any ideology we like, whether it is socialism or communism, capitalism or Gandhism. But we cannot bring about any ism through violence and chaos. I can confidently tell you that the moment we try to adopt such methods, we shall achieve nothing except weakening the unity of India. We shall only help our enemies outside who are waiting to do us harm and uproot the foundations of the new India that we are trying to build. Even otherwise, in the world of today, with its tremendous tensions and pressures, if we create chaos in the country, politically or otherwise, we shall be unable to face the external threat. All the urgent tasks like eradication of poverty and unemployment will be pushed to the background and our entire attention will be absorbed in our internal quarrels. Some people think that they can solve all problems by making a noise or fomenting trouble. It is possible that they may benefit to some degree personally by such methods. But later on, they will have to pay a terrible price for it. They will realize this only later. It is impossible for us, as a government and as a people, to take up the great tasks which are before us. Whatever ideology we may follow, and I include communism in it, if we foment quarrels, we are traitors to the country.

Let us look at the Communists. They believe in equality of all human beings in the world and the dignity of labour. I have no objection to that, and, I am sure, nor would you. I too want that disparity between the haves and have-nots must be reduced, that the downtrodden sections of society must be uplifted, and that every individual should get equal opportunities.

This is not so today. I feel very sad, especially when I see the beautiful little children of India not being properly looked after. They do not get enough food to eat, enough clothes to wear, or adequate housing, health care or education. I feel very sad because I think that our first duty is to look after India's little children, for they are her future. How can the future be bright if they are not well looked after?

We want, as a matter of principle, the disparities to be gradually reduced by law and in practice. I accept all this. But if the Communists or others feel that they can achieve this by fomenting trouble or inciting people to violence, I shall oppose them tooth and nail. We have already done so in many places. We shall not come in their way if they go about it peacefully. Some of their

policies may be very good in themselves, but the methods that are followed are destructive rather than constructive, and they cannot help you to build anything. I want you to understand this because I have no doubt that this is of fundamental importance. If we had learnt more fully the lesson of peace and non-violence taught by Mahatma Gandhi during the freedom struggle perhaps freedom may have come to us earlier than it had come. But we were weak and could not understand him properly. Even so, to the extent that we accepted his teachings and implemented them, the country grew in strength and became an organized force from top to bottom, and simultaneously a certain amount of equality began to be established. If we forget those lessons now, we shall only create chaos in the country. There are many divisive forces at work which will break the country apart....

It was not an easy matter to have governed India in the last seven years. It is possible that we may have made mistakes and perhaps others might have been able to handle things better. How can I judge? It will be left to future historians to judge it. But the responsibility of governing India fell on our shoulders at a very critical time in her history. We held the reins of power and discharged our duties to the best of our ability. It is for the people to judge later whether we did right or wrong.

Time is not at standstill and the old war-horses are slowly disappearing from the Indian political scene. The question is who will take on the responsibility of governing the country in the future? It will have to be undertaken by our youth who are today in schools and colleges and universities. It is they who will shoulder this burden. So, wherever I go, my eyes are constantly searching to discover the people who have the strength and the capacity to shoulder this great burden. India's youth are the India of tomorrow. So I try to see in them India's future and feel happy when I find them strong, and sad when I see them indulging in certain practices out of ignorance and childishness. The most important problem before them is to prepare themselves in mind and body for taking on the burden and responsibility of governing India....

I think the mainstay of our country is the peasantry, our simple, innocent farmers, who are the backbone of the country.

These are some fundamental facts which all of you must recognize. Not only must we follow the right path, we must prevent others from going on the wrong path. Administration can no longer be run by orders from the top or by the police. That was possible in the past when the British ruled us. Now it is the duty of all of us to create an atmosphere in which nothing fundamentally wrong can flourish for long. I am aware that all of you, whether you are farmers or traders or students or workers, have to face great problems. There is often grave injustice. I am referring to the working classes specially. But you cannot rectify one wrong by committing another. You will not serve

any useful purpose by creating disturbances. You will only harm yourselves and others....

The biggest problem of the country is land because the majority of our population lives on land. Therefore, twenty years ago the Congress adopted a policy of abolishing the *zamindari* and *jagirdari* systems.² We could not do very much before independence but we took it up all over the country immediately after that and these two systems are being gradually abolished in all parts of India. I feel bad that there has been so much delay in the matter, but at least it is being done. I am happy that the Bengal Assembly has passed a new land legislation.³ I have not gone into the details but its broad principles are good. I do not say that this one single law will solve all your land problems, for all the land laws which have been passed so far have had innumerable loopholes. We are now trying to plug them....

I want to point out in all humility that whatever we do must be done in an organized way. If you feel there is injustice, combat it by all means. I do not say that you should bow down to it. But you must combat it by peaceful methods, in a civilized way. Even right objectives become wrong if the methods followed to achieve it are wrong. I would like to point this out to students and workers and everyone else. As far as the factory-owners are concerned, I would like to tell them that they should realize that the times have changed.

I tell you frankly that I do not like to come to Calcutta and see big palaces on one side and slums on the other. It is a shameful thing and nothing to be proud of. I can accept it if no more palaces were to be constructed in Calcutta. In fact, I think they ought to be prohibited by law because they hurt the eye. So long as every individual does not have ordinary, clean houses to live in, what is the meaning of building palaces? It is vulgarity and no nation can progress by vulgar methods. We have to progress and make the people better off. A handful of us cannot hope to progress by ourselves. We have to take the millions of Indians with us towards our goal which requires serious thought and careful planning....

We can play a role on the world stage only if we are a strong nation. The basic problems in the country are mainly economic in nature. Our armed forces are undoubtedly very good, but armed might is not everything in the world today. It has to be backed by economic strength and stability, by national

2. The Karachi Congress Resolution of 1931 on Fundamental Rights demanded abolition of intermediary tenures like *zamindari*, *jagirdari* and *inams*. See *Selected Works* (First Series), Vol. 4, p. 513.
3. The West Bengal Estates Abolition Act provided for the acquisition by the State of all estates and rights of intermediaries in order to make the actual cultivators the owners of the land they cultivated.

wealth and production in the country. We cannot afford to keep the country going by importing machinery and other goods from abroad all the time. If, even after independence, we have to import essential goods from outside, you can imagine that the other countries can strangle our life-line at any time and we would be helpless. We must not make the mistake of forgetting the old lesson of *swadeshi*, of using things produced in our own country, to aim at economic betterment of the people and to increase the avenues of work.

You may have heard of the Five Year Plan. You may or may not agree with all its aspects and are free to criticize it. But I have no doubt about it that it is a historic document, because for the first time in India's history, an attempt has been made to plan the future keeping in mind a broad picture of the country's resources and capacity. It is easy for you or me to sit down and make a long list of what we wish to do for the country and present our demands to the government. But the question is whether the country's strength would permit us to do so. Mere desires will not take us anywhere, for if we could achieve things just by making a wish, we would turn this country into a paradise. It is just not possible....

We have started community projects for the rural areas, as you may have heard. We have added yet another scheme called the National Extension Service which is also for the rural areas. The National Extension Service which was started about two and a half months ago, is going to prove to be a revolutionary scheme. I am using the word revolutionary deliberately—revolutionary not in the accepted sense of the term denoting violence and upsets, but in the sense of social reconstruction and reorganization of the present system. We have to implement it in seven lakh villages all over the country, for we want to change the face of rural India completely. We want to increase production in the villages, make arrangements for building roads and schools, provide for proper health care facilities and uplift the villages in every possible way. This is a tremendous task, and if we succeed in spreading it over one-third of India within the next three years and the rest over seven or eight years, as we are hoping to, it will be a great achievement. It is not enough to put it down on paper. It involves training of millions of workers at all levels, especially the village level, which we have started doing. We are training two thousand village workers though we will need millions for the entire country. This is a revolutionary and fundamental change because ultimately a nation progresses not by maps and plans or laws. Our progress will depend on the trained personnel available or on our extension services, or by our agricultural output, etc.

So we have to look at these questions from this angle and I want you to cooperate with us in the development of the country by understanding them fully. We have to progress step by step towards our new goal...

10. The Call of the Sea¹

Anyone who knows even a little about our history, would know how great a role the ocean and travel by sea played in the life of India in ancient times. If you look at the map, India looks as if she has been bred in the lap of the seas for she is surrounded on three sides by the sea and at the top are the Himalayas. Both are her protectors and both have defended her steadfastly over thousands of years.

The sea and the mountain make a man strong, and teach him to have a wider vision. Whenever I look at the mountains and the seas, it is in the hope that they will enlarge India's vision, give her added strength and imbue the people with the stuff of which great nations are made — courage to face dangers unflinchingly and with stout hearts.

Recently, an Indian and a foreigner climbed Mount Everest. You may dismiss it as not being of great consequence. But it was considered a feat of great daring because it was a symbol of the courage of a human being and if there is such courage in our nation, we shall climb mountains higher than the Everest.

Similarly the ocean is something which has tested, not today but for thousands of years in the past, man's courage and endurance. Often men suffered defeat but equally and often, they emerged victorious too, and thus man and the world made progress....

India's contacts with the sea dates back to ancient times. Then came a period of India's downfall. Our history is so long that there are high watermarks, as well as abysmal bottoms, of great ups and downs, in its course. India faced downfall and strange ideas associated by some with religion and caste, spread, and people began to believe that travelling across the seas destroyed one's religion and caste. This shows how people degraded religion and how our country fell through narrow-mindedness and by reducing religion to rituals and taboos. The Aryans, who had crossed the Himalayas thousands of years ago, to settle down in India, a great people who had carved out a great country, began to live in narrow compartments, full of taboos and rituals. In this way, they succeeded in bringing about the country's downfall in the name of religion....

The ocean is something that links, not separates people. I am reminding you of all this because in the last two or three hundred years, our thinking

1. Speech at the opening ceremony of the building of the Marine Engineering College at Behala, Calcutta, 14 December 1953. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi. Extracts.



WITH T. PRAKASAM AND C.M. TRIVEDI, HYDERABAD, 1 OCTOBER 1953



ADDRESSING THE LEGISLATORS OF ANDHRA, KURNOOL 1 OCTOBER 1953

has changed so much that we have forgotten our ancient history. Right till the times of Napoleon and Wellington and before that, in Nelson's time, the British used tiny ships built in India. Then it died down. Our thoughts go back to those ancient times. We must learn new things and recall our old traditions and revive them once again. Among the many things that we must do, one is to revive our friendship and contact with the seas fearlessly.

It is obvious that you must train yourselves well because no great task can be done without proper training. We must expand our work on the seas, whether it is our navy or mercantile marine. This can happen only if our youngmen learn this art fully and well and not merely by wearing their grand uniforms. So it is your duty, when you have the opportunity here in the Marine Engineering College, to learn your work well. The task of learning will not be complete even after you get your diplomas because your real learning will start by actually working on the seas. The more you learn, the better you will be able to serve your country. So I want all of you and other youngmen in the country to understand how important it is for India to establish contacts with the seas and to build ships.

Lal Bahadur² mentioned something about what the Five Year Plan allocates for ship-building.³ But let me tell you quite plainly that I am thoroughly dissatisfied with it, for we should do much more than that. What is the use if after years of training here the country is unable to take advantage of it? That is absurd and if that happens, it will be our fault for not making proper arrangements. This is what planning is all about so that people may be trained in different fields according to the country's needs. It is obvious that we have to build more ships because our country is so large that we need a number of ships for our coastal work. Then we have to establish ties of friendship with other countries through the seas. Just two or three years ago, we had to import foodgrains due to shortages in our country. If we had our own ships then, we could have saved crores of rupees. We had to use foreign ships and pay such large sums. We could have saved crores of rupees which we could have utilized in the progress of our nation. Anyhow, we cannot build ships overnight, but we must look in that direction because the work of this country cannot progress smoothly unless we are independent in these important fields. Therefore, it is important to build ships and to expand mercantile marine, especially to train our youngmen in the field. This is an area in which our young men ought to take a keen interest. I want that instead of sitting in the dusty offices of

2. Union Minister for Railways and Transport.

3. The First Plan provided for an additional 200,000 GRT to Indian tonnage by the end of the Plan period. During 1952-53, Rs. 1 crore was provided as loan for the purchase of ships for the coastal trade and Rs. 2 crore for the overseas trade.

Calcutta, they should go out into the fields, climb mountains or cross the seas. Even if they flounder a little sometimes, it is such people who can build a nation, not clerks in offices. I am surprised as to why more people do not go in for such things. Perhaps I am wrong because more and more people are looking in that direction. I am happy about that because there will be tremendous responsibilities on today's youth in about five to ten years' time. So they must prepare themselves.

I want to congratulate our young cadets¹ on this occasion on the task that they are setting out to do and I hope that when they go out into the world later, wherever they are, in India or abroad or on board a ship, they shall always carry with them the message of India's love and goodwill everywhere. *Jai Hind.*

4. The first batch of 46 apprentices, recruited in 1949 under the scheme for training in marine engineering, passed out of the Marine Engineering College in 1953.

11. Youth and Politics¹

We are gathered together here on the first day of this year. I do not know how much happiness or trouble the year will bring. But whatever it brings, if we face the challenges squarely, we can take satisfaction. I wish you all a happy New Year.

The world is in a strange ferment at present. But the strange thing is that in this changing world, those who think of themselves as revolutionaries change the least and so they become backward. Forty or fifty years ago, some people in India, in their frustration and anger, started turning to terrorism and violence. This was in 1905. Some young men threw bombs on British and Indian officers because they wanted freedom and were tired of British rule. But the bombs did not bring freedom. They were merely a sign of anger. And the people who threw the bombs were called revolutionaries. In a sense they were right, for they did want a revolution. But gradually, India started gaining real strength, and our thinking changed. We organized ourselves into a united force and terroristic activities began to seem puerile and pointless.

I agree that the youth who threw bombs were brave and showed great

1. Speech at a youth rally in Mumbai, 1 January 1954. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

daring. But it was not courage or daring born out of wisdom. When the times changed and we adopted other methods befitting mature, sensible adults, we succeeded in bringing about a revolution in the country.

What is a revolution really? First of all, in a political revolution, the country is turned upside down. There can also be an economic or social revolution. A revolution is complete only when all three types of changes take place. You cannot bring about a revolution merely by lecturing from a platform. If you look at the history of the Congress, you will find that it began from small beginnings seventy years ago. The people who founded the Congress were good men. They did not have a great revolution in mind. But they sowed the seeds of a revolution and freedom. The Congress continued to grow and twenty or twenty-five years later, Lokmanya Tilak gave it a great push forward. It began to spread steadily to the masses, whereas earlier it had been confined to the intelligentsia. Tilak had a revolutionary mind.

Then some more time elapsed and Gandhiji came on the scene. Peace and non-violence were his passion. He did not believe in giving long harangues or making tall promises. But history stands witness to the great revolution that he wrought in the country. He did not do it by throwing bombs or passing resolutions but by practising what he preached. This made a powerful impact on millions of his countrymen. Gandhiji's actions completely changed the thinking and life-style of the people. They threw up their jobs to join the Congress, and fought for freedom. We got freedom ultimately as a result of the social change that Gandhiji had brought about in the country.

He also paid attention to the economic problems of the country. I have absolutely no doubt in my mind that there has been no greater revolutionary in India in the modern times or any other period of our history than Mahatma Gandhi.

Revolution means change, change in the social structure of the country. Whatever brings about that change should be considered revolutionary. An individual who throws a bomb in some crowded thoroughfare in Bombay does not become a revolutionary. He merely betrays his foolishness. Senseless violence does not bring about a revolution. Times have changed. It is true that a hundred years ago, when Garibaldi took out his sword and roamed the streets of Naples to collect people to bring about a revolution, it may have been relevant for those times. But if someone were to do that today, he would be laughed at for his foolishness.

We often pass long resolutions in our various parties and organizations. The Congress does that too. Our youth from colleges and universities pass resolutions and point out what needs to be done. Well, every citizen has the right to say what should or should not be done. But we must be clear in our minds about what we want to do and how much we can do. The habit of telling others what they should do is a sign of weakness. We must tell ourselves

what we are going to do and then do it. That contributes to our own strength and to others as well.

You are young and your whole life spreads out before you. To the people of my generation, there are only five to ten years left at the most, whereas for you young people, your entire life is spread out before you. You do not have to count the years left to you. You can be proud of your youth and strength. The question is whether you really want to do something constructive or fritter away your energies in passing resolutions and shouting slogans. All that makes sense only when it is backed by constructive work. So, it is essential to understand what needs to be done. We must not fall into the error of thinking that what was right for an earlier age is right now also. I gave you the example of what the terrorists did in 1905. At that moment in India's history nothing else was possible. But the same action began to seem absurd ten years later because it was no longer relevant. So we must be clear in our minds about what needs to be done and then set about doing it.

I have come to Bombay today to lay the foundation-stone of our atomic energy research institute. We are not doing this to make atom bombs. We cannot, nor do we wish to. But we want to learn about atomic energy and to use it for peaceful, civil purposes in India. You must remember that you are living in an age of atomic energy and jet aircraft. If your thinking is fifty years behind the times, it cannot understand the modern age. If you do not understand the problems of the age, how can you hope to find a solution to them? I do not mean to say that the fundamental principles of life have changed with the coming of the atomic age. Some principles like truth and honesty do not change ever. But the problems of day to day living, political, social and economic problems, keep changing.

The strange fact is that those who think of themselves as great revolutionaries are often shackled by outmoded ideas and thinking. Take our Communist brethren. There are some excellent people in the Communist Party. The Communists regard themselves as great revolutionaries. But their minds are so completely shackled by old dogmas, specially economic dogmas, that they have become like some of our religious men, rigid and unheeding of the changes taking place all around them.

Then there are the Socialists. They are our comrades and we agree with them on many issues. But they too keep repeating the old lessons learnt by rote, completely oblivious of what the new age has to teach. Such people can make very little progress in the university of life. To succeed in that, we need to learn the new lessons that life has to offer. So my advice to you is to keep your minds fresh and open to absorb new ideas. At the same time, you must also remember that, no matter how much the world may change, some fundamental ideals like truth and honesty do not change. Our thinking needs some roots; otherwise we shall get carried away. It is important to understand

the changing world and not be shackled by old and rigid dogmas. It is only by combining these two things that you can prepare yourselves for some constructive work.

It is a fact that the problems of a subject country differ from that of a free one. It is obvious that the problems that we faced under British rule have now changed completely once we got freedom. Those who keep harping on those old issues are obsolete because they are unable to grasp the fact that India has become free. The one great task that we had before we became free was to fight for our freedom. Now that we have achieved that goal we have to fight for a thousand other things. But we must do so with a new sense of responsibility. That responsibility rests not only with the Government in Bombay or Delhi. Everyone must realize that he has a responsibility towards protecting that freedom and to serve the people of India. All of us are equal partners in that freedom. All the people of India are part of one large family, which is the essence of nationalism. In times of crisis, it is our duty to defend our country. We cannot go our separate ways any longer now that we are a free nation. If you think that it is the responsibility of the Government alone, it shows that your mind has not grasped the full meaning of freedom. Freedom brings responsibilities as well as rights. There can be no freedom without obligation or responsibility. Now that we have got the rights which freedom brings, we have to shoulder the responsibilities that go with them.

If you look at the present-day world, you will find that there is tremendous progress. Man has succeeded in unravelling the various forces hidden in nature like electricity, atomic energy, etc., which were unheard of just a few decades ago. A little thing like the radio has been known to us only for the last thirty or forty years. Now we listen to the news on the radio as a matter of course. Forty years ago, it would have been considered a miracle or magical feat. Isn't it amazing that someone speaks in London and we can hear him in India? But now we take it for granted. If you go back a hundred or a hundred and fifty years, when the world had not made any advance in science and technology, and the Industrial Revolution had not begun, you will find that conditions were not very different from what they were a thousand, two or even four thousand years earlier. There might have been some superficial changes but, basically, the world remained almost unchanged for nearly two thousand years or more. Great men and leaders were born in various countries. But the life-style of the people remained unchanged. Modes of travel remained the same. If you wanted to go to Benares two thousand or two hundred years ago, it had to be done on horseback or on foot. Things remained the same from the time of Gautama Buddha to about two hundred years.

Then came the Industrial Revolution which turned the lives of the people upside down in every way. Steampower, railways, the telegraph, the telephone, radio, the aeroplane, radar and innumerable other inventions and discoveries

were made. Our entire way of life changed. New weapons made their appearance, changing the whole concept of warfare. The world has had an Industrial Revolution and an electrical revolution and now we are on the threshold of an atomic revolution. Man has acquired enormous sources of power. The question now is whether he has the capacity to use them wisely. There are powerful weapons in the world today which can destroy mankind completely. On the other hand, atomic energy is also something which, if it is properly utilized, can alleviate miseries and problems in the world.

Today, in 1954, the question that hovers over mankind is whether this great power is going to be used wisely or will end up by destroying the world. I cannot give you the answer to this. It is up to the nations which possess this power to find an answer. But we can influence world opinion to some extent if we persist in presenting our viewpoint. There is no question of coercing anyone. The youth of today must understand how vital this question is because your lives are closely linked to the question of whether in the next five or ten years the world moves towards ruin and extinction or progress. If it is the former, it will mean the end of all our hopes and dreams of progress and prosperity. If you look at it from this perspective, all your resolutions and slogans become meaningless and childish. These larger issues must be approached in a mature way. Youth everywhere will show their exuberance. But it should not be wasted in useless pursuits which will get you nowhere.

Significance attaches to the path that we adopt. I am talking about our own country, but it applies equally to countries all over the world. It is absolutely wrong and senseless to think of bringing about changes through violence and hooliganism. Only those who expect no benefits can be foolish enough to indulge in such activities. You will recall that, during the French Revolution, the people rose in revolt against the state. But in those days, there was not much difference between the type of weapons the people could use and the forces the state could use. Now the state has become extremely powerful because of nuclear weapons which individuals cannot possess. Therefore the power of the state to do violence has increased enormously everywhere.

In India, there is no question of the state possessing nuclear weapons. But people often indulge in petty violence in the hope of achieving something. It is possible that on occasions rowdiness may yield some small advantage. But ultimately the individual who indulges in such activities comes to grief. There is no doubt about it. Moreover, our attention gets diverted from the economic and other urgent tasks of the nation. We must put all our strength and energy into the task of building a strong and prosperous India through implementing the Five Year Plan. If our attention is diverted by internal frictions we shall become weak. If the situation deteriorates, we shall become incapable of doing anything at all. The entire history of India since ancient times has

been one of disunity and weakness. This led to our downfall again and again. History shows that even when Alexander the Great invaded India, it was at the invitation of an Indian ruler who wanted his help against another Indian ruler. It was the enemy of King Porus (the Greek name for Puru) who invited Alexander to invade India. The same thing happened when the British and the French came. Various Indian rulers sought their help against one another, helping the foreign powers to consolidate their hold over India.

If we lean towards violence, even if it is for an altruistic purpose, we would be betraying our national interest and weakening the country. Therefore, the first thing to remember is that we must not let violence creep into our political, social or industrial life. If we want to demonstrate our strength, it should be done by peaceful methods. This is true at all times, but particularly so at this time when all kinds of dangers threaten the country, both internally and externally. We must maintain unity among ourselves, forget our petty differences and disputes, and put all our energy into the task of making India strong economically and politically. It is obvious that the greatest burden of this falls upon the youth of today for the reins of administering the country will soon be in their hands. So they must prepare themselves.

Students are often praised for the role they played in the freedom struggle. I am not here to praise you. It is absurd that we should praise one another for our qualities. What extraordinary things have we done that the peasants have not done too? The peasants have done far more, but they do not boast about it or pass resolutions. Innumerable people in India played a major role in the struggle for freedom. Students cannot claim all the credit. Excessive praise will make the youth incapable of doing anything constructive. The question is not what your predecessors did in the past but how capable you now are in handling your future responsibilities. I do not wish to talk to you about the wonders that students performed in the past. Whether you like it or not, it is you and others like you all over the country who will have to shoulder the burden of looking after national affairs. It is not a handful of people in the Government in Delhi or anywhere else who will run the country. It is absurd to think that a handful of officials and ministers can run a country as large as India. We need thousands and millions of leaders in every field. The Government is only one part of it. We need people of excellence in every field. India can progress only if there are large numbers of people of quality in every field, in the armed forces, in the medical profession, in engineering, and so on. We need first-rate men to build a first-rate nation, and the more we have of them, the farther we can go. We cannot become great merely by our numbers, for there can be thirty-five crores of sheep-like people.

So the question is how many of you among India's youth are absolutely first class. Are there a few lakhs, a few thousands or any at all? The modern world is a product of science. If we do not undertake original research in

India, we shall have to copy other countries. We cannot hope to become strong and industrialize the country without science. The question is, how many of you are going to be first-class scientists and engineers and teachers? We have undertaken great tasks all over the country and we need first-rate people. If we fail to produce first-rate engineers, scientists, teachers and what not, we shall remain a second class nation, no matter how much noise we make.

These are the problems which beset a free nation. You will have to shoulder the burdens. There is no alternative. You must prove yourselves capable of shouldering your responsibilities and set an example to others. In the 1920s when some of us were still considered to be young, a wave of enthusiasm gripped the whole country. We had a great commander whose words had a peculiar magic. He spread his message among millions of Indians in the villages and cities. His greatness lay in the fact that he practised what he preached. The atmosphere in India was suddenly electrified in the 1920s and a chain of events unfolded thereafter, leading ultimately to India's freedom.

Now it is up to us to carry on that task and work towards the economic betterment of the common man in India. What can be greater or more challenging than the task of building a new India? We have tried to lay the foundation and I think we have succeeded to a large extent. If you travel round the country and visit the great projects like Bhakra-Nangal, Damodar Valley, Hirakud, etc., you will realize that it was an act of great daring to have taken them up in the first place. We have laid the foundations of a new India. All of us must build the edifice. This is a thought which should excite you.

Ultimately, what we require are trained human beings. Even a small thing like building a bridge requires trained engineers. It cannot be done by shouting slogans or passing resolutions. You cannot build a bridge, no matter how much enthusiasm or spirit you may have, unless you have trained engineers, trained human beings in every field. Therefore, those who are in schools and colleges must prepare themselves for some constructive work. One of you may one day become a great scientist, another Einstein or C.V. Raman, who is one of the greatest Indian scientists. Or you may become a great artist or excel in some other field. All your work must be of excellent quality. I am convinced that you are capable of it.

Very often the question is asked whether students should take part in politics. I have never heard of anything more meaningless. Even a child in the cradle can take part in politics. What does it mean? I do not consider waving a flag about or shouting slogans amounts to taking part in politics. If you are prepared mentally, you can take part in politics. I could understand it when it was a question of students leaving schools and colleges to take part

in politics during the Satyagraha days. It was a wholly different matter. But what does it mean today? Does taking part in politics mean everything under the sun? Or passing resolutions about what the Government of India or anyone else. It is obvious that if you pass a resolution about what the United Nations should do, it is not going to make any difference. That is not participation in politics.

To take part in politics, you must stand for elections to assemblies or Parliament. Every adult has the right to do so according to the Constitution. Or you can work for some political candidate. It is not a crime to take part in politics. Anyone who is of age can do so. But creating chaos and calling for direct action, etc., does not amount to taking part in politics. Moreover, during the years that you are in college and university, your first duty is to prepare yourselves for the future, to make yourselves fit, mentally and physically, for some constructive and useful task. Whether you want to become a carpenter, an ironsmith, a doctor or an engineer, you must strive for excellence in your field.

It is obvious that training will take you very far in your chosen field and bring you greater success as an individual, and benefit the country too. Please do not labour under the misconception that education means getting a BA or an MA degree. College degrees are becoming less and less important. Many people come to me and I select them for various jobs. But I do not attach much importance to their degrees. I like to see how their minds are trained. I select the ones who show greater intelligence at the end of fifteen minutes of conversation.

That does not mean that we should give up higher education. But it is wrong to feel that one is educated merely by acquiring a degree. You must educate yourselves for the future when you are in college and the more training you get, the farther will you go. You can certainly learn something during the course of your college and university career which comes in useful later. As a student, it is your first and foremost duty to train your minds and bodies, so that you can face life's challenges later. If you bear this in mind, there is no harm in your taking part in politics. But your first duty is to train yourselves and that cannot go hand in hand with your taking part in direct action. You have to make a choice. When Mahatma Gandhi gave a call to the youth in the 1920s to take part in Satyagraha, he had said that they must give up their schools and colleges altogether. He said that it was not a temporary stunt and so they should abandon their studies and embrace another profession.

The two roles cannot go together. The important thing is for you to train yourselves. That does not merely mean reading your text-books and passing examinations. You must go beyond that and acquire greater knowledge. The fact is that you must continue your education even after you leave the

university. I learnt very little in school and college. Whatever I read was after I had left Cambridge.

It is New Year's Day today. Please forgive me for admonishing you. I do not normally like to give a lecture like a professor. We are all partners and co-travellers, all the thirty-five crore people who live in India. We cannot march ahead alone. We have to take India's millions with us. We must always look at everything from the point of view of how it would affect the thirty-five crore people. A handful are always bound to go ahead. We must always bear in mind the unique character of India, with its unity and diversity, and the enormous size. I should like you to travel the length and breadth of India, and visit the tribal areas in far-flung Assam, Manipur and Tripura, to appreciate the myriad forms of India. You will be amazed at the variety, which is the essence of India.

If you look at India from this angle, you will understand what the country is all about. As you know, I have written a book called *The Discovery of India*. I have been trying for the last thirty or forty years to understand what India is all about. If you who live in Bombay think that this city is India, you will be wrong. Bombay is one of India's big cities but obviously the country is larger than its cities. This is the atomic age. We must learn to fit into it by fostering unity and strength in the country and march towards progress in order to face any challenge that may arise. *Jai Hind*.

12. Reaching the Rural Folk¹

Almost two years ago I came to Bangalore and stood on this very platform and addressed a great meeting here. That was election time, and I was rushing about from place to place. Now two years have passed by, and a great many things have happened in the period. No doubt you will think about our successes and our failures in your State of Mysore. But I hope you will also think of the whole of India, and to some extent the larger world. It is always a pleasure for me to come to Mysore State, because there is a certain graciousness about the men and women here, and more especially the women,

1. Speech at a public meeting in Bangalore, 3 January 1954. AIR tapes, NMML. Nehru first spoke in English and thereafter in Hindi.

if I may say so. It is pleasant to be here, for the climate is agreeable and the people are likeable. I like coming to Bangalore, one of the great cities of India, and a city which is growing apace with industry, with all kinds of institutions, and becoming one of the most important centres of progress in India.

When I come to Bangalore I see a new India in the making, just as I see it in many other places in India. We may argue as to what we are doing and whether we are doing it fast enough, but I think that if you come for a tour with me all over India and see the great works that are being done in various parts, what has already been done, and what is being done, you will have some conception of this mighty enterprise in which we are engaged, and performing with considerable credit. I think that during the last five or six years, the record of achievement in India has been very considerable. There has not been too much shouting about it, but there has been a good deal of important work done, of deep foundations laid for the progress of the country. You do not see these foundations because they are often underground. But a building comes up only after the foundations have been laid.

What are the foundations of progress? What is the problem before us? It is essentially an economic problem, of fighting the poverty of India, the unemployment of India, of making the people of India richer, more productive. That is a very, very big problem, because India is a very big country with 350 million or more people. We are therefore facing a problem which is as big as any in the world, or bigger—the tremendous problem of raising 350 million people of India from poverty. Obviously you cannot do this by some trick, by some shouting and by some slogan, by some *mantra* or some magic. It can only be done by hard work. You cannot achieve anything big except by paying for it, by working for it. No country has done it, and don't you imagine that some other countries by following some other path, a more flashy path, have achieved much more. I want you to take into account the achievement of this country during the last few years and the solid foundations laid in scientific progress, in big industrial progress, in river valley schemes, each a very great undertaking in itself. If you saw, as some of you might have, these great river valley works, the Damodar Valley, the Bhakra-Nangal, the Hirakud, the Tungabhadra and others, you will form some picture of our whole endeavour. It is no good reading about them, you must see them to realize the vastness of the undertaking, the courage to take in hand such huge works to start a great work. Many people criticize them for petty failings here and there, and they may be right, but they do not see the greatness of the undertaking, the daring and the courage required to push it through, very largely by our own skill and hard labour, sometimes with foreign help in the shape of some big engineer or other, but chiefly with our own great engineers.

I should like you to think also of something else which is relatively new.

You know that a year or so ago, we started Community Projects in selected centres of India. And only three months ago, we started a National Extension Service, also for the rural areas. I do not know how many of you know about this National Extension Service or realize how great it is in its conception and what far-reaching results are likely to flow from it. The National Extension Service, which has already got into full swing in a great part of India, will no doubt grow and grow into something very revolutionary in its conception. Remember, revolution does not mean breaking people's heads. Revolution means bringing about fundamental changes in a country, whether the changes are political or economic or social. Sometimes they may be brought about by violence, but the real thing is not violence, the real thing is the extent of change brought about. In fact violence often comes in the way. And certainly, so far as we are concerned in this country, we have been bringing about revolutionary changes by a peaceful method. We propose to persevere with that method. Any other method might appear to some immature minds a quicker method, but will only delay progress. If you stop the process of building up, there will instead be conflict and destruction and delay, apart from the trail of bitterness and ill will that they leave behind.

We have put forward this National Extension Scheme, as our way of bringing about a major revolution in the rural areas, and that means a greater part of India. That will mean, I hope, improvement, advance in every village of India, not suddenly but quickly enough. We intend covering the whole of India within eight or ten years, not too much time for this vast country of seven hundred thousand villages. The public response we are getting is very, very encouraging. The people of India as a whole, whether in the north or the south, are good and sound. What may be lacking is our approach to them, what may be lacking is efficient persons going and working with them. We have to ensure that. And that is why in this National Extension Scheme we are training or going to train hundreds of thousands of workers at the village level. Remember that India will be going ahead only when the villages go ahead. I am not against cities. Let the cities go ahead by all means, but if the villages do not go ahead, they will pull back your cities. You can never go up in your standard of living very much, unless rural India goes up. If rural India goes up, then the economic condition and strength of India will go up. Therefore, you will see how we are trying to function, both on the plane of industrial development and on the plane of rural advance.

The Five Year Plan is based, of course, on an all-round development, but greater stress has been laid, to begin with, on the agricultural side, on the food side.² Some people criticize it saying that we are neglecting

2. Rupees 361 crores had been allotted for development of agriculture and community development. This represented 17.5 per cent of the total outlay of Rs. 2069 crores.

industry.³ I can assure you that we not only attach the greatest importance to industry, not only do we think that India will not be much wealthier unless industry grows, but we propose to go as fast as possible in the industrial domain. But still the agricultural aspect of India is of primary importance. It would be foolish for us to go on trying to build industry and break down on the agricultural front. We must have a stable agricultural economy in the country and then we can go ahead with industry much faster than otherwise.

Talking about the agricultural economy, there is the question of food. Suppose, as in the last few years, we lack sufficiency in food we have to import millions of tons of foodgrains from outside.⁴ By spending vast sums of money in the purchase of food from outside, we are exhausting all our resources. What is more, we are liable to be strangled in a moment of emergency by outsiders refusing to send food to us. It becomes most important that we must be self-sufficient in food. That means concentrating on the agricultural sector of our economy.

There is no conflict between industry and agriculture. We have to coordinate the two and advance on all fronts. In fact, planning means an advance on all fronts, a co-ordinated, integrated advance. It means advance not only in agriculture and industry, but also in social services, and transport. If our industry goes up and the transport services fail, our goods cannot travel and the industry slows down. So we have to ensure advance in each sector. And that is what planning does. Otherwise there will be bottlenecks, and advance in every sector simply breaks down, because you have not advanced somewhere else.

Speaking of Community Projects and the National Extension Scheme, a very hopeful and interesting factor is how we have gone ahead on the food front. Only two years ago in the Planning Commission's Five Year Plan, various targets were put down for food production. Well, we have exceeded them, we have gone beyond what we had laid down, what we had planned for.⁵ I do not say that we have solved our food problem completely, but we have got it firmly in our grip. It is true that we have been helped by good monsoon this

3. In the First Five Year Plan, the total investment on industry in the public sector was placed at Rs. 94 crores. Out of this the Government had been able to spend only about Rs. 30 crores during the first three years of the plan.
4. The value of food imports during the last five years was: Rs. 132 crores in 1948-49; Rs. 133 crores in 1949-50; Rs. 80 crores in 1950-51 and Rs. 230 crores in 1951-52.
5. The total increase in production of foodgrains envisaged by the First Plan was 7.6 million tons, but the increase in the production of foodgrains in 1953-54 alone was 11.4 million tons. The largest increase in production was registered under rice, which rose from 20.25 million tons in 1950-51 to 27.1 million tons in 1953-54. Production of wheat also rose from about 6.4 million tons in 1950-51 to 7.8 million tons in 1953-54.

year. Nevertheless, we have also increased our yields. We have got more land under cultivation and the increase in yield, per acre of rice and wheat etc., has gone up too. We are advancing fairly rapidly towards the solution of our food problem, and it may be, that in another year or two we may not require any substantial imports from abroad. I am mentioning these matters briefly to you, so that you might realize the credit side of our account.

I must also mention to you the debit side. The debit side, in the main, is the large-scale unemployment, full or partial, in the country. That is a very big problem. We can only solve it, not by giving doles, but by increasing the avenues of gainful employment through the productive effort. Again there is no magic way. I shall not go into details in these matters, but I do want you to feel that the problem we have to face in India today, the economic problem, is of tremendous magnitude. We may not have worked miracles but we have done exceedingly well. And most people abroad who look at India and compare it with what it was two, three or four years ago, are astonished at the progress we have made and are making. Indeed, a very curious result has flowed, that is, some people abroad have got rather anxious at the fact that India is progressing too fast. They do not like the idea of a prosperous and strong India coming into existence too soon. It is not a pleasant prospect because India's policies do not always fall in line with other people's policies in the rest of the world, and obviously the stronger and the more prosperous India is, the greater will be her weight elsewhere.

I referred to the world outside. Well, many things are happening in the world today. There is this big Korean question, where a great responsibility has fallen upon India. Then there is this big question, which has recently filled our newspapers and to some extent, our minds, the question of military aid by the United States of America to Pakistan. We have to be wary and vigilant, of course, if it happens. I want you to understand the real significance of this question of military aid.

I first mentioned this matter in Parliament and even earlier at a press conference, because the American newspapers were full of it. Reference had been made to it even in Pakistan. When responsible newspapers in America were full of it, I had some justification in mentioning it, because it was a matter of great concern to us. Pakistan is an independent country. The United States of America is not only an independent country but the greatest and the most powerful country in the world. We want to be friends with both. It is not a question of our interfering with what they want to do. We cannot interfere. They have every right to do what they like. But just as they have every right to do what they like, surely, we also have a right to express our opinion about the consequences of their actions for us and for the world. Therefore, I thought it right to mention this matter in Parliament.

I shall not go into the purely military aspect of it, except to say that I do not propose at any time to enter into an armament race over this or any other question. It is bad enough for the rest of the world to have these armament races, and to divert all their energy and money into producing big guns and big planes and big atomic bombs to the detriment of their other social works. I am not prepared to stop all the development in India and convert it into guns and the like, because ultimately, I believe, the strength of the country lies far more in the economic conditions of the people than in the possession of guns. Guns, of course, we must have, just as we have an army, an air force and a small navy. And we should keep our defence forces as efficient and as vigilant as possible. We should fill in any loopholes that we may have. That is true. But I do not wish, and I am quite sure that most of you will agree with me, to get alarmed by these developments and stop many of our developmental works in order to pour in money purely into building up more armaments. That would be folly in the long run and even in the short run.

There is something more about it, and that is that our whole approach to this problem has been and is different, whether on the national scale or the international scale. Internationally our policy has been one of cultivating friendship of other countries and trying to work for peace. I know that India is not strong enough to make a very big difference in world affairs. But whatever strength we have, we have cast it on the side of peace. And our voice has begun to count more and more. I am quite certain that if India had adopted some other policy of lining up with this group or that group, that would have made a great difference in the world and possibly even war would have come by this time.

I am not talking about Pakistan now. India's policy, and the policy of some of our neighbouring countries like Burma and the countries of South Asia, has definitely been helpful in keeping the peace in the world. We may have spoken perhaps more frequently and more effectively than other countries. But generally speaking that has been the policy of many countries of Asia, as well as some Arab or African countries. Military aid to Pakistan would make a great difference to the conscious, deliberate policy like ours or not so clearly expressed, subconscious policy of the other countries of Asia.

That is why you will find that opposition has arisen to this proposal for American aid to Pakistan, not only in India but in almost every country of Asia, and even Africa if you include Egypt.⁶ All the Arab countries have

6. Pakistan's effort to obtain military aid from the US was criticised by the *Anis* from Kabul, the *New Times* of Myanmar, and the Djakarta daily, the *Mimbar Indonesia*, on 18, 19 and 21 November 1953 respectively. They warned that a Pakistani-US military alliance would endanger peace in Asia.

criticized it. Countries to the east of India have criticized it. All the string of countries have been unhappy about this because it upsets certain balances, and it adds to the dangers of war coming. It is said by some people that this pact will ensure peace. The Prime Minister of Pakistan says: "Why is India so nervous about it? It will surely defend India as well as Pakistan from invaders." All this proceeds from a basis of reasoning or thought which I think is completely wrong.

So far as Pakistan and we are concerned, we have had a number of matters on which we have no agreement. We have got a number of unresolved issues, important ones. That is true. Nevertheless, I have been convinced, and I am equally convinced today, that the only policy we should pursue is one of friendship with Pakistan. It is natural that India and Pakistan should be friendly in the future. So, we have consistently pursued that policy. That does not mean that we should abandon or surrender vital interests of India. That is not the way to seek friendship. It is our objective to have friendly relations with Pakistan for several reasons, political, economic and social. There is no great difference between the people of Pakistan and the people of India. After all they were the people of India until only seven or eight years ago. We have the same virtues, the same failings. Specially in north India, nobody can distinguish who is a Pakistani and who is an Indian. We have been connected with each other for ages. Economically, we can help each other. Geographically we form a compact unit. So, everything goes to show that we should pull together. That is our policy, whether Pakistan wants the same policy, I cannot say. Certainly I have been led to believe and I do believe that the Prime Minister of Pakistan desires something like that.

So it is not from any desire to have conflict with Pakistan that I criticize or I speak so much about this issue of military aid to Pakistan from America, but from a larger viewpoint. If that aid comes, I think it will be a step towards war and not peace. I am quite convinced of that. It is a step not only towards war, world war, but a step which brings war right to our doors, to the frontiers of India. That is a serious matter. It is a step against the policy which Asia should inevitably pursue. It is an anti-Asian step. It has been said that it should be considered a way of protection.⁷ Well, our past history shows how often our forebearers had betrayed the cause of India by seeking help from outside. You have read in history that Alexander the Great came to

7. Mohammed Ali had made a statement to the *US News and World Report* that US aid to Pakistan would add to the security of India.



WITH C. RAJAGOPALACHARI, CHENNAI, 3 OCTOBER 1953



WITH THE DELEGATES OF THE COLOMBO PLAN CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE, NEW DELHI, 13 OCTOBER, 1959

India at the invitation of an Indian king against his own brother king. Well, Alexander came. That did not make too much difference, for Alexander's was more of a raid than anything else. But repeatedly you will find in our history that rulers tried to utilize foreign military aid to meet an enemy, and the result was that neither they nor their enemy carried on, the foreigner became all powerful. That is how the British came here, that is how others had come earlier.

Some people have suggested: why do you not get aid from America from Russia, from China? It surprises me that some people are so lacking in the knowledge of history and of human nature. I have stated quite categorically that in so far as I have any say in these matters, I will accept no such military aid from any outside power.⁸

We make our purchases abroad, according to our ability. That is a different thing. Getting foreign aid from somewhere to protect ourselves, however, is a wrong approach to the problem. In our struggle for independence, we never thought of foreign aid. We never asked for it. We liked sympathy, of course. Everybody wants sympathy. And we carried on in our own peaceful way, and ultimately made good. The only way you can preserve the freedom of India, through crisis and difficulty, in peace or in war, is by holding on basically and fundamentally to the ideals, and the methods which we learnt during our struggle for independence. Are we going to have an armament race with great powers? Fantastic. We cannot do it. Because even though we might be a poor country, and even though we might not be militarily strong, as the great powers are, we are respected, because we have the courage of our convictions, because we do not go abroad anywhere begging for help. We accept help in a friendly manner, if it is offered on equal terms. We do not propose to go abroad to ask for help. Friendship we shall always ask for. Our hands will always be stretched out in friendship to other countries, whoever they might be, even though they might wrong us. We shall try to forget that wrong. But we shall not give up our own vital interests or position. We shall have to rely more and more on the essential things that constitute the strength

8. Political parties in India expressed their resentment at the proposed US military aid to Pakistan. The suggestions for a remedy varied; while most of the influential newspapers and parties advocated that the US and Pakistan should be urged to reconsider their steps and that India should not feel coerced or provoked to give up her policy of non-alignment, some parties and newspapers wanted a military pact with the USSR as a necessary counter remedy.

of a nation, namely the quality of the people, the unity of the people, the hard work of the people and their capacity to hold together in difficulty or even disaster. Do you think that some more soldiers with guns are going to make a difference if the people of India are not stout-hearted enough. If the people of India are stout-hearted enough, then all would be well with India.

I want the people of India to think of these questions from this point of view. We tend to become slack and lazy, encourage the spirit of faction and get entangled in the small issues, forgetting the big issues. The biggest issue of all is this building up of a new India, one of the biggest adventures and enterprises in the thousand years of long history of India. Are we going to put aside all this building up process, because people in Pakistan or in America, through fear, talk of war and prepare for war? If others are afraid, why should we be afraid? We should be vigilant and strengthen ourselves in our way, not in the military way. We have a fine army and a fine air force. I dare not say that we should disband our army or our air force. They should be as efficient as possible. But in the final analysis the strength of the nation comes from the backbone of the nation, namely the people, their holding together and working together. This is where our planning and development come in. While the Five Year Plan makes all kinds of estimates as to what we can do and what we cannot do, nobody can estimate the innate energy of a nation that is roused. After all, the work has to be done by the people of India. Those very people of India, if they throw an ounce more of energy into work, will speed up the development of India, double it, treble it, for their own benefit.

I have gone on speaking to you in English longer than I intended. I shall now speak to you in Hindustani or Hindi. I was talking to you just now in English about the military aid to Pakistan by the United States which is being hotly discussed everywhere. It is something that can affect our country and even the world. But first we must understand it without being panicky or nervous. We must also understand our policy of nonalignment. As you know, the world is divided into two armed camps, both ceaselessly preparing for war. Our policy is to keep aloof from both the camps and maintain friendship with all countries.

The United States is a great power, rather the biggest in the world, and we want to maintain friendship with it. Then there are the Soviet Union and China and we want their friendship too. That does not mean that we should follow the path of the Soviet Union or of China or of the United States. We shall choose our own path. We shall learn whatever we want to from others and be friends with them. This has been our policy, and we think it will perhaps help a little in preventing future wars in the world. We wanted the other countries of Asia, like Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia, as also Egypt and

other Arab countries to adopt this policy. In the beginning we did get some cooperation from these countries.

You may have heard that an Arab-Asian group was formed in the United Nations consisting of some countries of South Asia and Egypt and some other African countries.⁹ They worked together in cooperation with each other in the United Nations and did not side with the Big Powers in their warlike postures. Instead they followed their own path. This has been our policy. We wish to extend it further so that if unfortunately there is a world war, at least a large part of Asia might be spared.

What is the greatest need in Asia today — in India, Pakistan or Burma? The most important need of all these countries, which have been under imperialist rule for a long time and are at last free, is progress, economic and political, and the upliftment of their peoples. If we are not able to achieve these, we will once again become weak and freedom may slip away from our hands any moments. The most important task for us is the economic betterment of the millions of people of India, for which purpose the Five Year Plan has been drawn up and many other steps taken.

If war breaks out anywhere in the world, the entire work in India, Pakistan, Burma and all other countries will come to a standstill. Our whole attention will be diverted and we shall be thinking only of how to defend our country. Even if we do not take part in the war directly, how can we remain wholly unaffected by the deadly weapons, like the atom bomb, which are likely to be used? We shall have to remain fully prepared to meet any situation and be very vigilant. Thus all our energies will be frittered away instead of being harnessed to the task of building a new India.

Therefore war is an evil for the world, and especially for us in Asia, because it will halt our progress. Whether we are involved in it or not, it is bad for it will mean an end to all our dreams of progress in the country. Nobody can say what will happen after ten or twenty years and how we shall extricate ourselves from this holocaust. Therefore, we formulated the policy of non-alignment and many countries of Asia and several other countries

9. The Arab-Asian group in the UN comprised Afghanistan, Myanmar, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, the Lebanon, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia and Syria. Its members generally voted on various issues without any regard to the US-USSR rivalry. The common ground among the members was their distrust of western powers and a desire not to become identified with either of the blocs into which most of the member States of the UN had been divided.

elsewhere approved of it because in a sense it was a bridge between the Big Powers which do not meet with each other directly. For instance, take the case of China or Korea. When they needed someone to work sincerely, honestly and impartially in Korea they chose India.

Both the warring parties invited India to take up this task. It was a matter of great honour that both sides should have shown such confidence in us. Had we been aligned to one or the other side, there would have been no country left to mediate in case of a war. I gave you the example of the advantage of this policy. So when the military aid to Pakistan is being hotly discussed, I have accepted the assurance of its Prime Minister that they are not getting into a pact with the United States nor are they giving them a base. But the supply of such vast quantities of military aid, in the form of aircrafts and equipment, is something bigger than a military pact or a base. Pakistan has now definitely gone over to that camp, which is bad because we do not want war to come closer to the sub-continent. That is why I raised my voice against it and I feel unhappy that such a development should take place because, in my view, it will harm Pakistan too. However, I am not responsible for the affairs of Pakistan. Pakistan is an independent country and is free to do whatever it wants. But speaking, not as an Indian but as an Asian, I am prepared to say that I am unhappy that once again an Asian country is getting arms and ammunition from outside. That is the reason for Asia's decline and fall in the past, and, if this tendency is not checked, it could again lead to its downfall. This is why we are against it.

What can we do to resolve this problem? Some people have suggested that we should also take aid from the United States. It is absurd that we should be advised to do the same thing that we have always considered wrong and get tied down. Then our freedom would have no meaning. Do you think that whoever takes such help remains totally free? No, their freedom is curbed. We are not going to give up our freedom or our policy. If our policy is correct we will not abandon it just because American arms have come into Pakistan. We can increase our own strength, and for that a slight increase in certain spheres can be considered. But do you know what is involved if we went in for any considerable increase in the armed forces? It means that the money which is now being spent on building new factories here and in other places — as well as on other big projects in the Five Year Plan—will have to be spent on defence. It is not good to spend so much money on increasing the armed forces. Moreover, a country's strength depends more on her economic condition than on large armies. Whether in peacetime or during a war, a country's capacity for production is extremely important.

So what should we do in this situation? There is no cause whatever for

panic. At the same time we cannot ignore the whole thing and remain unconcerned. We must forget our petty quarrels and problems and look at the dangers which beset the world. There is only one way to face those dangers, and that is by remaining united and by adopting all those measures by which the economic condition of our country can be improved. Pakistan may certainly benefit a little by taking aid but those who depend on others cannot really be strong. We achieved our independence not by depending on others but by fighting for it for several decades in a peaceful manner. It is that which gave strength to our people.

I want to draw your attention to one other matter. I told you earlier in English about what is happening in the country, what progress is being achieved. A number of great tasks have been accomplished while several other works have not been completed yet. Both these facts are there. Some people are in the habit of denigrating the Government all the time and saying: "This has not been done, that has not been done." There is no harm in denigration. If something has not been done, it should be pointed out. At the same time the critics must see what has been done in the country. If you see what has been done during the last six to seven years in India and other countries, and if you compare them, you will find that many great tasks have been accomplished and it can be said that the foundations of future progress have been laid. You can go and see what is happening in our villages under the Community Development Projects and National Extension Scheme. Or you may go elsewhere. Of course, I do want there should be even and faster progress.

Your State of Mysore is a very important State of India, a very special one. It had made some progress earlier and even now it is doing well. Your city of Bangalore is fast becoming a big industrial centre in the whole of the country. We have special hopes from Mysore and expect that it will become a model State and set an example for others. Whatever it may be, we must always keep in mind the unity of India, for without it we shall become weak. We must keep in check such elements as create dissensions among us. As in the days of our freedom struggle, we should think of how to strengthen ourselves through organization, unity and hard work. We should follow the same path because though we do not have any external enemy to fight there is a great battle to be fought within the country against poverty and unemployment. We must build a new India, which is also a great battle.

I reached Bangalore yesterday to see some new types of aircraft being manufactured by the Hindustan Aircraft. I am glad that I also got an opportunity of meeting all of you. Thank you for the loving welcome that you have given me. *Jai Hind*.

13. The Gandhian Path¹

It is a pleasure at any time to come here but I am specially happy to be invited to this function, for I should like to be associated with this great undertaking. When we look at the conditions in the world and in our own country, the Gandhian approach seems to me more than ever necessary just now. You heard how this idea originated. It was thought of by Shri Jamnalal Bajaj years ago and he had even discussed it with Mahatma Gandhi. But it was stalled and has been completed only now. Jamnalalji's dream has come true at last. Apart from Jamnalalji, who had a specific project and a particular dream, there were many others who thought of this idea in different ways. The Gandhi Gyan Mandir is a building, small and beautiful, but the thing that it contains is great. We must try to understand what it stands for.

Just now you heard Vinobaji's message. He has said that Gandhi Gyan is a product of a synthesis between spirituality and science. Vinobaji is a great man and what he says is well considered. He does not say anything idly. So what he has said in a sentence is very significant.

Science dominates the contemporary world. It is through science that the western world has progressed and become enormously wealthy. The western countries produce large machines and deadly weapons and gained strength through them. In the course of time they brought half the world under their control. Our country also came under their domination. We fought them. Even if there are some undesirable aspects to the progress made by the western world, we must require that knowledge in any form is a good thing. If knowledge grows out of control, it can be bad, of course. But there is no doubt that western scientific progress has benefited the world greatly and can do much more because it is a great power in the hands of man and can be used for good and evil. Science has benefited the western world greatly. At the same time it has also been channelled into evil ways and the mighty power that it unleashed started devouring itself. Those who were responsible for producing that power themselves became its victims. There is again talk of war in the world today and enormous amounts of money are being spent on preparing for it. Hatred and violence are on the increase in the world. Science, which was a good thing, started leaning in the wrong direction and caused a great deal of damage. Yet more harm is likely to come. That does not mean that science is bad in itself. It is only when used for wrong purposes by people who do not understand it, that it can be harmful. It would not be wise to give up science. We must prevent its misuse and ensure that it is used for good

1. Speech at the inauguration of Gandhi Gyan Mandir, a centre for Gandhian studies and research, Wardha, 5 January 1954. From AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

purposes. In short, those who use it must have an inner spirituality and realize how it should be used. Science is a tremendous power in the world today and can be used to eradicate poverty and misery. If, however, this force goes out of hand, it can destroy the world. So this is a problem which looms large and we must try to see how far Mahatma Gandhi's teachings can help us in finding an answer to it.

I was in Sewagram a little while ago and spent an hour or so in the hut where Mahatma Gandhi used to live. The whole of Sewagram and especially this hut has become sacred to us and many thoughts came to my mind as I sat there. The picture of the world unfolds itself before me with its numerous good and bad points and the tremendous problems that we are facing in India. There is a constant search for answers to these problems. It is obvious that I cannot find the answers myself, nor can any one individual. Ultimately it is the people who must sort it out the problems. The journey that we have embarked upon is not one in which a handful of us can march ahead and reach our destination leaving the others behind. It is a journey in which all the people have to march together. Nothing can be achieved by a few people going ahead. They have to take others along with them. It was the constant effort of Mahatma Gandhi, who spent a lifetime in the service of the country, to take millions of human beings on the path of progress. He was far ahead of all of us but he wanted to take others with him and spent his entire life in doing so and in trying to understand others a little, in lighting a spark in their hearts. This is how he influenced the millions of men, women and children of this country. His was not an influence of power, of the kind exercised by kings and princes. It was not governmental power or military might. He exercised the power of love and service and he managed to shake this large country out of its apathy and wrote a chapter of India's history which will always be read in future, not only in India but all over the world. The task that he undertook was great in itself but the method he adopted to accomplish it made it greater still. Now what is our duty in this country? What are the lessons that we have learnt from him? Should we forget those lessons or remember them? There is no point in merely remembering them. We must put them into practice. We often forget them and after a few days think of them, for those lessons can never really be forgotten as they have been firmly imprinted in the minds and hearts of millions of Indians.

I am talking of India because most of the life's work of Mahatma Gandhi was done here. But his teachings were relevant not only to India but to other countries in the world as well. He always said that he was doing what he could for his country. He felt that whatever success he had here was found to have an effect elsewhere too. He did not like to spread himself far and wide and wanted above everything else to finish the task that he had taken up. We should also refrain from talking in the air about other countries. We must first

pull ourselves together and set our own house in order and if we are on the right path, it is bound to have some effect elsewhere too. Now that our country is free, it is not possible for us to remain aloof from the world. We have daily contacts with other countries and constant exchange of views on world affairs. It is true that no country can live in isolation. Yet whatever we wish to do has to be done right here. We have to first serve this large family of ours that is India. It is our habit to preach to others and do very little ourselves. We criticize others without realizing our own faults. That is not a good thing. If each one of us does his duty properly there can be no better way of teaching others. If we point out the defects of others and criticize them, it does not have much effect on them. If we look within ourselves and recognize our own weakness we can be an example to others too. Similarly, as a nation too, we should not criticize others. It is enough if we can look after our country's affairs and try to serve other countries as far as possible. We can certainly express our views on various international issues. But we must always remember that every country has its own problems. It is neither proper nor good to treat the world as a platform to air our views and give advice unnecessarily. If we cannot keep our own house in order, how can we help others?

As you know, recently we sent some troops to Korea. It was a unique thing. When the British ruled here, they had sent forces from India to various countries. The history of the last hundred years shows that it was through Indian forces that the British spread their rule not only within India, but in Burma, Afghanistan, Iran and elsewhere. Indian troops were sent even to Europe during the War. As soon as we became free, the first thing we did was to call our forces back from outside. Why should our forces be stationed in other countries? We called them back because we wanted freedom for other countries just as we had wanted it for India. Now, for the first time free India forces have gone out to Korea. But they have gone not to fight a war or to suppress anyone but to be of some help in mediating between the superpowers who are fighting there. We are trying to bring about peace there. So I am happy that our forces have marched out under our beloved tri-colour in quest of peace and service and not to fight. It has been our effort to view the world problems from this angle and to keep ourselves aloof from the constant talk of war in which the big powers are engrossed. We did not wish to align ourselves with either side against the other but to extend our friendship and co-operation to both sides, and be guided by our own principles. We try to express our views clearly according to what we feel is right. As far as possible we try not to criticize others, even if their views do not agree with ours. What right do we have to criticize others? Who are we to sit upon judgement over others and to advise them? Secondly, even if our criticisms were justified, it is not proper to express them because it would not be conducive to peace. It only increases mutual bitterness and anger. So as far as possible we have tried to refrain from

criticizing others though sometimes we had to express our views rather forcefully which made others unhappy. All of them accused us of not cooperating with them. But gradually they have begun to realize that whatever we may do at least we are not partisan and that we are trying to follow a particular policy with complete honesty and integrity. Whether we are right or wrong we try to act with honesty and integrity. So respect for our country has grown even in the minds of those who did not agree with us. There already was some respect for us because of Mahatma Gandhi and the way in which we won freedom. It grew when they saw how we held certain principles and tried to follow them. So when they needed a country in which both sides had confidence in the war in Korea, they could not think of anyone except India. It is a great honour to our country that both the warring sides showed such confidence in us. So we have sent some of our forces to Korea to work for peace. I am just giving you an example of our policy. It is fraught with difficulties for it is obvious that the world is full of tremendous problems. But if we recognize a principle clearly and adhere to it firmly, a solution can be found to most problems. Even if mistakes are made, we can rectify them.

All these big things happening in the world are certainly not under our control. New problems are now cropping up. There is a great deal of talk about the American military aid to Pakistan. Ever since this news has spread, the question is being asked everywhere as to what we propose to do about it. We must think calmly about this and try to find a suitable course of action. First of all, we must not get angry with Pakistan or the United States about it. It would be very easy for me to make speeches which would incite you and create violent emotions in you. I want you to show passion but not in anger or hatred against any country. I want you to channel your enthusiasm and passion into tasks which will strengthen our country, as Acharya Vinoba Bhave has repeatedly said in this connection. We must try to see how far the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi help us in finding a solution to these big problems. Mahatma Gandhi is no longer with us to advise us. But we must look for enlightenment in his teachings. They cast a great deal of light. First of all, we must sift the right from the wrong. We must not give in to anger against any country or people. The United States of America is a great country, the biggest and most powerful country in the world today. We want to maintain friendship and, as far as possible, have close contacts and cooperation. Cooperation, however, does not mean that we should interfere in one another's internal affairs. Wherever our views agree, we must work together and when our views diverge, we should agree to go our own ways. This is how friendships can be maintained.

Take Pakistan. From the time Pakistan was created five or six years ago and India was divided into two, there have been many problems between us, which remain unsolved. Some have been solved and some of the old anger against each other has cooled down a little and from my own experience of

the common people of India and Pakistan, I would say that there is no ill-feeling among them though there may be some stray outbursts. The people of Pakistan want basically to live in amity with India. Leave aside principles, they realize the difficulties and hardships caused by hostility and how these things can be reduced by mutual cooperation. There is always advantage in cooperation between two neighbouring countries and wars harm both. There is no reason to interfere in each other's internal affairs. We can go our separate ways and learn from our own experience. If they take a wrong step out of fear or some difficulty, it is not for us to interfere. They have to learn from their own experience. But when they do something which affects our country or others, we have to express our views as friends. Apart from that, we have to think of taking some steps in our own country. If we retaliate by asking for military aid from other countries, we would be abandoning our principles and admitting defeat and following the very path which we have criticized. That is not right. As a matter of fact, at a time like this we have to look for ways of strengthening the people and the country.

We have some experience of this from the days of our freedom struggle. We did not have a military force but under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership we fought against armies. We welded ourselves into a mighty force by unifying the whole country and led the country towards organized and peaceful work and in this way we increased the strength of the country enormously, so much so that ultimately our people were victorious against the might of British imperialism. Then we came to an agreement with the British Government and so the problem of India's freedom was solved. This was a mighty achievement.

There is no reason for us to get into a panic on hearing that the United States is giving Pakistan military aid which may be used against us. It would have been a good thing if the aid had not been given. It would have been better not only for our country but for the whole of Asia and also for the world. It does not seem right to me. It is wrong because it makes the world and Asia lean towards war. But whether it is right or not, what is our answer to such things? The answer is not that we should also start talking about war or show hostility towards Pakistan or towards the United States. The moment we do so we would be guilty of the same wrong things which we have always criticised and which have led to wars in the world and Asia. Even now we feel that if we follow the right path in India and in Burma and other neighbouring countries, it is bound to have an effect on Asia and the world and it is possible that it may help to prevent a big war. There can be nothing more terrible than a world war in these days of the atom bomb. The entire pattern of wars has changed. If wars were terrible earlier, they have become a hundred or even a thousand times more terrible now. That is why we have decided that even if other countries fight, we shall not be a party to it. In this as in other matters, our path has been illumined by the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. The world changes and new

problems arise all the time, to which we have to seek new solutions. While situations might change, some principles and ideals never change and we must be guided by them. That is why I said, right at the beginning, that in these times, especially in the new year which is four days old, it has become especially important that we should search our hearts and minds to see in which direction we are bound and if we stand in danger of losing sight of Mahatma Gandhi's teachings. I am more than ever convinced that the fundamental principles set by Mahatma Gandhi before the country are the only answer to our problems. Only by following that path can we serve our country and the world. It is by no means a path for the weak or for the cowardly. Mahatma Gandhi talked in soft tones but his non-violence was not of the weak; it was born of an inner strength and courage and discipline. We must generate that strength once again in this country and enhance our internal unity. We have great tasks ahead of us in building a new India. With freedom we have reached one goal and now we are embarked on another phase of that journey, namely the upliftment of the people of India. The problem is enormous because millions of lives are involved. Nothing can be achieved through issuing some orders from the top. We need the co-operation of the people. So we must work together in harmony and co-operation and remove the provincialism, communalism and casteism which separate and weaken us. They are all elements of disunity.

This question of Pakistan is not a Hindu-Muslim issue. We have to work together, whether we are Hindus, Muslims, Christians or anybody else. It is not a religious issue between Hindus and Muslims. Other predominantly Muslim countries like Indonesia and Egypt also strongly disapprove the proposed military aid to Pakistan by the United States. So our Muslim brethren in the country must not be apprehensive that the atmosphere will be hostile to them. If such a thing happens, everything will be ruined. We have to show that we shall adhere firmly to our principles of peace and even friendship towards Pakistan and not give way to anger, for ultimately we have to live in amity and cooperation. We are neighbours and fighting is futile. There are other countries like Burma and China who have been our neighbours for thousands of years. Pakistan is a new nation. We want to have friendly relations with all of them. Pakistan was a part of us till recently. Why then should we think of war as the only solution to our differences? It is wrong. At a moment like this, it becomes more than ever necessary to think of Mahatma Gandhi, that frail little man who had such an abundance of strength and courage and revolutionary spirit that he shook our country out of her apathy, reawakened her and led her towards freedom and made a powerful impact upon the world. The power of his thoughts and ideas cannot have evaporated. We cannot consult Mahatma Gandhi any more, but his voice still rings in our ears and his writings are before us. So it is fitting that this Gandhi Gyan Mandir should be established as a memorial to his ideals and philosophy which should always be our guiding spirit. *Jai Hind.*

14. The Unesco as a Liberating Force¹

...The Unesco represents an aspect of the United Nations Organization, which in some ways, perhaps, is more important than other aspects.² It is true that almost every type of activity in the world is somehow affected and overshadowed by the political aspect. That is rather unfortunate. And the importance of the political aspect makes us feel that other aspects are secondary in importance. In some ways that might be so, because the political aspect has far-reaching results. Nevertheless, the political aspect or the political activity of the world is meant to achieve certain goals, which are not purely political. The political activity of the world is a means to an end and not an end in itself.

The Unesco represents much more than the political organization, the ends that we aim at. The political organization should clear the way for those ends, no doubt. Therefore, it is important, because political questions come in the way of our going ahead. In a sense, it is desirable that more stress should be laid on the aims and objectives of the Unesco, which are the real aims and objectives of humanity. Politicians should always keep that in mind and not get lost in political arguments and disputes....

In an organization like the Unesco, there is a great deal of agreement about the objectives. The arguments that may arise are really not so much about objectives, but about priorities, where one should function more and where, perhaps, less for the moment. Therefore, if we could bring the working of the Unesco more and more to the front and capture the public mind, we would probably be influencing the problems far more than the President³ of the United Nations, sitting here and others, can by the long debates in the UN, which gradually become less and less interesting and less and less polite.

1. Speech at the inauguration of the first conference of Indian National Commission for Cooperation with the Unesco, New Delhi, 9 January 1954. AIR tapes, NMML. Extracts.
2. The first conference of the Indian National Commission, held from 9 to 14 January 1954, was attended by the delegates of the National Commissions of Afghanistan, Egypt, Indonesia, Japan and other countries. The conference reviewed the policies and programmes of the Unesco and made far-reaching recommendations for the orientation of Unesco's programmes to meet the urgent requirements of the Asian and African countries.
3. Vijayalakshmi Pandit.

So the Unesco represents something of very great value. One may criticize its ideals and objectives and what it is working for, and what it has not done, but the fact remains that it is a basic organization aiming at something that is of the highest importance to humanity. It offers a field of work where controversy is very limited, and therefore, the opportunity for cooperation is much greater.

It is said that in order to solve almost any problem, whether it is an international problem or a national one or even a domestic one, a problem which gives rise to differing viewpoints, the direct approach is sometimes not so successful and the indirect approach is likely to be more helpful. The urges and desires which demand fulfilment in Asia are mostly for the primary necessities of life, not for the frills of life. That absorbs our attention. It is true that we also play the game of politics in our own countries as well as, to some extent, elsewhere, but our attention is absorbed by these basic problems of vast numbers of people having to be supplied with the primary necessities of life—food, clothing, housing, provision for health, education and the like. This certainly applies to our country, but I imagine, it applies to our sister countries of Asia too, or to most of them, who are more or less in the same predicament as we are, that they are far more interested in social and economic progress than in the purely political aspects of any problem. For that reason also the approach of the Unesco, if properly applied, is likely to go farther than the purely political approach....

There is no doubt that in the present context, the countries of Asia, and in a growing measure, the countries of Africa are coming to the front and are becoming aware of themselves. They are perhaps, a little too self-conscious but they want to achieve and to do things for themselves. Having considerable past experience of an unpleasant kind, they do not want to repeat or take any risks which might involve its repetition. They have a certain pride, not pride in the sense that they are better than others, but a pride in the fact that they are what they are, and they do not wish merely to imitate others, but to live their own lives, as they conceive it fit to be lived. They want to learn passionately from others, because they realize that in many ways, somehow, the current of life went ahead of them in the past, and almost left them in a backwater. They have now come back into that current and they want to go ahead as fast as possible. They want an opportunity to go ahead. They want cooperation. They want peace to go ahead. Nothing alarms them so much as something happening to them or in the world, which may come in the way of their going ahead and making good. That is why their desire for peace is a passionate desire, and horror of war is ingrained in them, because it comes in the way of everything that they hope for. After long ages, generations and centuries, they achieved freedom and they want to preserve that freedom at all costs. They do not want to risk it or limit it and they do not want anything

to happen which might appear to limit it, because it is a psychological question, and psychology counts tremendously when you have to deal with vast masses of human beings.

You have to deal with them in a democratic way. At least we like them to be dealt with in that way and we try to deal with them in that way in this country and in other neighbouring countries. How are we to deal with them in a democratic way except to pay heed to what they say, except to become aware of how they feel, what ideas they have in their minds and what desires they have in their hearts? We have to be emotionally aware of these masses of people. Sometimes they feel the wrong way and sometimes they act the wrong way. We have to restrain them, but restrain them by putting the right way before them and convincing them of the right way. Ultimately all of them want the same ideals—to preserve their freedom, to better their economic conditions and their own standards, and, to improve the conditions in their countries. Therefore, any idea that comes to them, which is likely to better their lot, appeals to them. Anything that comes to them in the shape of a liberating force, which will free them from the thralldom of poverty and disease and the rest, appeals to them immediately.

Do not be under any misapprehension that the so-called illiterate, our simple peasant, is a man who does not want to better himself and that a peasant is conservative. Of course, he is conservative, but the same peasant becomes very dynamic and even revolutionary when something that he intimately wants is denied to him. So here is this vast mass of humanity, throbbing with all kinds of sensations, desires and emotions, which has suddenly entered this democratic field of the world's affairs.

We are a new Republic but even in the old democratic countries, which have had a democratic constitution for hundreds of years, political democracy, that is, adult suffrage has been a development of more or less recent times, during the last generation or so. From a limited political democracy we have come to this unlimited franchise, adult suffrage. It is an adventure into the unknown, which requires all our imaginative insight to deal with the people, and it is not possible to deal with them by the rule of thumb. It requires an understanding of their historical and cultural background, especially since some of them have been conditioned by thousands of years behind them....

If the Unesco, instead of being an organization of eminent persons, experts and the like, went down to these millions and explained its ideals it would find an echo in their minds and hearts, because it is doing something that can be a kind of catalytic agent to make others work too, and that is what I want. It is doing something that can appear to the people as a liberating force. It may in turn be infused with what the people have in their own minds. It is in this way that great movements are created.

The world is a very exciting and adventurous place to live in. Alongside the problems we have to grapple with we can also talk about this new age into which we are stepping, which some people call the atomic age. But among many things that are happening in the world today is the very important factor of what is happening in the minds of millions of people in Asia. Asia consists of many countries, and some of them are completely distinct from others. Nevertheless, having undergone common experiences in the past, having faced more or less common problems and common backwardness in social and economic matters, inevitably their reactions, their thoughts, also run in a common direction.

One of the facts of the age is the awareness that has come to the people of Asia. Millions, in a sense are on the move. If they go wrong, they can be a source of great mischief. If they go right, then they have a tremendous power for good. One cannot easily mould them according to one's own wishes... One cannot order them about, because they are not prepared to be ordered about. But they can be argued with. They want to learn, and if they understand and familiarize themselves with the path, they will try to follow that.

The awakening of Asia, this sudden turn in history's wheel after two or three hundred years during which Asia was static and more or less a plaything of western European countries, is one of the big changes of the present-day world. What it will lead to I do not know, but the fact is that they have to be understood and recognized. The same thing in a lesser degree, I suppose, is happening in Africa... Countries of Asia are especially picking up all trends. Some are looking backward, some forward and reestablishing contacts between different countries, which they had once lost... Newspapers do not indicate these amazing changes, they are interested only in reporting about the existing events and catastrophes, disasters and the like....

You cannot affect others, unless you are prepared to be receptive and be affected by what you see or what you feel... It is an extraordinary thing, how many of us have ready-made answers to questions which we have not taken the trouble even to frame. We all of us do that, politicians specially.

So I wonder, if it is possible for the Unesco, which is far from the strife of politics, which can approach problems in a human way, and, in an understanding way, to look at these vast continents from that receptive point of view, from that cooperative point of view, of helping and teaching, no doubt, but also of understanding and learning, wherever necessary. If that is done, I think, there will be far greater mutual cooperation and mutual understanding and success, and by this indirect approach, even the great political problems of the day might become easier of solution....

15. The Message of Kalyani Congress¹

... It is unusual for a resolution of the Congress, an important resolution of the Congress, to be put forward by the President himself. Yet it seems to me that there is a certain fitness of things in the Subjects Committee directing me to put it forward, rather than this resolution should go through the usual process of proposing, seconding, etc.

You read this resolution and I shall read it presently. There is nothing remarkable in it, nothing dramatic in it, no fine phraseology in it and yet, I believe, there is something in it of the highest importance. But that something comes into it provided you put it there, not because I propose it and you ultimately pass it. I shall read it:

In view of the international developments and the new situation that India might have to face, it is of paramount importance that the country's energies and resources should be directed to the building up and strengthening of the nation. The basic strength can only come by national unity and self-reliance and by concentrating on the major issues which confront the nation. These issues are the social, economic and industrial development of the country. For this purpose the nation must rely on its own resources and must be prepared for austerity in the present, so that security and a fuller life might be available to the people in the future. The Congress is convinced that the people of India will face this new situation with unity, courage and perseverance and will be prepared to give their resources to be utilized for this purpose. The Congress commends to the Government that special development loans be floated so that public works on a much larger scale might be initiated and industries built up, thus not only strengthening the nation but also providing large-scale employment to the people. Such loan should suit the small investor so that large numbers of people should associate themselves in this as in other ways in the great and cooperative endeavour to build a strong and progressive nation.

We have been here in this Congress, many of us for five days now, and soon this session will be over, the 59th session of the Indian National Congress held in the 69th year of the Congress. We have a long heritage. We completed

1. Speech while presenting the resolution, "Call to the Nation", at the fifty-ninth session of the Indian National Congress, Kalyani, 24 January 1954. AIR tapes, NMML. Also available in File No. 55(C)/1954, AICC Papers, NMML. Extracts.

a great stage in our journey some years ago, and now we can speak also of the seventh year of independence and the fourth year of the Republic of India.

During all these years in the past, we laboured for the freedom of India, and then came this turning point in the history of India and of Asia and, if I may say so, of the world when the independence of India came into being and the Republic of India was established.

And now, we have this mighty task of continuing in a different way, to weave the many-coloured garment of India, to weave this web of destiny which is the future of India, and to weave it well and strongly. It has to be strong, it has to keep its rich and many-hued character. There are many people who want to make it too drab, too much after their own drab semblance, but India is too big for them, too big for all of us. It has innumerable facets, and innumerable hues. That is the richness and beauty and greatness of India.

So let us think of India in that way, and work for India in that way. But above all, let us preserve and cherish and fight for this freedom of India that has come after long waiting, and let us not at any time forget that that is our main task, our principal task, and that we dare not lose our vigilance, we dare not go soft and slack, we dare not think of our little troubles and arguments when these major questions confront us. I am sorry we are much too apt to fall into these little traps and have these little arguments.

What is this argument that you have today? A petty and insignificant argument, a Bihari or a Bengali talking about some petty matter, what significance does it have? Nothing. Yet we get excited about it, emotionally worked up about it. Even that resolution, which you passed about the Reorganization of States, did it say anything about Bihar or Bengal? Nothing. The question between Bihar and Bengal is probably the most insignificant, the most unimportant of the questions that will come up before that commission. When some of us get excited about it, let us look at things in the true perspective.²

We have many virtues, and we have shown these virtues in our history. We do not lack courage and we do not lack intelligence, but we do lack a certain spirit of cohesion. It is astounding and amazing how easily we go off into sidetracks leaving the main road.

I do not know why that is so. I think one major reason for it is that we have been split up into so many castes, and we are such a caste-ridden society. We live in divisions apart, we live in our own little pigeon holes. Therefore, in the past, in spite of our many virtues, we were overthrown, on so many

2. Nehru intervened in the debate on the reorganization of States when delegates from Bengal and Bihar expressed strong feelings on the boundary dispute between the two States.

occasions by people who, perhaps, had lesser virtues but who certainly had more cohesion.

So, let us never forget the unity of India, the integrity of India. I believe that just as it was the historic destiny of this Congress to fight and achieve the independence of India, so it is the historic destiny of the Congress today to fight for and achieve the full integration of India, not mere consolidation on the map that we have done — but the integration of the mind and spirit of India, so that we may be, in reality, in thought, in mind and action, all the time, an integrated, united nation — not a regimented nation, not a uniform nation. We want to preserve the magnificent variety of India, so that we can face not only our own tremendous problems but the problems of the world and all the dangers that might confront us.

It is well that sometimes we face dangers and perils because it is danger and peril that make us think of the important things, and pull us out of those small things that usually envelop our minds. Therefore, if there is an element of danger in India in the present situation, or in any future situation of India, I for one welcome it.

Many of us have spent our lives not in a soft way but in the hard way. We have been trained that way, and if there is anything in us today that is worthwhile, it is because we lived a hard life. Pity those who lived the soft life and imagined that they were having a good time. Pity them. They missed the joy of life, and everything that makes life worthwhile. We had it, and it was our good fortune that we were given the chance to have it. Pity the unfortunate people who sometimes sympathize with us, for having gone to prison and all that. They do not know what life, what functioning in life, means. Some of us have functioned that way. Some of us had this unique privilege under a very great leader who raised our stature and thereby raised the stature of the country too.

So it is a good thing that there are perils and dangers all the time. It is a good thing to go and try to climb up the mighty Everest. It is a good thing, even though some of you may remain caught in the crevices or glaciers abounding the Everest, because that is the way nations grow. That is the way communities become strong and great — not by soft living; not by soft thinking, not by soft talk.

So be glad that you have some dangers to face. Be glad that you are engaged in a mighty adventure of building up India, which would be a challenge to the greatest and the most powerful nation on earth.

It is no small thing that we have taken up the building up of this country of 360 millions. It is a mighty task worthy of giants. Well, we are not giants. But we had a giant among us to lead us sometime ago and something of the shadow of greatness that he had, fell on this Congress and fell on us, humble little folk as we were, and gave a measure of greatness too to our generation.

It is a task worthy of giants, remember that, and do not quibble about little things. Think of the greatness of the task, and the greatness of the endeavour required to deal with it and the spirit required for that venture.

Other countries may say, and rightly, that India is a weak country, because their yardstick of measurement is either strength in arms or money, gold and silver and the like. Let us not deny that both arms and money count in this world and are important, but surely there are some other things, and without doubt, these other things are sometimes more important and, at any rate in our struggle for freedom, it was not money or arms that counted for us, or that helped us, but it was something else. The question is whether we possess that something else, or whether in our vanity of success, we have forgotten it and whether in our conceit of having achieved something, we have forgotten the way to achievement and success. That is the problem before you, me and this country, and I can give no full answer. Nobody can give any final answer. Only the history of the next few years will give an answer to that question.

Many of us laboured in our youth and in our middle years for the cause of India, and India became for us a dearly loved country, and the Indian people a dearly loved brothers and sisters of ours. We were a great community, a great family, these 360 million people of India, and dreamt about what we would do. It has been given to us, of this generation, not only to struggle but to achieve and to see the realization of some of those dreams that we dreamt long long ago. It is true that the realization of those dreams did not come about exactly as we thought it would, and there was much suffering and much unhappiness in the way it came.

Nevertheless, it was a tremendous fact that we achieved something that met our heart's desire. But the realization of that dream did not see the fulfilment or consummation of our lives' task, as we step into the afternoon or the evening of our days. I hope it may be recorded in history that this generation which some of us, here on this platform represent, held aloft the torch of freedom, through this great period. No doubt, we all make mistakes all the time, but we never did anything to bring dishonour or disrespect to India. That we kept up that honour, bright and shining whatever happened, and held the torch of freedom aloft whatever happened.

Now the time may come, and is bound to come, when we have to pass on that torch to the younger hands. May it be said of them also that they held aloft the torch and never allowed it to be lowered, whatever may have happened. So, for us in this country, while we may pass, and the others take our places, the country would live and go on, for India is immortal, and the people of India are immortal, though all of us may come and go.

We now have to lay the foundations of this new India, with this freedom that we have achieved as the base the stout and strong foundations on which others will build and realize their dreams. Let us not build a rickety structure.

Let us therefore not overly think of today and sacrifice our tomorrow for it. A great responsibility is cast upon us to carry on this work in the right way, in the right spirit and by following the right principles, and without losing heart.

I put up this resolution before you and you will no doubt pass it. I should like you to pass it not in the normal way of just raising your hands but, at any rate, to signify the passing of it, in some way which is more important, that you realize the importance of it, you realize that you will have to work for it, you realize that having passed it you will go away from here with some fresh message, some new thing to do.

You will pack up your belongings today, tonight or tomorrow and go to your town or village. But, you will have to go on a long journey, not only to your town and village. We all have to go on a long journey and the less luggage we have for that journey the better, because we have to go a long way and a difficult way. When you go from here, you carry this message and if you do not carry it well and stoutly, and work according to it, and go to your people in village, town and *mohalla* including every house, wherever it is, and carry it, well then you will betray your own pledge and yourselves, and that is a bad betrayal. Therefore, when I ask you to pass this resolution, I shall ask you at least a simple thing to pass it standing and to pass it with a loud full-throated shout of *Jai Hind*. I do not want you to do that now. Because I have something else to say to you.

We have to build this country and we have to build a country of quality. I am frightened of the bigness of India. I am frightened of the numbers of India. We talk about this thirty-six crores all the time, I want quality, quality not quantity. If quantity is quality, well and good, but it is quality that counts. I want India to be great and splendid, standing among countries, among nations of the world. I do not want it to be a second-rate country, to be just a hanger on, an imitator of other countries. It amazes me that any person, any Indian, should have a lesser ideal or should think of following the lead of any other country because of pressure or because of fear. Is it for this that we struggled and made India independent? Let other countries know that India may not be strong in a military sense—I may not care about being strong in a military sense—but India is no mean country and though we may speak softly, because we have been trained by our master to speak in soft courteous language, because we may not quite shout as others shout, yet with that softness there is also a firmness behind, that is some steel, because we have been trained, and that training is a training not for us, but a training for India. We have been trained to think in particular ways, and act in particular ways, and I hope that whenever any crisis or difficulty comes, that training will stand us in good stead and will help us. So, let us aim at quality in our work. Let us aim at self-reliance. These are old truths. They may appear rather trite and

futile, the repetition of the ideals like, unity, self-reliance and all that, yet truths have to be repeated and a truth does not cease to be a truth because it has often been repeated.

So, I will beg of you, when you pass this resolution, to think deeply about it, to realize what it means, and understand the significance of it, whatever your function in life may be. Our function for long years was to labour for the achievement of the freedom of India. It was that functioning that gave us strength, because a person and a people without some function, some real purposeful function, grow weak. They tie themselves up to little things and little causes; whereas it is while performing the big function, and pursuing a big cause that gives you strength. We have a big enough cause today for us. Let us draw strength from it and labour for it to our utmost. Now I shall say a few words in Hindi³....

3. The English translation of the rest of the speech in Hindi is not printed. Nehru in that speech called upon the nation to rebuild India as a first-rate nation that would lead the world to permanent and lasting peace and prosperity. He told the delegates, "Let us aim at quality in our work, let us aim at self-reliance." He called upon them to carry the message of Kalyani Congress to every home.

16. Gandhian India¹

We have just witnessed a grand parade.² It was not merely a military parade. As you must have seen, there is another aspect of it which is gaining prominence and has no connection with the armed forces. Each of our provinces had sent some samples of their special handicrafts which were beautiful. Then hundreds of people come from the border areas and elsewhere as our guests and we saw their folk dances in their distinct and colourful costumes. The boys and girls from the various schools and the National Cadet Corps also took part in the parade. Our foreign guests who had come specially to see the parade were very impressed. Though they were impressed by the discipline and efficiency of the armed forces, what impressed them most was the picture that the parade

1. Speech at a public meeting organized by the Delhi State Congress Committee to commemorate the sixth death anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi, New Delhi, 30 January 1954. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. The reference is to the Republic Day parade on 26 January.

presented of the new India that is rapidly emerging and the thousand ways in which a strong nation is being built. They were impressed by the tremendous unity amidst the diversity. Then we had dances by people from various parts of the country in a variety of dresses at the National Stadium. They had come from the borders of Burma and Tibet, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Goa, Bombay and the South. Every year we invite a few of the troupes to come and dance here. It was started last year in order to enable our guests as also the people of Delhi to get a complete picture of India and to understand one another and not think of our own little localities as the only places that count.

Yesterday many of you must have seen the grand band display in front of the Rashtrapati Bhavan in the Beating Retreat ceremony. These are all small things but they show the solidarity of the country and our capacity to handle anything we take up with dignity and confidence. These are symbols of our strength. After these functions over the last four days, today our mind goes back to the day, six years ago when Mahatma Gandhi became a martyr to an assassin's gun. You must remember why he was assassinated and the principles for which he sacrificed his life. Whenever we think of Mahatma Gandhi our hearts are filled with grief. This is true especially of those who had the good fortune to be with him. We are often reminded of the way we used to run to him for advice and how much easier our burdens would be if he had been with us today. We grieve for him; at the same time, there is happiness too at the thought that a great man like him came to be amongst us in our own lifetime, and lent a fresh lustre to this ancient land of ours. He was a glowing star in the firmament and he lit little lamps of hope in the hearts of millions of Indians and has left a trail of immortal glory behind.

I was talking just now to some children at another place and told them that they must have heard all the famous stories of ancient India. Every child knows the tales of Ramayana and Mahabharata and has seen Ram Lila being enacted. I told them that in our own times, we had witnessed a new tale part of which had been written by Mahatma Gandhi—the story of India's freedom, which would take its place centuries later among the famous Indian tales. It is a long story of how one great man like Mahatma Gandhi pulled this ancient country of ours out of the morass of ignorance, weakness and fear and lifted up millions of Indians and led them towards freedom. He taught us many important lessons and spread his message all over the country. Of course there is always the question as to how far we have understood them and remember and practise them today. It is an extraordinary story that unfolded in India especially at a time when, as you know, all around us, there was talk of war and preparations for war and the use of the atom bomb. Even when there is no actual fighting, a Cold War rages. In the Cold War no guns are fired but every form of threat and abuse and insults are hurled at one another and there is fear

and hostility among nations and constant preparations for war are being made. Can two things ever be farther removed from each other—the world racing towards war and guns and the atom bomb, on the one hand, and, on the other, Mahatma Gandhi's voice preaching love, non-violence, friendship and unity among people of all religions and nations? How different are the two things. People the world over, and especially the people of India are constantly faced with the dilemma of which path to choose. The voice of sanity is reaching the hearts and minds of millions of people all over the world. They are deeply perturbed and are slowly reaching to the conclusion that if the world is to be saved from grave disaster, it can be done only by paying heed to that voice of sanity and following the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi. As far as India is concerned, we are in the privileged position of having heard his voice and seen him. Therefore in this dilemma which the world faces, there is a very special responsibility upon India to make the correct choice. First of all, we have to acquire the strength to do so by making the country strong. What is the sign of strength in a nation? Strength can be gauged to some extent by the armed forces, industries, material wealth, economic condition, etc. of a country. The thought comes to my mind that when Mahatma Gandhi came back from South Africa, he was already respected and known for what he had done there. But he had not intervened much in the politics of India or even talked about India's freedom except to write something once.³ We were very young then and used to go to him and invite him to join politics and lead us. His reply invariably used to be that he was busy with small tasks and could only hope that success in them would have an effect on the bigger national tasks too.

I do not know if you remember that at that time he was working in Champaran to alleviate the miseries of the peasants in the indigo plantations. The problem was at least a hundred and twenty-five years old. The rich planters, mostly British, were oppressing the peasantry. Mahatma Gandhi took up their cause in his own quiet, peaceful and gentle way and yet behind it was a steely determination and strength. The world soon began to realize the tremendous force behind the quiet voice. What was the secret of his strength? You must have seen that physically he was extremely frail and thin. So his strength was neither physical nor that of arms or wealth. It was mental and spiritual strength. So he took up the cause of Champaran and various small problems in Gujarat. What I am telling you is old history by now and by some chance, we too became a part of that history. After the First World War, two repressive laws were passed under the name of the Rowlatt Act over which a great agitation started. Mahatma Gandhi entered the Indian political field for the first time and formed a committee for Swaraj. That was the beginning of the Satyagraha

3. The reference is to *Hind Swaraj* written in 1908.

movement. After that, big things began happening. They started in the Punjab where Martial Law was imposed and the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre took place. Then events drew him full tilt into the arena of Indian politics and with his coming, the era of Gandhian politics began. He taught his own lessons. There were all kinds of issues before us then, of Swaraj and the Khilafat movement and so on. The progress was very slow because he would not compromise over basic questions. Mahatma Gandhi did not make tall claims. He talked little and achieved a great deal. We were great talkers and used to indulge in arguments and debates and then sit at home and relax. This was how we spent our time. In the beginning we could not understand his exhortations to talk less, be polite and soft-spoken, etc.. It is only little by little that we began to see what he was trying to teach us. I do not know if you remember it, but when he first broached the idea of a non-cooperation movement, even the Congress did not accept it. He raised it through the Khilafat Committee. I remember the occasion well, for I was there with him. The big Khilafat leaders and elders would indulge in long harangues. Gandhiji interrupted them and in his soft voice said that he would put it differently but whatever was decided upon, he would stay firm on it. He was firmly of the opinion that we must not talk big but adhere to what we said without budging an inch. He did not like tall talk and insisted upon everyone practising what they said. The great Congress leaders of the time were perplexed by Gandhiji's methods for they could not fully comprehend the idea of non-cooperation and Satyagraha. Nowadays everyone talks glibly of Satyagraha, many do it right at my doorstep.

These ideas were new at that time and the fact was that we could not fully comprehend them. But the difference was that the older leaders at the time were responsible people and consequently hesitant to commit themselves without proper consideration. We were young and not very responsible and we were very eager to try out the new path regardless of the consequences. But very soon, within a few months, the entire complexion of Indian politics had changed. The old Congress leaders saw that Gandhiji was having an impact on millions of people in the country and began to feel that there must be something good in what he said.

So, gradually, Mahatma Gandhi drew the old Congress leaders towards himself. Most of them joined him, except a few individuals here and there who stayed away. In this connection I should like to point out, though one feels a sense of surprise even now in saying this, that Mr Jinnah left the Congress not on the Hindu-Muslim issue (for Pakistan had not even been thought of then) but because he felt annoyed that with the coming of Mahatma Gandhi into the Congress, uneducated villagers and all sorts of riffraff were beginning to enter it. He said that he could not comprehend such a Congress and left it. That marked the beginning of a new era. What Mahatma Gandhi said was

extremely simple, without any hidden meanings or complexities and, more importantly, without any bitterness or hostility towards the British. We were arrayed against them and yet he praised the British wherever he went. He used to tell me that he had no enmity with the British and that his battle was with British imperialism. He drew a fine distinction between the two which we could not understand easily. But he repeated it so often that gradually we too began to understand and control our speech a little. He used to tell people to shed fear for there was nothing to be afraid of. After all, the worst that the British Government could do was to punish us by putting us in jails. So if we were prepared to go to jail, what was there to be afraid of? It is possible that there would be firing and one or more of us might be killed. What was there to get into a panic about in that? All these things seemed simple enough. But there was a strange magnetism in his voice and eyes and personality and his simple message spread like wild fire. I remember it very well, and though I do not normally believe in magic of any kind, what he did seem very much like magic. In no time millions of people all over the land, especially the very poor, began to stand more erect and hold their heads high and they began to count for something. Until then the plight of the peasants was pitiable and I used to feel terribly upset when I was working among them in Uttar Pradesh. They were in constant fear of the zamindar and his assistants, of the police and the lawyers and everyone else. They could hope for no hearing in the law courts for who would listen to a hungry and naked peasant who could not afford the services of big lawyers? So they were brutally suppressed and lived in constant fear. But soon they began to shed their fear and walk erect with heads held high. It was enough to gladden the heart of the beholder and we began to compare that with the behaviour of our great leaders and intellectuals who, if they had to face a case of sedition launched against them by government used to get into an absolute panic, not because they were cowards, but by force of habit because it was supposed to be a bad thing to have a court case or to go to jail. So they used to go to court and deny indulging in any act of sedition against the Government and great legal battles used to be fought to decide whether their words could be construed as being seditious or not. The picture would change completely and, leave alone the great intellectuals and leaders, even small, insignificant men who had inbibed Gandhiji's lessons, would go to court and admit fearlessly what they had said and also declare that they would continue to do so though they were fully aware of what they were saying was against the British laws. They challenged the British to punish them as they wished and they were fully prepared to accept it willingly. They pointed out that if the judges accepted the logic of what the Satyagrahis were saying, they should abandon their posts and join them. This was a novel thing in politics. We wanted to remove British rule from here. But Mahatma Gandhi did not believe in abusing the British Government but concentrated all his

attention on making the masses stronger because that was what mattered. There was nothing to be gained by empty talk. To the extent that the people gained in strength, they could challenge the British empire more effectively. So his entire attention was concentrated on raising the masses by removing the fear from their hearts and uniting them.

Unity was extremely important because disunity and internal feuding had been an ancient vice in India. Politics and religion and caste had kept us in separate compartments. The entire history of India shows how we fell time and again because of disunity and the enemy took advantage of it, whether it was the British or other foreign invaders who had come into India over thousands of years of her history. Moreover foreign invaders always found traitors within the country to help them. It was Indians who helped the British to consolidate themselves, for which they were richly rewarded. So this is an old disease in India. History shows us the reasons for this disunity. But in my opinion, one important reason was casteism in which every caste thinks of itself and does not bother about the rest, resulting in people living in separate compartments. So we used to be defeated and our society could not be integrated properly. Our enemies never had the least difficulty in dealing with each section of society separately.

You must have read in your history books that Alexander, the famous Greek Emperor, invaded India about 2,300 years ago and conquered some of the border kingdoms. It is important to remember why he came in the first place. He came here at the invitation of some Indian kings who had a feud among themselves and Alexander was invited to help them against one king, Porus. So Alexander came and defeated Porus very easily. I am giving you an example of the foolishness of our people in seeking the enemy's help in their mutual quarrels. When the British came here in the beginning, the Mughal empire had disintegrated and there were many small kingdoms which had become independent and were fighting among themselves. The chieftains of Maharashtra were very brave but were constantly at one another's throats. The result in short was that the British were able to entrench themselves easily here. Whatever the reason, disunity is an ancient vice of ours and people are always fighting among themselves, in the name of politics or religion and caste.

Therefore right from the beginning, even when he was in South Africa, Mahatma Gandhi had started teaching the lesson of unity to the Indians there. He told them that if they wanted to achieve anything, they must work together, whether they were Hindus, Muslims, Christians or Sikhs or whether they hailed from Madras or the North or Gujarat, for they were all Indians. To the extent that the Indians in South Africa learnt this lesson, they grew in strength. There is yet another defect in us—lack of discipline. When Mahatma Gandhi took over the leadership here, he taught discipline to the whole nation and especially

to the Congress. He made an entirely new organization out of the Congress by teaching it discipline and strict obedience to its rules. There was no pressure on anyone to join the Congress, but once an individual joined it, strict discipline and obedience to its rules and regulations was required of him. If he failed, he was asked to resign or was removed. Mahatma Gandhi's mind was full of ideas of peace and non-violence but at the same time functioned in a martial way too. I remember right at the beginning, talking in the context of the Khilafat movement and non-cooperation, he told us that it was to be a regular battle against a powerful empire. It was to be no ordinary battle because it was going to be fought not with weapons but peacefully and non-violently. But he told us that we would have to become an army and learn military discipline. That is what a commander in an army is for. If we agreed to make him the commander he would accept the post but on the condition that we would give unquestioned obedience. He said he would give full permission to remove him or courtmartial him—he would have no objection. But so long as he remained the leader, everybody would have to obey him. Thus Mahatma Gandhi was a strange mixture—on the one hand extremely soft and gentle, and on the other, combining in himself the discipline and strictness of a military man.

At that time, Indian politics was full of men who knew how to indulge in long harangues but were otherwise extremely slack. Step by step Mahatma Gandhi began to mould the people of India in his ways and taught them fearlessness and discipline and unity and co-operation. He taught them to think of India as one country and pointed out that the fortunes of the various provinces like the Punjab or Delhi and Uttar Pradesh and Bengal were irrevocably tied to that of India. So none of the parts could exist separately. All of them had to sink or swim together. He laid emphasis on two things particularly. One was religious unity: whether they were Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, or Christians, the people of India must live together in harmony, though they were welcome to follow their own religious beliefs. Secondly, the uplift of the depressed classes of society whom he named Harijans. He wanted them to have equal rights. He used to say that so long as we continued to oppress our brothers, we had no right to demand Swaraj for ourselves. We had no right to suppress our own brothers just because we thought we belonged to a higher caste than they. After all it was we who branded them as low castes and suppressed them brutally down the centuries and snatched away all their rights. In such circumstances, how could any of us have the right to demand the very same things which we were denying to others? How could we ask for freedom when we were not prepared to give it to others? Apart from making us aware of the injustice of the whole thing, what Mahatma Gandhi did was a very wise thing because he wanted to involve the entire nation in the movement. It would not have been good for the country if the Harijans and others felt that they had nothing to do with the freedom struggle as it was not going to benefit them in

any way, and kept aloof. He placed some of these broad facts before us. That is how he led us. It was a great movement and several lakh people went to jail. At times it almost seemed as if history had frozen in its tracks. But it started all over again with greater vigour because Gandhiji's method was not to permit our strength to be wasted in any way.

Let me give you another example. If you launch an armed revolution and win, good luck to you. But if you fail, you are completely ruined. There is nothing in between. Once you lose—and the chances are that you will—there is no possibility of raising your heads for a long time because a debacle like that makes a nation or race or individual a spent force. Then follows a period of degradation, of living in fear and a state of subjugation. This kind of a situation did not arise in Mahatma Gandhi's movement for even if the British Government seemed to suppress it outwardly, the strength of the nation was intact because it lay not in weapons but in the minds and hearts of the people. So long as we kept our minds and hearts fresh, our strength was intact. Gandhiji never accepted defeat or allowed the people to become disheartened. With each step we gained in strength and ultimately we won freedom. The British rule came to an end and India became free. The reins of power came into our hands to do what we liked. However, I would like to remind you that Mahatma Gandhi said again and again that he did not consider it complete freedom. He said that we had yet to take the next step. The next step was to form a democratic government with the reins of power in the hands of the people. We drafted and adopted a Constitution, a very good one as far as constitutions go, with a parliamentary system of government and provision for elections. The quality of the people who are elected is a different matter. But the reins of power are in the hands of the people. We have a hundred per cent political freedom. But Gandhiji's conception of freedom went further because it concerned the lives of human beings. It was concerned with the well being of the millions and he used to say, and rightly, that so long as there were poor people in India, freedom could not be complete. Political freedom was only one step in that direction; we had to undertake the other tasks which could lead us towards complete freedom.

We are free. It would be no exaggeration to say that we are more free than most other countries in the world. It is an odd thing that though there are many theoretically independent countries in the world, most of them are under the pressure of some country or the other. They have to obey the dictates of one great power or the other. It is well known to the world that whatever policies India follows, right or wrong, she decides for herself and is not under the pressure of any other nation. We annoy both sides in the process but in the last few years at least one thing has become clear and everyone has accepted the fact that India follows her policies with honesty and integrity. Whether we are right or wrong is another matter. There are any number of nations whose

foreign policy is under such great pressure from the super-powers that they can move neither hand nor foot of their own free will. They may make some attempts to do so but they have to toe the line ultimately. That is the reality.

The question before us in the last six or seven years has been how to march rapidly towards real freedom in which the masses become prosperous and their burdens and difficulties are removed. There are many aspects to it—the economic question, unemployment, poverty, etc. Another thing which is linked to it is the fact that unless we progress economically, the country will remain weak. Poor and hungry nations cannot be strong. How have England and the United States, Germany and the Soviet Union become so powerful? It is because their national wealth grew and their production increased. If you want to listen to an old story, the British nation was poor compared to India just a few centuries ago. But in the last few hundred years, many things happened. Please do not think that they grew rich on the wealth plundered from India. Though that was a great deal, it did not make them particularly rich. We must understand fully well that gold and silver do not constitute wealth. Ultimately it is the nation which uses its mind and body to produce wealth that becomes rich. The British had two forms of wealth—steel and coal. There was a great Industrial Revolution in their country during the last century and the age of the heavy machinery was inaugurated. Since they had steel and coal, it was easy for them. Then the railway engine was invented and gradually their industries grew and spread all over the world. From England, the Industrial Revolution spread to Germany, France and later to the United States. So the countries which became wealthy during the last hundred years were those which became industrialized by utilizing their coal and other resources. There is no dearth of coal and iron in India too. But we never paid attention to industrialization. When the British came here, we were living in a world of our own, smugly and complacently. We thought we were great and paid no attention to the rapid changes that were taking place in the rest of the world. We were sitting in our ivory tower while the world changed. Then the British came and they did not want us to progress. So they put a ban on industrialization.

What I mean to say is that we have to progress fast and that cannot be done by transferring wealth from one pocket to another. We have to produce new wealth in India from the land and from industries, both cottage industries and heavy industries. This is the way of producing wealth. Money-lending does not produce it, for it only transfers it from one pocket to another. If our farmers produce fifteen maunds of wheat per acre instead of ten, the country will be that much wealthier. There is no reason why this cannot be done, for in the other countries they are producing much more, especially in the United States. Their farmers are so wealthy because they produce three or four times as much from land than we do. I agree that they use modern techniques and

tractors, etc.. Leave aside the United States. Even Egypt and China produce more. In short, if we want to increase our wealth, we must produce more from land and put up new industries and produce not only enough for our requirements but be in surplus. It is a big task before us. We can allow private individuals to invest their money as they wish. But the result would be that it will be invested in useless things. Compared to other countries, we do not have money to waste or throw about. So we have to ensure that it is invested properly for development. By improper investment I mean things which are not essential. We must first concentrate on essential things and then go on to luxury items.

Let us take an example. Please do not think that I am against cinema or seeing films. It is true that I seldom get an opportunity to see films but I would not come in your way if you want to. I would only like that the film should be good. But if we invest all our money in putting up cinema houses, we shall only be tying up our money in non-essential, unproductive items. Therefore we have to draw up our priorities. We set up a Planning Commission to draw up plans keeping in mind the resources of the entire country. Please remember that we can invest only as much as we can save. Suppose your income is two or three hundred rupees and you spend all of it. You will have nothing left for investment. The same is true of governments. Its income is what you pay by way of taxes. Whatever is saved can be invested for the development of the country.

Our Planning Commission drew up a Plan for the nation two year ago and the Planning Commission itself made some alterations in it after a year. We shall continue to make alterations and the Plan will become better as we gain more experience. Soon we shall have to draw up the Second Five Year Plan. We have to increase our national wealth; it would be more appropriate to say that we should increase the power to produce more wealth in the country. Suppose we put up a textile factory in Delhi. It will certainly be a good thing, for we need cloth and so it should be produced. But cloth does not contribute to the nation's strength. There are two types of industries—those consisting of factories which produce essential goods and others which produce machines. An example of the first is a machine which produces cloth, and an example of the other is an industry which produces machine which in turn will make cloth. It is obvious that if we want progress we shall have to lay the firm foundations for it by putting up basic industries. Otherwise we shall have to keep importing machines from the United States or elsewhere and run to them for repairs and spare parts. That does not constitute real strength. But if we produce the machines ourselves, we shall obviate such dependence and we can advance rapidly. That is the reason why we are setting up basic industries. Steel is a basic industry. If we have steel, we can produce machines for our small industries. We need fertilizers. So we have put up a big fertilizer factory.

Chemical industries and all sorts of machine-tool plants are all basic industries.

Another basic necessity is to understand the running of the machinery. What does strength mean? An individual's strength lies in his ability to work hard. Electricity is a big source of power and it can be used to run big industries by merely pressing a button. Electricity is not used only to provide light. Power is needed to run engines. You can gauge the strength of a nation by finding out how much electricity it produces and what its other sources of power are. Electricity can be produced by burning coal. Another way is by building dams on big rivers and harnessing them for energy. You must be aware that we have taken up huge river valley schemes in five or six places and on a smaller scale in fifty or sixty places. We are spending enormous amounts of money on these schemes. These large projects will produce electricity and provide water through canals for irrigation. So we will benefit in two ways.

Take the Bhakra-Nangal in the Punjab, or the Damodar Valley Project in Bengal and Bihar, the Hirakud in Orissa, Tungabhadra in the South. Many of you may have seen the Bhakra-Nangal Project. You will find very few projects being undertaken on such a large scale anywhere in the world. It is an act of great daring to take up such huge projects. The result will be that the Punjab and parts of Rajasthan will get water, especially the deserts of Bikaner which will become fertile. Production of food will increase and we shall get electricity.

There is yet another thing which is of fundamental importance in the modern world. All around you, you see loudspeakers, electric lights, aeroplanes, trains, ships, telephones, telegraph and so on. All these are products of science. It is science which has made Europe and the United States powerful. Science has shown them how to take advantage of their coal and iron deposits to produce steel and electricity and run a thousand industries. It is through scientific advance that they have been able to produce the atom bomb. If we want to compete with other nations, there is no other way except to understand science. We cannot progress by copying others. We shall remain backward if we merely copy others. Moreover we shall learn nothing new and would be imitating what they have already outgrown in the West. They will not reveal the secrets of the latest machinery or scientific techniques to us. Therefore it is essential that we must try to advance on our own. So we have set up big national laboratories all over the country. We have one near Delhi which you can see. It is a grand affair and everyone who sees it is amazed that there are such huge science laboratories in India. I am not telling you anything new but I am trying to put a general picture before you to show how we are trying to lay the foundations of the nation's progress in the future. Foundations do not yield immediate results. It takes time to build the edifice on top. It would have been easy to have provided the people with some things which would have been of short-term benefit and pleased them. But the result would have been that we would have stayed where we are. There would have been no increase in the

nations's wealth or strength. So we have set up these huge national laboratories, taken up river valley schemes, and we are building steel plants and factories to make aeroplanes, steamships, machine-tools, railway locomotives and so on. It is obvious that all these things will not benefit us immediately. We may spend fifty or a hundred crore rupees on the Damodar Valley Project. There will be no immediate benefit. There will only be enormous expenditure for the next five or seven years. But the moment they are completed, we shall start getting the benefit in a thousand different ways, for we shall have electricity, there will be water for irrigation in the fields, and so on. We must have the courage not to barter away the future for a little comfort at present. If we have the courage to bear some hardships in the present, we shall progress rapidly in the future.

You must have heard about the Russian Revolution. I do not like the idea of competing with anyone. But if you want to compete with the Soviet Union, you must remember first of all that thirty-six or thirty-seven years have passed since the Russian Revolution. It is unfair to compare ourselves after six years of freedom with something that happened thirty-six years ago. Ten or fifteen years, hence, you could compare India with other countries. But I shall not feel hesitant if you should compare whatever has happened in the last few years in India with what happened in other countries during the same period. I think we shall come out on top in the comparison. But you must consider the hardships and privations that the Soviet Union had to suffer in the first decade or two after the Revolution, and the millions of people who were ruined. They had made up their minds to bear hardships for the sake of future progress. It was a question of making a firm resolve and putting it into practice. They managed to do this extremely difficult thing. If we start frittering away our energy in minor matters which will obviously please the people, we shall always remain where we are. Rather, we might slide back. You must remember another thing and that is that along with the slight increase in wealth, the population of India is increasing very rapidly, which means that there are more and more mouths to feed and people to clothe, provide houses for, etc. So production of all these things has to increase faster, which means more investment. Well, the population must be controlled as far as possible, because the more it increases the more we shall have to spend. So we must pay more attention to these basic things which will contribute to our national wealth. This is the foundation that we are building upon and I feel that when, the First Five Year Plan is completed and we start the Second Plan, we shall be able to progress faster.

Now the biggest problem before us is unemployment. There is no doubt about it. Our success depends on the extent to which we solve this problem. It is obvious that a tremendous problem like this, involving millions of people, cannot be solved by magic. We can do it only by hard work and it is bound to

take time. Even so, it has to be done as quickly as possible and for that we need to lay firm foundations. It is not a question of opening up our coffers and distributing largesse. That will not increase the national wealth in any way. We shall go bankrupt if we do that. So we have concentrated our attention on the basic things.

Another very important aspect to which we have paid attention is the matter of rural land problem, for eighty per cent of the population lives on land. Until we uplift these people the rest of India cannot progress. The cities cannot progress by themselves. You must have heard about the Community Projects which we are taking up. We have taken up groups of a hundred villages each for this purpose. I think nearly 20,000 villages have been covered so far. We have started a new scheme since the last October 2nd, that is four months ago, known as the National Extension Service, covering a large part of the country. I cannot say off-hand, but at least one-fourth of the country has been covered, which means more than one lakh villages within the next two or three years. The Government cannot do anything by itself. All of you have to do your bit. No country can progress merely and millions of people cannot be lifted up, on the basis of the work done by government officials. The Government can certainly help by clearing the path but ultimately the people have to stand on their own feet. The National Extension Service and other such schemes are meant for the uplift of the rural areas. The people must co-operate in implementing these schemes.

Let me give you an example of people helping themselves. I met an old colleague of Gandhiji who has done excellent work, Tukdoji Maharaj from Madhya Pradesh. I do not know if you have heard of him. He is an extremely simple man and does not seek publicity of any kind. He is a saintly man and does excellent work. He has organized hundreds of villages in Madhya Pradesh and near Hyderabad and in Madhya Bharat into such a close-knit community that it gladdens one's heart to hear about it. I have not been there yet. I shall visit him soon. He has done the whole thing without any financial help from the Government, but entirely with the co-operation of the villagers. They work with great discipline and have built houses, schools and hospitals, improved agriculture, etc. They do it all happily. If we do such work all over India, the country will be transformed. Production will increase, unemployment will be reduced and our present difficulties will be alleviated to a large extent. If such self-help is married to governmental work then progress will be rapid. We want to do this. The entire Five Year Plan aims at this combination of people's co-operation with official help.

The time is fast approaching when the second Five Year Plan has to be drawn up. There are two and a half years left to go. But we want that it should not be drafted from the top by the Planning Commission alone. It should come from the people in villages and cities. I do not mean that they

should plan for the entire country. But the people of each village and *tehsil* could form local committees or boards under the *panchayat* and discuss these issues and make suggestions. That does not mean that all their suggestions will be accepted in full, because planning does not mean making a list of all that you want. If I were to make a list of what I want to do for the country it will be a long one. I have to be selective, because my resources are limited. It is a question of priorities. So when we draw up the second Five Year Plan, we want the participation of the people and later we can go into the question of what is possible and what is not. Only then will the Plan be given a final shape and put before the people. It will have to be implemented with the co-operation of the people and governmental help.

I have taken up so much of your time because it is my constant desire to explain things to you so that you may understand what we are trying to do, instead of indulging in abuses and feuds within the parties. Such things do happen in politics but there are big tasks ahead of us which have become extremely important in today's world.

Just seven days ago, I was in Kalyani near Calcutta where the annual session of the All India Congress Committee was being held. It was a grand affair and millions of people came there. But it was not a *tamasha*. There were very important issues before the Congress. I shall not say very much about international affairs. There is the Korean affair on which will depend whether there is peace or war in the world. We shall certainly not get involved if there is a war. But it is bound to affect us. We must protect ourselves. We cannot be safe if we are weak. It is only by being strong that we can defend ourselves. But there have been some new developments, one or two of which are quite important. I shall not go into them now. One is the question of American military aid to Pakistan. It has been greatly talked about by the newspapers and I have also because spoken about it because people are interested in the subject. But to be interested is a different matter from what our outlook and thinking ought to be on such an occasion. There are many other factors but I shall not go into them. In the context of the world situation, there is a tremendous responsibility on the people of India. Should we be led astray, or keep a strict control over ourselves so as to follow the right path? In this connection, I should like to tell you that it is obvious that American aid will have far-reaching effect. In the last ten or fifteen years, the map of Asia has been changing very rapidly and the era of European domination is coming to an end, as it has done already in India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma. The Asian countries are becoming independent. If the countries of Europe or the United States begin to interfere in Asia once again, I have no doubt that it will have serious repercussions. It would mean that the influence of Europe and America will once again grow in the continent and the freedom of Asia will be in peril. This is extremely wrong and dangerous. There are many Asian

countries which are not free even now. We had hoped that one by one all of them would become free and there would be no foreign rule anywhere in Asia. This new development will reverse the trend. That is why American military aid to Pakistan seems wrong for the whole continent of Asia. I do not know but the United States may not be doing this intentionally. They are more engrossed in the politics of the super powers which has divided the world into two armed camps. One is the Communist camp headed by the Soviet Union and the other is the anti-Communist world. Well, India has refused to join either camp for there is no good reason to do so. After all, our world in India is big enough. Why should we get embroiled in the Communist or the anti-Communist world? Any attempt to do so would mean that we are knuckling down under pressure and our freedom of choice will become restricted. We shall have to toe their line. So we have said, right from the beginning, that while we shall have friendly relations with both sides, we shall openly express our views wherever we do not agree with either side. To begin with, this division of the world into two camps is wrong. It is not so easy to make a distinction of black and white. Each nation has its own problems and issues and there is no reason why we should add to our problems. It is my desire that all the countries of Asia should be independent and determine their policies as they think proper. There are many problems between Pakistan and India which have not been solved yet and the bitterness generated by the Partition still persists. In spite of all that, we have to remember that ultimately Pakistan is our neighbour and that the people of Pakistan are just like us. There is not much difference between us. After all, we have lived as citizens of one country for centuries. Partition has not changed us fundamentally. From every point of view—geographic contiguity, mutual interdependence in trade, circumstances of history or the fact that there are points of similarity in language, etc.—it is imperative that we should have friendly relations with Pakistan. I have no doubt whatsoever that a time will come when it will become a fact because anything else will be foolish and wrong and cause damage to them as well as us. Therefore right from the beginning our policy has been to somehow solve these problems. That does not mean that we shall tolerate wrong doing. We shall certainly not do so. But our effort and intention have always been to solve the problems because wisdom demands it. It is easy to say things in a passion or anger, as some of our brethren in the Punjab are doing whose constant demand is that we should attack Pakistan. Now this is absolutely childish. Mere passing of years does not necessarily bring wisdom. It is obvious that if Pakistan or any other power attacks us, we have to defend ourselves. There is no doubt about it. But our policy should be far-sighted, so that even if the other side is at fault, we do not stand to lose. The whole of Asia will benefit by such an attitude instead of riding the high horse or giving way to anger, even if that anger is justified, we should be patient. If we take even one

wrong step, the result will be that we shall weaken ourselves. There are enough dangerous elements in the world waiting to swallow us up in such an eventuality. That is why I am stressing the need for us to keep these two things completely separate. We expressed very strong opinions on the subject of American aid because, in my opinion, it is fundamentally wrong and if anyone argues that it is an attempt to establish peace, that too is wrong, because it will bring war even closer, in more than one sense. It will come nearer our doorstep. Apart from the war of weapons, the Cold War will be directly on our borders. Those who want peace in the world must realize this. It is not out of selfish interest that we are saying that this will take the world not towards peace but towards war. The more countries that join one or the other of these camps, the more the possibility of war. If you divide the world at the moment into two halves, there will undoubtedly be a world war. Nobody can stop it. Let me give you a small example. You must have heard about the war in Korea. I do not know whether the war could have been stopped if India had not played a role. I do not mean to say that India performed a miracle or that we are superior to the others. I do not like to praise our country as some of the other countries do. What I mean is that since we are non-aligned and look at every issue objectively, others also had confidence in our impartiality and took advantage of it. So we could perform a service which we could not have done if we had been in either of the camps. If there is no nation in the world which can serve as a mediator, the world moves towards war, as everyone knows. If more countries are non-aligned and wish to avoid war they will grow stronger.

So we have to be careful about what we do on this Pakistan issue.⁴ Some people got into a panic and began to demand that we should increase our armed forces and weaponry. What does it mean? How can we increase our military strength? Where is the money to come from? It is pretty obvious that it will have to come from the funds that we are utilizing for the country's progress. So the result will be that the progress will come to a halt. We may be able to appear strong for a short while but in fact, instead of becoming strong, in spite of all the guns and armies, the nation will be weakened. What is military strength? Our armed forces are very good but the real strength behind them is economic strength and our ability to supply them with necessary equipment and the country's well-being. Apart from this, even on principle we do not want to get into an arms race of the kind that is taking place between the super powers and among other nations. We do not want to compete with them in producing more tanks and aeroplanes and weapons and, ultimately, atom bombs. I think the proper answer to this would be, even on a matter of

4. The Pakistan High Commissioner in Delhi attended this meeting and heard Nehru's speech of ninety minutes.

principle, to pay more attention towards the progress of this country, increasing production and engaging more people in these tasks, etc. In short we must concentrate our attention towards the fundamental issues of increasing the national wealth so that the country becomes strong and people get employment. I shall not go into more details because I do not wish to take up more of your time. After much deliberation, the Congress decided at its annual session to pass a resolution called "Call to the Nation" which said that the only proper and firm answer would be to put our entire strength into the task of nation-building. We shall then be able to defend ourselves if the necessity arises; if not, the nation will grow more prosperous. So the greater our strength, the better will it be for us in a crisis.

So this is a testing for all of us in India. But it would be absurd to get into a panic about it. I should like you to take it in that spirit. Please do not think that the matter can be lightly brushed aside. It is extremely important and our entire future depends on it. It will determine where we go in the future and how we are able to face any danger that may threaten us. We cannot save ourselves from danger by getting into a panic. We have to steel ourselves and be prepared for any eventuality by strengthening the country and following the right path. If there is unity and courage in a nation, no power in the world can defeat it. It is strange that some people outside India say that India is on the wrong track and if she is not careful, will soon become another Korea or Indo-China. I do not understand it at all. Please remember that that situation in Korea and Indo-China has arisen both due to external aggression and internal disunity. Korea is divided internally into North and South Korea. If there is disunity in our country, undoubtedly, our enemies can take advantage of it. But if our country is strong and united and the people are hard-working and willing to co-operate with one another, then, not all the powers in the world together can turn us into another Korea. Why should we become one ourselves? It is absurd and if by chance we become so helpless as to beg for military aid from other countries for our protection, then, apart from other consequences, our freedom will slip away. Even apart from that, there are other grave dangers because we shall be constantly dependent on others for protection. Even if the help is given with good intention, we shall become weak. This is a task which no other country can perform for us. The moment we look to others, we shall fall. This is a very crucial and delicate moment in world affairs. I do not want any bitterness towards the United States. I shall not question their intentions for it is my opinion that they are labouring under a misapprehension and their perceptions of the world are wrong. Instead of taking the world towards peace, which they want, their policy will lead to a drift towards war. Well, we have no enmity towards the United States. We wish to have friendly relations with it for it is a great country. Pakistan is our neighbour and so it would be absolutely wrong to start abusing

or maligning it. But we must understand that we have reached a critical situation and be prepared for it. Therefore the Congress has issued a call to the nation which all of you must read. I want you to understand the Congress Resolution properly because we must move faster and build a new India rapidly.

I try to think what Gandhiji's advice would have been if he had been alive. Nobody can say what it would have been. In a sense, it is not even proper for us to drag his name into these matters. But in my heart I am fully convinced that he would have given the same advice as I have outlined just now. He would never have said that we should become a military power at the cost of things which matter, or that we should go to war with Pakistan when our entire history and our interests as well as those of Pakistan indicate that we should both come to an agreement and co-operate with each other. How can we set an example to the rest of the world and set ourselves up as mediators or say that we want peace if we adopt warlike attitudes ourselves? We have no desire to act as mediators but the circumstances are such that we are pushed into the world theatre. So it is not becoming on our part to do things which we object to in others.

In conclusion, on this death anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi, it is inappropriate to express our sorrow. We must learn the lessons his life teaches us. His greatest achievement lie in getting freedom for India. But the task is not yet over and we must carry on, with his voice still ringing in our ears. Just now in the programme for children, when Mahatma Gandhi's recorded voice was played upon the gramophone, I was startled because in spite of its being low, there is a strange magnetism in his voice. I was deeply moved and began to wonder whether we are responding to his voice or straying away from the path shown by him, immersed in our day-to-day cares. This is the thought that often bothers me. History will record how we responded to the challenges and responsibilities which India faced after independence and especially in this year 1954. It is a tremendous challenge, for which we must prepare ourselves carefully.

NATIONAL PROGRESS

(i) Planning**1. Scope of the Five Year Plan¹**

...This Council² is supposed to supervise, keep in view, advise and all that — the Five Year Plan — to see what it has done, what it has achieved and where it has failed to achieve, and always to take a dynamic view of the situation and be prepared to profit by the experiences we have had. And therefore the purpose of this Council is a highly important one because all of you who come from the different States bring to us in the Central Government actual experiences, knowledge of things that are happening in your States not only in regard to the Five Year Plan, but also the general economic situation in the country.

So far as the Planning Commission or the Government of India are concerned, they placed before you such information as they have so that we can pool all this information available and try to think as far as possible, not separately and individually in regard to each State claiming this or that, but rather keeping in the forefront the larger all-India point in view, and how we can plan effectively or more purposefully even than what we have done.

You have got a large number of papers which have been given to you on behalf of the Planning Commission, and they will give you some idea of things as they are and as they appear to be and, to some extent, you can judge from them, though, of course, papers, statistics, all these things alone are not always sufficient. Other things have also to be kept in mind and those other things have to be supplied by your personal and intimate knowledge of your States and conditions there. I suppose the best of the schemes may be completely upset not only by some factors affecting planning but by some other factors which have no concern with planning. They may affect the whole plan or scheme. To put it rather crudely, let us say, there is the law and order situation in the State which comes in the way of planning. We have to face the conditions created by psychological situations, by cooperation or non-cooperation, by passivity or inertia, all these things you cannot measure. I do not suppose there is any paper giving such points, but they are of high importance, because it is

1. Remarks during the discussions of the National Development Council on 6 and 7 October 1953. File No.XVIII/6, Item XVIII/6, Planning Commission, New Delhi. Extracts.
2. The National Development Council was set up in August 1952 to facilitate cooperation between the State Governments and the Central Government.

that context in which work is done which is of importance. I know that you should be judges, to a large extent, as to what the state of affairs is in your States. So I do not propose to take up your time. I hope that, in spite of these conditions that exist here, we shall deal with this matter rather in a more business-like way than as if it were a kind of public meeting. Therefore, I propose to end my preliminary remarks now, and you may as well take up the first item of the agenda.

One thing I suggest. You know that since this Plan was finalized last year, I use the word finalized although there can be no finalization of a dynamic thing, but finalized for the time being to go ahead with. Since then much thought has been given to it, and one question has become more and more important—the question of employment. And, ultimately the Planning Commission itself decided that they should look through the Plan fully again, try to revise it, try to expand it, try to deal with it in such a manner as to create more, adequate employment. As a matter of fact, the test of any economic system is one of employment, aiming at full employment, but we cannot provide full employment all over India. That is difficult and physically impossible, but we have to progressively aim at fuller employment. That is a very important test. Therefore, the Planning Commission has given much thought to the problem of unemployment. No doubt you would have also received many suggestions and proposals from the Commission and that matter will, I hope, be fully discussed³....

Most States naturally want to extend their activities in public works, education, health and other things, their own productive schemes. It is quite natural. We want them to do it all. The only question that we have to face is the question of resources. My colleague, Mr. V.T. Krishnamachari, will tell you, today or tomorrow, particularly speaking on what lines the Planning Commission is thinking of revising the Plan, not in detail but very broadly because we want to go to the utmost limit we can.⁴ Obviously, there are limits

3. Outlining the new proposals for relieving unemployment V.T. Krishnamachari, the Vice-Chairman of the Planning Commission, had listed: (i) extension of rehabilitation programme for the full five-year period, (ii) setting up of an Industrial Development Corporation; (iii) assistance to States for schemes which could meet the needs of scarcity-affected areas; (iv) assistance to road building activity and small power projects; and (v) provision for technical training and certain general activities.
4. The outlay envisaged in the draft Five Year Plan in July 1951 was Rs. 1,793 crores. However, by the end of 1952, the outlay was raised to Rs. 2,069 crores. The target of the Plan was further revised when the Government added another Rs. 175 crores to provide more employment through Community Projects and National Extension Service. Besides this, another Rs. 40 crores was earmarked towards the provision to States for ameliorating the conditions of people living in scarcity areas. Some more funds were also provided for the development of cottage and small-scale industries, with the result that the total outlay of the Plan was placed at Rs. 2,290 crores.

beyond which one cannot go without upsetting the whole programme.⁵ What the limits are is a question of judgment. Money can only come obviously from internal sources, that is taxation or loans or externally — you may call it a gift of a loan. I think we should rule out, in calculating, large sums of money that we may get from abroad. If we get them, well and good. But we should not base our plan so much on that, lest the whole plan be upset if they do not come.

One welcomes external help. But I am not quite sure of too much external help.⁶ To base our plans on the external help is psychologically, and even economically, bad for a country. But that is too much, I should say. But too much is another matter. Anyhow, that question does not arise. We shall accept gratefully what we get subject always that it does not tie us in any way. We have to rely on our own resources. You can, of course, examine it and get as much as you can centrally or State wise.

We talk about betterment fees and all that. Probably any very large addition to our resources by way of taxation is unlikely. But in each State there can be some advantage. We come ultimately to what money we can get by way of loan, internally. It is nobody's judgment what you can get. But I feel, and I am encouraged by the Madras example, that you can get much larger sums of money than you have estimated at any time. That has been my hunch all along provided one makes the right approach.

The right approach means the approach to the small investor, in fact the person who does not invest at all. In asking for these loans one has always thought in the past only of the big investor, and his approach—in fact the small person does not even know about it—to the question is in terms of better rate of interest on his investment. When you go to a small investor the rate of interest which he is going to earn on his investment does not come in. It makes little difference to him whether the rate of interest is 3 per cent, 3 ½ per cent or 3 ¾ per cent and so on. The person who is investing does not do so with that end in view. It is the big investor who weighs it that way. The small

5. The States had not been able to raise the resources, they were expected to raise. The Centre had to make one concession after another to help the States in fulfilling the tasks allotted to them, one such being the transfer of resources as recommended by the Finance Commission, which would have been offset by reducing the Central Grant for the implementation of State projects by a like amount, but was not so reduced. Far from fulfilling their part of the undertaking, the States had gone in for "non-development expenditure." No State had yet collected any betterment levy. Not all of them had yet passed the necessary legislation. They had not even raised the water rates which were low.
6. Foreign assistance from the US for example, including the Wheat Loan from the Colombo Plan and other sources made up the balance of 10 to 12 per cent of the Government's costs of development plans.

investor invests particularly to keep his money safe, and, particularly, because he thinks it may be utilized for something that is good. You call it patriotism, regional patriotism, or whatever you like. It is some urge like that. He views that it is going to develop his State. That is his inducement. He is not thinking so much about the rate of interest.

We have to evolve a method of approach to the small investor, the person who invests a few thousands or even a few hundreds of rupees. I am sure that we can get it. When you get these sums of money from these people you are giving them a personal intimate interest in the Plan. That is quite apart from money that you get. It is that you are making him a sharer and partner in the working out of the Plan. Therefore, this sort of feeling in him is most important from the political point of view, from the psychological point of view, quite apart from the financial results that you get. I should like, therefore, to encourage this at every stage. Of course, the Small Savings Scheme is also there.⁷

Speaking about the Plan, nobody says that it is a perfect Plan. We, at any rate, are trying to improve it. Many Chief Ministers have said that it is an inadequate one. Of course, it is inadequate. We want to do much more. But you have to judge also from the point of view of what we can do, and not overstepping our limits. Take risks by all means, but no such risks as might perhaps upset the whole Plan. There has been criticism in the past that we have not laid enough stress on industries, and again that criticism is justified. We want to go ahead with more industries.

But I should like to draw your attention to what has happened in certain countries of East Europe—Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia and others—where, following the example of Soviet Russia, they laid the greatest stress on the development of heavy industries. They did develop it very fast. Yugoslavia has carried on that with large loans or help from America. Poland and Hungary, all these countries, have definitely proclaimed that they are going to work on their old plans. But there is some trouble in all these countries, as you know. The speed was too great and they have definitely given up some of their big industrial plans.

I think that we were very wise in laying stress in our planning on agricultural improvement,⁸ food production, etc. But that does not mean that

7. The National Savings Organization collected Rs 40.1 crore under the Small Savings Scheme in 1952-53 as against Rs 38.5 crore in the previous year.
8. Agriculture received the greatest attention in the Five Year Plan, since there was an acute food shortage in the country. As high as 42.1 per cent of the total provision, or a sum of Rs 1,001 crores was set aside for agriculture, community development, irrigation and power projects.

we should give second place to industry. Please do not understand that way. I think we should give our attention to some basic needs like steel and other things. I think it is absolutely essential to go ahead with that as fast as we can⁹....

I have said it often and I repeat it here that in the implementation of the Five Year Plan our approach must be to produce a sensation of partnership with the people, with the men in the village. Every step that we take should be tested by that test. Your plan cannot be implemented merely by the Government. Democracy cannot function purely governmentally. In so far as I know, there is an increasing response from the people as they have begun to question what is being done. If we make a proper approach, their reaction is one of certain degree of enthusiasm, and the amount of cooperation people have given is really pleasing, and rather surprising.

So, I would say that in drawing up your second five-year plan, the Planning Commission, State Governments and others should constantly think of this cooperation. I would ask your *panchayats*: What have you to suggest in your area and what you think about it? When they tell you what they have to suggest, then you can produce your recommendations, etc. You are getting money from them as loan. It is important so much to my mind in making them partners in every scheme.

Each one of you should know all the problems and difficulties of various States, otherwise each State could directly deal with the Planning Commission without discussing it in a conference. It is important that we should understand all the problems of the States, and not merely of our own and thus see our own problems in that context. We must see the picture as a whole and develop the mentality of an all-India planning. One of the big tasks for the Planning Commission is to produce this thinking of planning among the people. It will be a good thing to see the problem as a whole, not only geographically, but see its various aspects as inter-related. That is of tremendous value....

9. The following paragraphs were Nehru's remarks at the meeting of the National Development Council on 7 October 1953.

2. To V.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
November 6, 1953

My dear V.T.,²

I spoke to you briefly about the future of the Planning Commission yesterday. I am much exercised about this matter and I should like to discuss it much more fully with you at a later stage. It seems to me, as I told you, that the Planning Commission has become much too amorphous and diffused a body and has no organic unity left.³ It functions as a Government Department does. Personally I do not like the functioning of even a Government Department in this way and we are trying to improve matters. But for the Planning Commission to become a replica of a Government Department is to bypass its chief function. Long letters are issued to various State Governments asking for all kinds of information and it is presumably thought that we have done our job. The State Governments probably cannot even answer the letters fully. They waste a lot of time over unnecessary details. The result is not only waste of energy but waste of time and delay.

The Planning Commission, to my mind, should be a thinking and planning body and not concern itself with too much execution.

You told me that much of this work relates to Community Projects and the National Extension Scheme. These are of course most important. But I doubt if this administration of the community works etc., by the Planning Commission is the right approach. There appears to be some overlapping with the work of Ministries. Anything that can be done competently by Ministry need not be done again by the Planning Commission. Of course, the Planning Commission performs a great service of keeping the full picture in view and advising accordingly. Each Ministry has certain experts dealing with a problem. The Planning Commission has also its experts on the same subjects. Usually I suppose the Ministries' experts are more experienced. We have thus the odd spectacle of a less experienced person sitting on judgment over a more experienced one.

Also, the system of the Planning Commission functioning too much in separate departments with members in charge breaks up to some extent the unity of the Commission applying its joint mind to problems.

1. File No.17(200)/50-PMS. Extracts.
2. Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission.
3. Nehru was deeply concerned about the functioning of the Planning Commission. On 17 October 1953, he wrote to U.N. Dhebar (not printed), "We talk a great deal about planning, but we do not pay enough attention to proper surveys and collection of data; nor have we any machine for appraising the work done... Our Planning Commission is apt to move too much in the ruts."

We shall soon have to face the preparation of the second Five Year Plan. Thought should be given to this early. That thought again does not mean a collection of a number of projects etc., which of course will have to be done, but rather an overall organic view of the entire situation and what we can do about it. It would be worthwhile having a small unit doing this and doing practically nothing else. My point is that the Planning Commission is getting engrossed in far too many details of administration, execution, appraisal, direct dealings with State Governments and the like leaving it little time for thought and mutual discussion. So far as I am concerned, I feel quite out of it and quite unable to follow the trend of the Planning Commission's activities. I know that I cannot spare much time. But the result really is that I have to catch up later and spend more time and yet not understand what has happened....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Bullock-cart, Motor Lorry, Jet Plane and Atomic Energy¹

... First of all, we have to be clear what exactly we are aiming at. The tasks before us are the securing of higher standards of living in the country, greater production, industrialization, use of better techniques and so on. But the country must today have a more solid foundation to build upon than merely higher standards. It must have a social outlook—not a dogmatic social outlook. The world has suffered for a long time from religious dogmas. It now suffers from economic dogmas.

A social approach necessarily brings in the people. Our people are awake and conscious and they demand all kinds of things. These cannot be given suddenly; they take time...

You² have referred to what you have called the contrast between the bullock-cart economy and motor lorry economy. May I point out that even the motor lorry, however useful, is rather out of date? You do not refer to modern economy as the motor lorry economy. Modern economy is symbolized by the

1. Speech at the annual general meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of India, Calcutta, 14 December 1953. From the Assocham, New Delhi. Extracts.
2. E.J. Pakes, President of The Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of India in 1953.

jet plane and atomic energy. The world moves very rapidly today, and even the techniques you consider advanced are out of date before you catch up with them. I am all for the latest technique; but it must be the latest technique applicable to the conditions of India. I cannot superimpose a fifth storey on a house without laying the foundation, and building the first, second, third and fourth floors. The problem is not what you call a bullock-cart economy versus more later techniques. The problem is how to have the latest techniques so that they fit in with the structure of India. Let us improve our structure, industrial and technical, as rapidly as we can, but always keeping in mind our wider objectives.

Sometimes I wonder whether our industrial and economic thinking does not require a great change, and whether the present way of thinking is not completely out of date. We have to deal with the modern world with its jet planes and atomic energy. Perhaps in ten years' or fifteen years' time these may bring about a great revolution like the Industrial Revolution of about 200 years ago. We may also bring about enormous changes in the human mind.

There are still people in certain parts of the world who talk about *laissez-faire* economy. For me, that is a bullock-cart economy, which has no relation with the present. If one wants to progress, one must also think in terms of modern thought and not fall back from the middle of the twentieth century to the middle of the nineteenth century.

We have to carry hundreds of millions of people with us. It is not an individual's journey or a journey of a few persons, but the march of a great population. In considering economics, let us take into account the powerful urges that shape the human mind today. Let us consider modern developments and not function in the old way. I would ask you to give up what may be a petrified economic approach and take into consideration that the science of economy, industrial science, has advanced.

It is true that when we deal with the world we must go by the standards of the world. We are not living in narrow isolation in this country. Certainly we can do a great deal in India, but we are powerfully influenced by what may happen in other parts of the world. We have to take into consideration the economic and industrial conflicts in other countries. I do not deny the value of the emphasis laid by you, Mr. President, but what I wish to point out is that our lines of thought are different and your lines of thought may have become rather petrified. You do not perhaps realize the rapid changes in human thought that are taking place in the world today.

We all know that after the big Industrial Revolution, two hundred years ago, there were vast changes in living conditions. Or let us take communications. Communications in the world were static for thousands of years — essentially so. But after the Industrial Revolution they underwent rapid changes; ultimately there came the radio-communications developing at a terrific pace changing the face of the earth.

Then we see other changes, not only in the technical sphere, not only in the economic sphere, but in the social sphere also. So we live in an age of tremendous dynamic changes and we have to remember that we have to pass a stage when a few persons — whether government or captains of industry — cannot control the many facets of life in the country and its economic progress. Now, in seeking equilibrium in a democratic country one has to take the vast masses into confidence. One has to produce the feeling among them that they are partners in this vast undertaking of running a nation. That is the essence of democracy.

People used to think that democracy meant giving the right to vote to every person. That is a very important development no doubt. But even in an advanced country like England, the people had the franchise not more than forty years ago, and yet England was democratically the most advanced country. Now we have come to the age of adult franchise and there are many countries even now that have not got full adult franchise. Under adult franchise people not only elect a government but control it. The alternative to that democracy is the authoritarian structure of government, which we do not want to have here. Therefore, we have to accept democracy with all the consequences that democracy brings — adult suffrage and the like. Inevitably when you have a political democracy of that type you move forward, Political democracy progressively leads to economic democracy.

I am dealing very broadly with some of the questions before you for your consideration and careful thought, and if I do not attempt to deal with every point in your address, Mr. President, it is not because I regard them as unimportant. They certainly are worth consideration, but they have to be considered in this larger context. In your address you referred, generally speaking, to the achievements of the Government during the last five or six years. I am very conscious of the things that have not been done, or done badly. But I say with complete confidence that, by and large, this country has faced its difficulties gallantly, bravely and with success in these last six years or so and that we have laid the foundations of future progress on a fairly sound basis.

Even this year, in 1953, in a large number of important industries production has gone up, the index is standing at somewhere near 133 compared to 128 last year. This is when 128 was the top figure since the War ended. So in many ways we are doing well and in some ways we are not. There is for instance unemployment which in a social economy is a bad thing. We see a certain amount of change in the sphere of economy not only in India but elsewhere as well. That is, the after-effects of the war-inflationary tendencies are wearing out, prices are falling and there is a slight change-over. We have to face this and we are not afraid of it, though of course there are difficulties.

How are we to face the future to the best of our advantage? I need not

advance any argument about the necessity of planning. In many industries you have to plan. Planning simply means an intelligent approach to our many-sided problems. In a country like ours which has limited resources, which is under-developed and which has to be developed fairly rapidly, the question is how to use our resources to the best advantage. When resources are limited, one has to see that they are employed in the right direction, so as to help industrialization. Let us, for instance, think of industrializing this country by setting up a multitude of industries. If we are to industrialize, we have to have certain basic large-scale industries — the steel industry, for example — out of which other smaller industries grow.

You referred to our need for very rapid industrial advance. An even more instructive example is the rapid advance of Manchuria under Japanese control. That was amazing. But the conditions were different. I pay my full tributes to the Japanese people for doing it. I am not criticizing in any sense. The countries which developed rapidly, laid stress on capital goods on which the key industries develop. But that is a hard way, because in developing industry in this way we do not bring relief to the people for some time. It takes time before you see the results of that.

Now, essentially we should like today to build on a solid foundation. But this, generally speaking, does not attract private industry, because it does not pay for some time to come — may be for years on end. I am not talking of you individually — because private industrialists, quite naturally, like some return from their capital.

So, in a country like India, the burden of development falls on the Government. In a country like America, or any other country like that, conditions are different. But in India it has become the responsibility of the Government, if we are to travel fast and develop on solid foundations. The public sector, therefore, becomes very important. But however important it may be, the private sector also has a very important role to play. I do not myself see any conflict between the two. You cannot draw a hard and fast line because the situation is always changing and the dividing line between the two adjusts itself.

In my mind I do not see any essential conflict between what might be called the big machine economy and the cottage industry economy, which you call the bullock-cart economy. Looked at from the point of view of nineteenth century economies, we could well go ahead paying no attention at all to what happens to the workers and the masses of the people. We could go on developing industrially and ultimately produce very rapid growth in our economy, but at a cost in human terms which no government can possibly face today. Take a simple fact. I speak subject to correction as to figures, but I believe that even now there are far more people employed in the handloom industry in India than in all the organized industries. May be an autocratic government might alter all this at a terrific cost, enforce its will. But no democratic government

will do it. After all, we want industrialization and the adoption of the latest techniques for the sake of industrialization and for the betterment of the people of India. Are we going to have human betterment, which may be had at a later stage, sacrificing human betterment today?

So all these questions cannot be dealt with objectively because the human factor comes in and the wishes of the people must be taken into account. That is where the question of employment comes in. Every economy today bases itself on full employment in the country. That is to say, you cannot produce employment by some artificial method. You must approach this question in such a way as to reach full employment within a measurable period of time. I do not mean that industry should not retrench where retrenchment is necessary or that they should carry useless people who simply get in the way of others working. In the Government of India, in New Delhi, it would be conducive to far better efficiency if we reduced the staff — not at the top, the top, I think, requires more — but in the lower stages. I cannot do it easily, not because of economic reasons but for social reasons. We cannot just push them out. I must therefore carry on with this burden, thinking how to absorb them elsewhere. This is not merely a matter of economic theory. You will have to find out how best not to have surplus labour which stands in the way of your efficient working and adds to your burden, but at the same time you must not create a situation which would result in new difficulties or further complicate the existing ones.

You referred, Mr. President, to the taxation structure, to super-tax and income-tax and various other legislative matters. So far as taxation is concerned, you know that a Commission³ is sitting. You have made your recommendations before them and others have also, and I have no doubt, they will consider what you have said with care as they will also consider other arguments too; and when they have presented their report it will be for you to consider that report and if you wish to put forward any further arguments, I am sure, you will be heard.

But again I am speaking in a heterogeneous way — in some fear of my Finance Minister on my left. What is taxation meant for? To obtain revenue to carry on the business of the government and the rest? Of course what else? For the progressive advancement and development of the country? The answer is "yes" and "no." Both I say, because in a way it can never be enough for that; if you want to progress you cannot industrialize the country by taxation. One of the principal objects of taxation is to equalise incomes. That is the social aspect of taxation — to prevent disparities — to raise income-tax and super-tax so as to lessen the big differences that exist. If that is so, then the approach has

3. A three member Commission headed by John Mathai was touring the states to ascertain their views on the tax structure.

to keep that in view, along with many other matters. In India, perhaps more than in many other countries, the difference between the very rich and the very poor is terrific and whatever has occurred in the past, obviously, the modern social outlook cannot endure such disparities.

You talked about labour troubles and the rest, Mr. President. I think you are justified in complaining about workers resorting to violence. It is obvious that that sort of thing is bad and the Government and the people must deal with it. But you cannot deal with the mass of the people oppressively. You can only deal with them ultimately by the human approach, by the human touch, by making them feel that they are partners in a great undertaking. I should like you to think for yourselves, how far you have applied this human touch in your factories and offices to make your workers feel that they are partners in a great undertaking?

I recently went once again to the Damodar Valley. I saw hundreds and thousands of workers doing odd jobs, carrying earth and so on. Meanwhile, the engineers, full of enthusiasm for the job they are doing, were explaining to me with maps and charts. When I asked them, "Have you ever tried to explain some of it in simple language to these workers who are shovelling earth from one place to another?", they said "No." Then I called a few hundred workers there and sat by them. I asked them "What are you doing?" They said, "We do not know". So I asked a few questions and drew a picture of the magnificent undertaking, the Damodar Valley, which they were building. I told them that great canals, great factories, irrigation schemes would help the country to prosper by growing more food. Then they realized what it was they were doing and felt that they had something to do with these great projects and I hope they took a little more interest in their work. If our engineers there explained things to them from time to time and took them into their confidence, I am sure that they would get better work out of them and would have more willing and more intelligent workers, because they would be producing in them a sense of partnership in a great adventure.

Have you ever tried to do that with your factory and office hands? Don't think that these people are too dull or too unintelligent to understand it. I have come in contact with vast masses of human beings and I am receptive to their feelings. I do not go to them as a schoolmaster or as a boss, but as a colleague. I talk to them in simple terms about international affairs. I doubt whether many of our educated people know much about international affairs or their intricacies. Yet, I tell you that I have had the temerity to talk to the peasant in his field about international affairs in simple, language about our Five Year Plan, about the great things we are doing, and, for a moment he grows in stature. So it depends very greatly on this human approach, this human touch. It is necessary always, but today with our democratic set-up, it is essential because it is really the people who finally decide.

You have laid very great stress on the purchasing power of the rupee. I entirely agree with you. There is no question of our going in for any policy which may endanger that purchasing power. In fact the whole Five Year Plan will be upset if that is so.

Much has been said also about labour relations. I have spoken to you about the basic approach to the problem. The other thing you object to, I understand, is tribunals and the rest. Now, what are we to have? Are we to leave matters to the eternal conflict between what is called labour and capital—strikes, lockouts and the rest of it? Long ago — twenty-five or twenty-six years ago — I was President of the Indian Trade Union Congress and I have been in touch with the workers from time to time and I understand their mentality and their psychology. I encouraged them to form healthy, good trade unions because I felt that it was good for them and it is good for industry as well and for the country. I do not approve of bogus trade unions or attempts to split up trade unions. It is far better for industry to have well-organized and disciplined trade unions than to have this kind of conflict within the trade union world. It is true that these trade unions do not always function rightly. But you can ultimately deal with them satisfactorily by the human approach which I have mentioned, by taking them into your confidence. I have to doubt that in the future the participation of labour and industry must grow as it should grow.

But how are we to tackle this eternal conflict, the strike and lockout? You come to the Government or labour comes to the Government and ask for Government's help. I have been, in theory, in favour of labour's right to strike because I have read the past history of the labour movement in England; how the pioneers had to pass through terrible times, how they were crushed, what tremendous sacrifices they had to make and how slowly by means of cooperative effort trade unions have gradually won a victory for normal human rights. So, in theory, the labour and their trade unions have the right to strike because that is the only remedy they have. But in the present circumstances these methods of settling disputes, through strikes and lockouts, should be considered out of date.

Is there no other way? Surely. By mutual agreement or, if there is no mutual agreement, by some third party in the shape of a conciliator or an arbitrator or a tribunal. It may be that the tribunal may not always decide rightly from the point of view of the employer or the worker. Therefore, you say, abolish it. If that argument is advanced, where does it lead? Because the judiciary has not always done justice to this party or that, are we going to abolish the judiciary? Obviously, the machinery must be there for conciliation, including the tribunals. If the system does not function rightly, let us improve it....

We are facing entirely new problems in a new age which itself is rapidly changing. We have to grapple with them. We have to face them with not only not the bullock-cart habit of mind, but not even the nineteenth century or early

twentieth century habit of mind. I am not prepared to accept that the only way for industry to flourish is to encourage acquisitiveness. You may call it by the name of the incentive or profit. But you must also bear in mind that human beings are such that unless they are given incentives they cannot function and develop, and to deprive them of their incentives is a great injustice to man. All the great things in the world have been done not through material incentives, but because of some ideal — by the great inventors, the great scientists, the great masters. Let us consider the world as it is emerging in these dynamic modern times today and put our heart into the great new adventure of building India.

4. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
December 29, 1953

My dear T.T.,²

We had a meeting of the Planning Commission this morning. We discussed our future approach to various problems. I am very anxious about this for many reasons.

In the course of our talks there, it appeared that the Planning Commission was not getting on well at all with the Commerce and Industry Ministry, or rather, that the Commerce and Industry Ministry did not look with favour on the Planning Commission and consider it an unnecessary intrusion, so much so that it was stated that some industrialists are a little afraid of going to the Planning Commission lest they might annoy the Commerce and Industry Ministry.

All this seemed to me very odd. The Planning Commission is only an advisory body. But it is there for consultation and advice and we have found it very helpful in this respect. It is not fair to it to produce any impression that it is not wanted or not to give it all the cooperation that it may need.

I am told that even your Secretary, H.V.R. Iengar, has been rather casual in his dealings with the Planning Commission.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No.17(206)56-66-PMS. Also available in T.T. Krishnamachari Papers, NMML.
2. Union Minister of Commerce and Industry.

5. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi

December 30, 1953

My dear T.T.,

Thank you for your letter of the 30th December.² I am replying to it briefly in some haste.

First of all, I really do not know how Tarlok Singh comes into this picture.³ He has never complained to me or even mentioned the Commerce and Industry Ministry. Indeed, I have not met him for some months now. The meeting of the Planning Commission that I mentioned to you was held in my room and no member of the staff was present. Therefore, Tarlok Singh had nothing to do with this whatever. It is true that it was at my instance that he came to the Planning Commission from the Punjab and I know that he has worked hard and with enthusiasm there. He may have his failings, but having had some intimate contact with him, I liked his integrity and consciousness.

What I wrote to you arose firstly because of some remarks of Neogy,⁴ and partly because of what other Members of the Planning Commission said. I felt that, whatever the facts, the mere fact of such an impression was not good. I mentioned H.V.R. Iengar's name. I know him well and know that he is a good worker. But if he produces a wrong type of impression in another person's mind, then he has failed in that respect. It is not always what is said that counts, but the manner of saying it.

The Planning Commission is not only not a super-Cabinet but has no executive functions.⁵ It is, however, a body with intimate contacts with the Ministries for consultations and advice. So far as I know, it gets on very well with most of the Ministries.

1. File No. 17(206)/56-66-PMS. Also available in T.T. Krishnamachari Papers, NMML.
2. Krishnamachari repudiated that H.V.R. Iengar had been 'casual' in his dealings with the Planning Commission. He alleged that officials of the Commission had been behaving in a high-handed manner and had often been impertinent in their references to the Commerce and Industry Ministry.
3. Krishnamachari stated that Tarlok Singh, 'an official with the Planning Commission, had been insolent and had been taking a different view on routine matters.
4. K.C. Neogy, member, Planning Commission.
5. Krishnamachari wrote that the Planning Commission, at one point of time, asked industrialists to report to it directly regarding the progress made during the plan period. The Industry Ministry pointed out that it would be safer to route these through the Ministry. Most industrialists taking advantage of this, sought shelter under the Commission. Finally, Krishnamachari had to write to V.T. Krishnamachari asking clarification whether the Commission was a "super cabinet or a parallel Government or an advisory body?"

Normally the Planning Commission would not deal with industrialists directly. But it is inevitable that sometimes they meet on tour or elsewhere. A Member of the Planning Commission can hardly tell them not to see him. Obviously, any formal business must be transacted through the Ministry.

No one has made a scapegoat of your officers,⁶ but your officers should remember that the Members of the Planning Commission have the status of Ministers and they should treat them with every respect.

You write something about a common production programme.⁷ I remember discussing this in the Planning Commission long ago. I liked the idea then—that was the initial stage of preparing the report. This does not mean that the Khadi and Village Industries Board should interfere in your work. But, as they are looking after certain section of the work of your Ministry, they are naturally interested in it, as it affects that section.

You know very well that all these matters depend not on arguments, but on human relationship much more and a soft and friendly approach goes much further than a lengthy debate.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Krishnamachari wrote, "If the Planning Commission have any grievances against me, it is upto them to have it out with me instead of seeking to make scapegoats of my officers."
7. The All India Khadi and Village Industries Board proposed that a committee should be set up to go into the question of a common production programme for all industries. The Industry Ministry felt that it was not the duty of the Board to determine this question, which gave rise to a misunderstanding between the two.

6. Planning and Development¹

The Congress notes with satisfaction the achievement of many of the targets of the Five Year Plan, notably in regard to the production of foodgrains, cotton, jute and sugar-cane, and also in regard to the reclamation of land and the installation of additional power capacity. Adequate progress has also been made in regard to the production of cotton yarn, mill cloth, cement and fertilizers. The building of locomotives has exceeded the target and increasing numbers of

1. Resolution drafted by Nehru on 20 January 1954 and adopted by the Kalyani Congress on 24 January. File No. G-55(D)/1954, AICC Papers, NMML.

coaches and wagons are being made. Progress in the building of national highways and roads has also been considerable.

The magnificent river valley schemes are nearing completion and numerous small irrigation schemes have been completed. Great factories for certain basic industries are also functioning or are under construction.

The Congress particularly welcomes the progress made in the Community Projects and the National Extension Service and records its appreciation of the widespread popular response to these far-reaching activities which are meant to cover, with the cooperation of the people, the whole of rural India within a short space of time.

While appreciating the very considerable progress made by the country in many sectors of the national economy, the Congress is of opinion that the pace of progress has to be quickened. In particular, improvement in village and small-scale industries has been slow and demands greater attention, more especially with a view to providing employment.

The Congress has also noted with concern the fact that there has been in many cases a shortfall in the execution of projects which have been approved and for which money has actually been sanctioned. This has taken place both in the Central Government and in the States. This appears to be due principally to administrative difficulties and to the fact that the rules of procedure, both at the Centre and in the States, are elaborate and complicated and lead to delays. These rules and conventions were framed long prior to independence and do not suit the conditions of a democratic State aiming at rapid development. Unless the procedures are so revised as to make such rapid development possible, even the resources at the disposal of the country will not be fully utilized. The Congress recommends therefore that early action should be taken in revising these rules, including those for the recruitment of the Public Services, and bringing them more in line with present day conditions and the demands made upon the State for rapid action.

The success of planning depends upon the people's understanding of it and their cooperation with it. It is clear that where the people have been properly approached they have appreciated the work done and have given their cooperation in full measure. It is necessary to keep in constant touch with the people and to invite them to share in the execution of the Plan and the building up of new India. In particular, the second Five Year Plan should be built up with the cooperation of the panchayats, village communities, local bodies and the like, so that it should be a People's Plan and local leaders should assume responsibility both in the formulation of the Plan and later in executing it.

Future progress should envisage the completion of land reform so as to make the actual tillers of the soil the owners of the land. Particular attention should be paid to the industrial sector, more especially in regard to the basic

and key industries, as well as the small-scale and village industries.² In regard to small scale and village industries, techniques of manufacture must be improved and, wherever possible, spheres of production should be demarcated.

The aim of planning must always be the establishment of a Welfare State and full employment. This involves not only greater production and equitable distribution but progress along all sectors of the national economy. It involves also social reform and cultural progress, more particularly in regard to the educational system which should be progressively based upon the principles of basic education and the training of technical personnel.

2. To promote the development of cottage and small scale industries, the All India Handicrafts Board and the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board were set up, the former in November 1952 and the latter in February 1953.

7. Key Posts for Indians¹

... I want your advice on whether there should be a long debate on this resolution or not. It is obviously a very important resolution. A lengthy debate does not make it more important. But we do not want anyone to be under a misconception that we do not understand the importance of this resolution fully. As a matter of fact, the other resolutions are a matter of expressing our views and this one requires action. But at the same time a long debate will not necessarily be of use.

I received six amendments to this resolution. I read all of them carefully and in my opinion, none of them fit in with the resolution. Not that I am opposed to them. But as you will see, this resolution is not like a report of the Planning Commission. How many things can we put in? The resolution contains merely broad hints about what needs to be done. The rest is up to the Working Committee to fill in. However long we make it still somethings will be left out. It would be better not to give any details. A broad outline will cover everything. The moment a few details are mentioned many more will become conspicuous by their absence. Therefore these amendments are not proper.

1. Remarks during the debate on the resolution, "Planning and Development" at the fifty-ninth session of the AICC, Kalyani, 24 January 1954. AIR tapes, NMML. Original partly in Hindi. Extracts.

I would like to refer to one amendment suggested by Shri Prabodh Chandra² of the Punjab. Well, it is not related to this resolution. I find it very strange that the Congress should want to appoint Indians to the top posts in the river valley projects immediately. The amendment he suggests is: "This Congress request the Government of India to take immediate steps to put Indians in the key positions in the main river valley projects."

First of all, this amendment has no place in this resolution, but because this has been mentioned, I want to say a few words. I am surprised at it for I do not quite know what it means, unless it means that people have been pushed into the key positions of the river valley projects, foreigners have been pushed in there, regardless of the necessities of the situation. As a matter of fact, key positions are filled by Indians, except for very few and where those key positions have been given to foreign experts they are for very special reasons, experience or what not. In fact if any of you have read the report of the Committee appointed to examine the Damodar Valley Project, the main objection raised in that report is that we did not at an earlier stage appoint a Chief Engineer or whatever he is called there. Ultimately, with great difficulty we got a Chief Engineer from abroad. This is not a matter of nationalism, I can assure you. Nationalism does not mean inefficiency. These are mighty projects and we have got very good Indian engineers. Don't imagine that I think poorly of Indian engineers. We have got excellent engineers, first class, and we are employing them by the thousands. But for some important places, having regard to their particular type of overall experience, we thought it better, after very full considerations, that persons with that type of experience should be engaged from abroad. It was important. One can take no risks in this matter on nationalistic or any other grounds. If you want a good doctor, you must have a good doctor. You do not have a party doctor because he happens to belong to your party. We want to build up standards in India the highest if possible. And we are building them up, so there is no question of putting Indians. Indians are in chief places, except a very few. It may be that some junior people may have come in by mistake, that is a different matter. Our whole policy is to put Indians there...

2. (b. 1911.); member, Revolutionary Party till 1929; arrested in connection with the Multan Bomb Case, 1929; Edited *Students Tribune*, a monthly magazine of all India Students Union, 1936-38; Congress member, Punjab Assembly, 1946-49; Parliamentary Secretary, Punjab Assembly, 1952-56, Minister, 1956-61; Speaker, Punjab Assembly; Member of Parliament, 1962-64; and reelected 1970; Publications: *Students Movement in India*; *Sixty Years of Congress*; *Rape of Rawalpindi*; *Humanity Uprooted*; *Pilgrims Progress*.

(ii) Industry

1. Promotion of Hand-made Goods¹

At the meeting of the National Development Council today, an enquiry was made about the policy of the Central Government to encourage cottage industry products by purchasing them. Statements in favour of the purchase of such products had no doubt been made, but apparently no precise policy had been laid down. In Bombay and Saurashtra States a definite policy had been laid down to the effect that an additional price upto 25 per cent should be paid for such cottage industry products.

Instances were given of the difficulties in supplying cottage industry products to Central Government Departments. Reference was particularly made to blankets.

Could you please look into this matter? We should have a more or less definite policy in this regard. There are many articles made by handlooms and other cottage industries which can be used in various ways by Government and which can be purchased in preference to machine-made articles. Almost all furnishing material could thus be from handlooms. We might well lay down a rule to this effect and not supply any machine-made goods for this purpose. Other items could also be examined.

1. Note to the Minister of Works, Housing and Supply, New Delhi, 7 October 1953. File No. 17(139)/56-PMS.

2. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
12th October, 1953

My dear T.T.,

Your letter² of the 12th October about the proposal to constitute an Industrial

1. JN Collection. Copy to Cabinet Secretary.
2. Krishnamachari had written that on 11 October, at a meeting of the Secretaries, the setting up of an Industrial Development Corporation was discussed. The Corporation was meant to function as a nursery for industries, ownership of which was to be determined from time to time.

Development Corporation.³ As you know, I am wholly agreeable to this general proposal; but the working out of details will take some time and will require very full consideration. In reading rapidly through the summary for Cabinet, there are many things in it which seem to me to deserve careful consideration and it will be better for us not suddenly to commit ourselves to all these details.

At the end of the summary it is stated that the Ministries of Finance; Production; Defence; Works, Housing and Supply and the Planning Commission have concurred in the note. Have all these Ministries seen it already and given full consideration to it or is this a presumption? If we have a meeting of the Cabinet in the course of the next two or three days, this will hardly give time for full consideration of the note to the various Ministers and Ministries. I am prepared to have a meeting of the Cabinet for a general consideration of this subject, but I rather doubt if at that meeting we can finalize this matter. Perhaps we might consider the general question and leave the other details to be worked out later.

I find that there is a mention of the International Bank in this summary. I find that the International Bank is getting more and more troublesome and wants to interfere with our basic policies.⁴ I would rather keep away from it as far as possible. I want to make it clear to them that we are not prepared to change our policy to suit their preconceived ideas of how industry should be run. Therefore, there should be no mention of the International Bank in this note or in any statement that might be made.

In the summary there is a reference to an inter-departmental meeting at Secretary level. That is a good preliminary; but it is for Ministers to consider this matter finally and not Secretaries, and one should not jump over the Ministerial stage.

There is also reference in this note to the role of the Ministry of Production and it is suggested that this should be clarified and defined. I do not quite know what this means. One might as well say that the role of every Ministry should be clarified and defined. There is always a certain overlap which can only be considered from the point of view of coordination.

3. It was proposed to set up an Industrial Development Corporation to extend assistance to new enterprises, unlike the Industrial Finance Corporation which was concerned only with meeting the needs of established industries.
4. Eugene R. Black, President of the World Bank, objected to the Indian Government's proposal for a new steel plant with the help of Krupps and Demag, a German concern. He had enquired, why the Government was insisting on full ownership of such projects; why was there a policy of retention price which did not provide any incentive for efficiency and did not allow steel concerns to finance their development and finally, why was the plant not put up as an adjunct of Tata's which was the cheapest way of getting steel produced.

There are a number of other points that strike me immediately, but I shall not refer to them here.

I am asking Cabinet Secretary to have a Cabinet meeting at 5 p.m. on 15th October to consider this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Preference for Indigenous Machinery¹

I have long had a feeling that we are too apt to purchase plant and machinery from abroad, even when we can get it manufactured in India. We have now very large engineering workshops in various parts of the country. Many of them belong to the Central Government, some to State Governments and some to private owners. Recently we drew the attention of our ordnance factories and the like to manufacture for civil requirements. This matter, I believe, is under examination.

2. It is obviously easier to order a ready-made thing from abroad than to manufacture it in India. In regard to some machinery, we have no choice in the matter and we must order it from abroad, though even in such cases, except a very few, there is no reason why we should go on purchasing these articles from abroad and not try to make them at home. The usual outlook is that it is cheaper to get it from abroad than to make it here. This is false economy. Generally speaking, everything that is purchased from abroad is more expensive from the national point of view. Apart from expense, we have to develop these basic industries. I think that the Railways have not thus far paid enough attention to get their requirements made in India. I understand that they are doing so now.² But there has been far too great a tendency for them to think immediately

1. Note on purchase of machinery and plant, 9 November 1953. File No. 17(59)/48-PMS. This note was sent to the Ministers for, Irrigation and Power, Railways, Commerce and Industry, Production, Finance, and to V.T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission and C.P.N. Singh, Governor of Punjab.
2. On 2 November the Indian Railways decided to place orders for 750 locomotives, worth Rs.100 crores, with firms in Germany and Japan. The reason cited for placing these orders with foreign firms was that the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works and the TELCO could not meet the previous orders due to shortage of steel and other components.

of foreign imports and not investigate possibilities at home. This seems to me a completely wrong approach. We shall never get going at this rate and will always have to depend on foreign imports. Very hesitatingly, the Railways are now giving some orders, which they call "educational" to some Indian firms for wagons etc. There is nothing mysterious about a wagon nor is there any secret process about it. We ought to have made them in sufficient quantities for ourselves long ago. But our reliance on foreign imports, which no doubt might be slightly better and more shiny, has prevented us from thinking hard about production in India. It should be a matter of pride to the Railways that they are using articles of Indian manufacture, even though they might not be quite so good as the foreign articles or as cheap, in the limited sense of the word.

3. This applies to every Ministry. I have received complaints from big workshops, both Government-owned and private, that they do not get enough work because orders are sent abroad. They could easily expand and take up new lines of work if only encouraged by Government orders.

4. I remember two years ago, when Mr. Slocum,³ the American expert adviser at Bhakra-Nangal, came here, one of the first things he said was that it was not necessary to get a number of articles from abroad because they could be made in India. He did in fact get them made at the big workshop in Amritsar. He saved us a lot of money thereby, apart from giving work to Indians.

5. This fine and big workshop in Amritsar, which, if encouraged, can produce a large number of articles which we need, is at present not working to capacity. There must be something wrong about this.

6. There are ever so many agricultural implements that are needed in India today and that are imported from abroad, which can be made in Amritsar or in some other Indian workshops. Little attempt is made to encourage this.

7. This morning I visited the Community Centre at Nawanshahr in East Punjab. I went to some of the biggish farms there (about 60 acres). One particular farm was started about three years ago on more or less waste land by a refugee farmer from West Pakistan. He had made this farm a tremendous success and had increased his production at a great pace. He was getting 40 maunds of wheat from an acre of land. He grew many other crops, apart from vegetables. His income is about Rs 1000/- per acre. He did this almost entirely with implements which had got locally made or made in the Amritsar workshop.

3. Harvey Slocum (1887-1961); US expert in construction of dams, involved in the construction of several dam projects like Hetch Hetchy (gravity dam), California, Sierra Madre (arch dam), Lake Henshaw (hydraulic-fill rock-facing) and San Gabriel Forks in the United States, 1910-1947; headed a corps of American engineers as an advisory team to the Bhakra-Nangal irrigation and power project, Government of India, 1951-55; received the sixteenth annual non member award from the Moles, (society of men in the heavy construction) and from Bearers, USA, 1956.

The only foreign article he had was a small tractor. He used this for a variety of purposes, apart from its primary use, by the addition of some kind of implement or other to it. He was obviously a person who knew his work and was of an inventive turn of mind.

8. There is no reason why we should not get most of these agricultural implements made in our workshops. Indeed there seems to be no reason why we should not think of small tractors even. But in any event, all the other things can certainly be made in India, including the many accessories of a tractor for which we pay heavily when imported from abroad.

9. All this requires a definite approach and bent of mind, which insists on getting things made or done in India and avoiding imports as far as possible. It is in fact the spirit of *swadeshi*, which appears to be so lacking nowadays. But *swadeshi* apart, it is good commonsense and good economics. We have quite excellent workshops and engineering establishments and tool making machines and the like. But we do not use them as we might and should.

4. To Lal Bahadur Shastri¹

New Delhi
November 18, 1953

My dear Lal Bahadur,

I have written separately to you and sent you a note about the use of idle machinery, etc.²

I have just been having a talk with J.M. Shrinagesh, the General Manager of Hindustan Aircraft. He repeated the old story to me that he could not understand why our Railways went on buying rail coaches, etc, from abroad when these could be made at Hindustan Aircraft.³ They are making ten coaches a month. They can easily make fifteen a month. The difficulty appears to be the shortage of under-frames. Apparently there is some contractual hitch with Tatas. Tatas say they can supply more. I gather that the Railway Board has ordered a number of these under-frames from Belgium. There has been delay in their coming also.

1. JN Collection.

2. See the preceding item.

3. T.T. Krishnamachari had informed Nehru about the findings of a Committee set up to survey idle capacity in engineering concerns in India. He alleged that the Railway Board had placed orders for undercarriages with foreign firms after refusing an offer from TELCO at a lower price.

Indeed, Hindustan Aircraft have to face a situation when they might have to stop work in December because of this lack of under-frames. This is really an extraordinary situation and it shows such utter lack of coordination in government work that I am amazed. More and more I think that the Railway Board does not think of itself being a part of the larger organism called the Government of India. It functions separately and its ideas on economics do not take into consideration the whole of India or of our production. All my economic and swadeshi instincts rebel against this.

You are also thinking of putting up a factory at Perambur for the manufacture of railway coaches. Has the Railway Board examined whether this work cannot be satisfactorily done by Hindustan Aircraft? I suppose it is too late to do all this because of your contract with the Swiss firm.

I really think that we should start a class for the education of the Railway Board and others in modern economics and planning. Anything bought in India is always cheaper than anything bought abroad.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To Lal Bahadur Shastri¹

New Delhi
November 25, 1953

My dear Lal Bahadur,

T.T. Krishnamachari has already sent a copy of his letter to me dated 24th November. The facts mentioned in this letter, which I presume to be correct, do disclose an approach which I consider completely wrong. The particular case mentioned actually caused a net loss to our Government because we purchased from abroad. The explanation given seems to me completely unsatisfactory.

To say that the duty collected would go to another department of Government seems to me surprising. Government is one organic whole and not various Departments competing against each other.

But I take a much more extreme view than all this. As I have stated previously, almost everything made in India is cheaper from the point of view of our national economy than the same thing imported from abroad, whatever

the price. This fact does not seem to be realised adequately. We talk of employment and the like and do not grasp that it can only be met by adopting a different policy.

I am thinking of asking the Cabinet to pass a rule that nothing should be bought from abroad if it can be obtained in India without special permission and without adequate cause shown. This regardless of the price.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. To J.R.D. Tata¹

New Delhi
28th November, 1953

My dear Jehangir,

I received your letter of 19th November a few days ago.² I have been terribly busy lately.

I do not think that any members of our Cabinet were under the impression that the Tatas were consulted during the early stages of the formulation of the scheme you refer to. Certainly I did not have that impression.

The question of having a new steel plant has been before us for several years. There can be no doubt at all about the absolute necessity of having new plants and increasing our production of steel very greatly. Repeatedly we have considered this matter in the past and, I believe, the Tatas were consulted in regard to various schemes from time to time. In regard to the present scheme which we have approved, it is true, I think, that there was no consultation with the Tatas or with any others in the steel industry here. We were not discussing technical matters with a German group, but were discussing financial and other matters. We had to decide as to whether this group was good enough or not. We came to the conclusion that it was certainly fully competent and knew its job. The German Government also encouraged us. We had to choose some

1. File No. 17(144)/49-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. J.R.D. Tata felt aggrieved that the Government had not consulted the Tatas for setting up a steel plant before entering into a contract with the German combine Krupps-Demag. He felt that such projects if considered in isolation could give rise to "later disappointment and possible criticism". He wanted that the needs of the steel industry as a whole, such as, employment, capital cost, and expansion should have been considered before taking a decision.

major firm or organization in a foreign country for this purpose. During the past few years we discussed this matter with American firms, Japanese firms and German firms. Ultimately, for a number of reasons, we decided on the German firm.³ That was all the decision we took then. It was afterwards for the experts from the German firm to put forward the exact technical scheme. So far as I know, this is still in the process of consideration.

I do not see, therefore, why you should feel as you do in this matter. Of course, it would have been a good thing to consult Tatas. But the consultation could only have been about the quality of the firm we were approaching and not about the technical details which have not yet been settled, or about the financial arrangements.

You refer to the needs of the industry as a whole. Of course, the problem should be considered in its entirety. But, is there any doubt that India needs far more steel production and that this is an urgent necessity? Long ago we decided that additional steel plants should be State-run and we have been pursuing that idea since then. In fact, the idea of having a third plant is also rather vaguely under consideration, though there is no chance of our going in for it at this stage.

In fact reference has been made to all this in the Planning Commission and it has been pointed out to us repeatedly that industrial growth depends largely on steel production.

I do not quite know from your letter what exactly has let to your doubts. You refer to the technical, financial and other aspects and implications of the scheme. This is rather vague. The technical aspects are being considered. Financial aspects have been decided only broadly in so far as the financial contribution of the German firm is concerned. It is possible, though not sure, that we might get a loan from the International Bank. We have insisted on a certain control of the managerial side. I have not the details with me and I do not quite know what later developments might have been. But in your letter you say that the Production Ministry has asked for your help in drafting a technical consultants' agreement.

I am sure that in this matter there has not been the least desire on the part of the Production Ministry or the Government to show indifference to the Tatas. I have not dealt with this directly, as the Production Ministry is in charge; but at every stage a committee of the Cabinet has been consulted.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The Government of India had signed a memorandum of Indo-German association in the new Indian steel project on 15 August 1953 at Bonn with the German combine of Krupps and Demag, for financial and technical participation.

7. To J.R.D. Tata¹

New Delhi
December 17, 1953

My dear Jehangir,

I have just received your letter of the 15th December about the new steel plant. I am referring it to our Minister for Production, who will, I hope, deal with the questions you have raised.

Your principal objection appears to be in regard to the site.² The site has not been chosen finally yet, but it is true that we have been considering new sites, more especially in Orissa and Madhya Pradesh, and not siting the new mill at one of the existing steel works. As a matter of fact, I believe that we have given considerable financial help to the existing steel works to extend their operations. Apart from this, it is a generally recognized policy in every country not to concentrate important industrial undertakings in one area. From the military and defence point of view, this is considered undesirable as it might be destroyed with great ease leaving no alternative. Also too much concentration in one place is considered undesirable from the point of view of a balanced development of the country.³

These are important considerations which have to be kept in mind together with the others which you have mentioned.

All these factors were very carefully considered by not only the Ministries concerned but by the Cabinet and the Planning Commission.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No.17(144)/49-PMS. A copy of the letter was sent to K.C. Reddy.
2. J.R.D. Tata felt that "adequate thought has not been given to the much cheaper alternative of siting the new mill at one of the existing steel works", which would have resulted in saving about Rs 30 crores and the consequential reduction in manufacturing cost.
3. The technical experts of the German firms visited sites in Bihar, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, and Orissa and studied the memoranda submitted by these governments. The overriding consideration for location of the steel plant was economy of production and distribution. After assessing all the factors, in January 1954, they chose Rourkela in Orissa as the location of the new steel plant.

8. Partnership in Achievement¹

This is my third visit to Hindustan Aircraft and every time I come here, I am fascinated by the developments that are taking place. The Hindustan Aircraft Factory is one of India's most important undertakings. This factory has been established to put India on the airmap. This factory is bringing India into the ranks of the advanced nations of the world. It is a pioneering venture and therefore everyone who is employed in this factory is doing something far greater than what the ordinary citizen does. Every employee is a partner in the great undertaking. Each one of you is a partner, not merely a salary-earner or a wage-earner, but one who is taking part in building a new India. That is the great task, the great adventure, in which all of us in India are engaged. This is an exciting experience. Therefore, you must discharge your work in a spirit of friendliness, comradeship and partnership. Whatever the type of work you may do here, whether you are the General Manager or some other worker in the factory, you should always think of yourself as partners in this great enterprise.

All those who are connected with the Aircraft Factory should feel proud that they are working in this primary undertaking in the country. If you take pride in your work, you improve it and show that India can do better than other countries. We propose to catch up with other advanced countries. Once we get going in a big way, our country can produce more big things and become wealthier. That wealth goes down to the people and the people get better, and the whole country goes up.

I want a spirit of cooperation and mutual discussion to prevail in the relations between various groups of employees. We cannot waste time in conflicts. Let the labour association and workers' committees discuss their problems with the management and solve them...

1. Speech at a gathering of the employees of the Hindustan Aircraft Factory, Bangalore, 4 January 1954. From AIR tapes, NMML. Extracts.

9. To Ravi Shankar Shukla¹

Camp: Kalyani
January 24, 1954

My dear Shuklaji,²

Thank you for your letter of the 24th January. I have read it with considerable surprise. I can understand your wish to have the new steel plant situated in Madhya Pradesh. But you seem to be under the impression that some deep intrigue is taking place in this matter to avoid Madhya Pradesh being chosen as the location of this plant.³ You complain that you have not been consulted adequately and that some officers or others of the Central Government are pursuing some secret policy opposed to the interests of Madhya Pradesh.

I really do not understand all this. So far as I am concerned, I have discussed this matter repeatedly during the last three or four years with the Ministers concerned, in the Economic Committee, and with a special ad hoc committee appointed for this particular purpose. As a matter of fact, the question of location has not been discussed seriously during all these years. We have naturally been much more interested in having a steel plant wherever it might be situated. We nearly came to terms with a Japanese firm and then with other firms, and then these proposed arrangements broke down. Ultimately, we have come to an agreement with two German firms of repute. The main thing was this agreement which involves both the technical aspect and the financial. The question of location has not been discussed by us at all because we had made it clear right from the beginning that after the agreement was arrived at, the foreign expert firm concerned should advise us about the location. There the matter stands. The foreign firm has now been investigating this question and has either presented its report or is on the point of doing so. I have not seen this report, nor do I know anything about it. I have no idea what they have said in it, i.e., if they have presented it. The last I heard of this report was that it was likely to be presented soon.

You refer to the World Bank directors. They have nothing to do with this matter now. In fact, they are not over-pleased with our decision to come to terms with German firms. They have been putting obstructions in our way. We have decided to go ahead with this project even if the World Bank falls out and does not give us any help.

1. File No.17(144)/49-PMS. Copy of the letter was also sent to Central Minister of Production, K.C. Reddy.
2. Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.
3. Shukla suspected that the coal and iron ore industries of Bengal and Bihar were pressurising the Central Government regarding the location of the new steel plant in those states.

I just do not understand your complaint about not being consulted or being bypassed. As I have said above, the question to which we have given enormous thought is the agreement with a foreign firm. It is obvious that we could not undertake this work without such an agreement.⁴ The question of location was a minor and subsidiary matter which did not arise till the major matter was settled. We must have had dozens of meetings to consider this steel project and at none of them was the question of location even mentioned.

This whole question of the steel plant; including location etc., is in charge of the Production Committee of the Cabinet which consists of about half a dozen or more Ministers. They will, no doubt, consider the report of the German experts as well as all other relevant material and then come to a decision. I do not know what steps the Minister of Production has taken recently in regard to this matter, nor did I know that he was going to visit Madhya Pradesh or any other place.

As for his giving a hearing to anybody, I should have imagined that we have been flooded with material and hearings from Madhya Pradesh specially. The West Bengal Government has been pressing its case also. Tatas, separately, have been pressing their case. As a matter of fact, the Orissa Government has been the quietest in this matter, although undoubtedly they are anxious to have the steel plant in Orissa. They sent us a memorandum long ago and, so far as I know, they have sent nothing more. It is quite natural for us to refer you to the Orissa Government when you ask for information. We have no special information about the matter, except that memorandum of the Orissa Government.

I also do not understand how the question of appointing a special committee now arises. We have been appointing committee after committee over the steel project and in Parliament we have been blamed for carrying on with committees without coming to a decision in this urgent matter. The German experts are completely impartial and there is nothing to induce them to favour any particular place. It is true that perhaps they might not consider some political or defence and the like aspects. That is for us to consider.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. On 21 December 1953, the Government of India signed an agreement for setting up a steel plant and formation of a private limited company under the name of Hindustan Steel Limited, with an authorized capital of Rs 100 crores, with the German combine of Krupp and Demag.

(iii) Multipurpose Projects

1. To V.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
November 3, 1953

My dear V.T.

I spent two full days in Bihar and met people from every district affected by the floods.² They gave me long memoranda, etc. I didn't deal with these memoranda separately but collected the whole bunch together and had a talk with them. I told them more or less what you had written to me. The proposal to have a separate high-powered unit of engineers to consider the whole problem of North Bihar in its entirety and even to take up any small schemes was greatly approved. You will remember you writing to me that you and Nanda³ had decided to take this step. I do not exactly know what the precise nature of this unit will be and how it will work. But I quoted the language from your letter. This has created a good impression and I hope that it will be given effect to as early as possible.

Time is rather important in such matters, both for practical and psychological reasons. There is a feeling in Bihar that year after year they have suffered from the Kosi and other floods and little attention has been paid to them by us. They suffer from some kind of frustration. My visit did a little good from this point of view and now they are in an expectant mood again as to what we are going to do. I hope, therefore, that fairly quick action will be taken about this matter.

Secondly, about the Kosi, I explained to them the position. They all realized that the dam cannot be undertaken. They urged that both the barrages you have mentioned as alternatives should be taken in hand. Of course, even so one would naturally have precedence over the other. If something could be done about starting work on one of these barrages fairly early, that would be good. I told them that the Planning Commission hoped to come to a decision by the

1. File No. 7(274)/53-PMS. Copy of this letter was sent to Gulzarilal Nanda, Minister for Planning, Irrigation and Power, and C.D. Deshmukh, Minister for Finance.
2. Nehru spent November 1 and 2 in Bihar. Over six million people had been affected, crops standing over an area of two million acres had been damaged and 77,000 houses had collapsed during the floods in Bihar. The Central Government had announced that work on the Kosi project was to be undertaken from the winter of 1953. The first phase of work included construction of a barrage at Belka embankment and a canal system on both sides of the river.
3. Gulzarilal Nanda.

middle of December and after that they would give effect to it as soon as possible.

The immediate problem there is one of relief and the relief most demanded is for the building of houses or rather mud huts. I was told that between sixty and and seventy thousand of such mud huts had collapsed.⁴ The Bihar Government is giving small loans for this purpose, but this will not take them far. They arrange Rs.50 up to, I believe, Rs.250, except in special cases. Even this is a big sum for them and they would like the help of the Centre in the shape of a loan for this purpose.

Fourthly, in regard to giving help, naturally they prefer the method of providing work. In the case of middle-class women more particularly, the only type of work we can provide is spinning or some like occupation. This results in some loss, that is, the yarn or cloth turned out has to be sold at some loss. This is a better form of help than just doles. Their difficulty has been that this form of giving help has not been encouraged by our rules.

These are the four major points that emerged from my visit. When I flew over the flood-affected areas, the floods had largely receded, but all over there were pools of water. Oddly enough, it is more difficult to reach some places now than it was when the floods were at their height. People could then go by boat. Now as the ground is very slushy and muddy, movement is very restricted. In the Saran district area practically there were no floods, but the rainfall was very heavy and apparently there were no proper outlets for the rain. So a large part of Saran is a sea of mud now, apart from the collections of water all over. The Kosi area presented a desolate appearance.

I enquired from many persons about the quality of the Kosi water, in view of what Gokhale⁵ had written to me. Every one agreed that there was nothing wrong with the water and, in fact, the first effect of the Kosi water was to make the land more fertile. But gradually as the real soil was washed away and sand took its place, fertility suffered and even trees began to dry up. The problem is thus more of sand than of water.

I hope that we shall be able to take urgent and as effective steps as possible to help in these various matters. It is obvious that the loss to the people in Bihar owing to these floods has been enormous. Estimates may vary, and it is difficult to have any proper estimate. What is worse is the feeling that every year something of this kind occurs and there is no escape from it. This year

4. At a meeting with the Ministers of the Bihar Government and the officials on 1 November, Nehru had suggested that the construction of compressed mud houses as experimented in Punjab and Hyderabad may be attempted as a suitable alternative.
5. B.K. Gokhale who worked in Bihar for a long time in various capacities; was India's Ambassador in Nepal at this time.

was undoubtedly exceptional and all the rivers, including the Gandak, the Kamla and many others were in flood. The Bihar peasantry are stout and good workers and are not easily given to despair. With hope and help they will be much better. I hope we shall be able to provide both these.

I shall send you separately some of the memoranda I received which might give you some additional information.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Speed not at the Cost of Quality¹

We want to achieve in ten years what has taken other countries a period of hundred years. In doing this I want to speed up but not at the cost of efficiency. If the country does not achieve something big, it will flounder. The sight of big works, like Bhakra-Nangal and Damodar Valley, are exceedingly exciting as all acts of creating and building engender excitement and pride.

Some people in this country have a wrong notion that the men who sit in chairs and issue orders are great people. These administrators indeed have their own place in a country's set-up but there is a greater place for the artist, the creator, the builder and the artisan, because they are of greater value to the community. A person becomes big by the work he does.

The fighters of our struggle for independence became big because they allied themselves to a great cause. Moreover, they had the honour and privilege to work under a very great man, Mahatma Gandhi, some spark of whose genius made them bigger.

Engineers have to work with their own hands. Those who merely give opinions and pass orders are not as useful as those who do things, themselves. You have to create a feeling of fraternity and a sense of partnership among the workers who are engaged in the same great task of building a new India. This sense of partnership amongst the humble workers will produce in them a feeling of responsibility and a feeling of pride, which will contribute towards greater speed and efficiency in the execution of the project.

1. Speech at a reception by engineers and other officials of the Bhakra-Nangal project at Nangal, 8 November 1953. From the *National Herald*, 9 November 1953. Extracts.

The living standard of every Indian should go up and this is possible only if they built a new country which implies giving it a new outlook while bridging the gulf between old and the new. In this task you need the spirit of dedication, devotion to a cause, ability and experience.

A considerable number of American engineers are employed here. We welcome trained and experienced men from anywhere in the world. The American engineers who have come, will be of very great help to us in training us to execute projects like these. We want to do things in a first-rate manner. We want to learn and as Americans are leaders of the technique in building dams, we are anxious to make the best use of their skills. They are partners in this great task for they have come here not to earn money which they can do perhaps better in their own country, but on account of devotion and interest in this task.

A large number of Indians were sent outside for training. That technical training, may be from anywhere in the world, is welcome to us. Some of these trained persons after returning from abroad however want the same type of conditions to be created in this country before they can do any work. I feel that they will have to work and adapt themselves to their own climate and conditions and make the best use of the existing facilities.

We have to work in our own country, utilize our material resources rather than look to the conditions prevailing in foreign lands.

I visualize the picture of a new India, a great country, after the execution of these projects. The completion of such projects as Bhakra-Nangal gives us faith, confidence and experience which adds to the stature of the country. When we do one big thing, it encourages us to perform bigger deeds in the future. Let everyone, therefore, dedicate himself to the building of a new India.

3. The Progress of Bhakra-Nangal Project¹

I have just returned from a visit to Bhakra-Nangal. It is difficult for me to judge the work being done there. I found considerable progress having been made since my last visit and, from external appearances, work was in full

1. Note to C.P.N. Singh, Governor of Punjab, Gulzarilal Nanda, Lal Bahadur Shastri, C.D. Deshmukh, and the Planning Commission, 9 November 1953. File No. 17(59)/48-PMS. Extracts.

swing where I went. I was told that by May next the canal system would be completely ready,² except perhaps for some part in Rajasthan. In fact it was intended to allow water to run through it about that time.

2. In this connection, we must bear in mind our assurances to Pakistan. We cannot to anything which might lead to a legitimate protest from Pakistan. We have consented to a standstill agreement pending talks with the International Bank people.³ Before we take any step, which might be challenged, we must be clear about the position and give adequate notice of the step we propose to take. This is a matter to be separately examined and kept in view.

3. I had a number of talks with the various top-ranking engineers there. Also had a brief talk with Mr Slocum, the American expert who is a kind of a general adviser. Slocum, as usual, was full of complaint about the inefficiency and slowness of the administrative machine. His talks verged on rudeness. However, I listened to him quietly without replying. I believe that he is earnest about what he says and, with his American background he feels very frustrated at the way things are done here and, more especially, at the delays at every step, whether this is sanctions for expenditure, orders given for plant or equipment, transport by railways, telephone delays, etc. He mentioned also the thefts on railways. He is evidently a specialist at his job and lacks any other kind of education. But he knows his job thoroughly and hence his utility to us. Some of the points he has made are obviously of substance. In fact, from time to time, a number of his petty grievances have been remedied or, at any rate, some improvement has taken place because he drew attention to the matter. He is a live wire continually shaking up things, often irritating others, but, nevertheless helping to get things done. I talked about him to the Chief Engineer and he told me that he would very much like Slocum to remain at Bhakra-Nangal for another two or three years. He gave this opinion in spite of the irritation that Slocum causes him and others frequently.

4. In the course of his talk to me, Slocum said that he had enough of this work, he tried his utmost to improve it and save money as well as expedite it,

2. The remodelled Nangal canal system and the Sirhind canal were to carry 1800 and 12,600 cusecs of water respectively, to irrigate several lakh acres in Hissar district. The canals were being built with the help of 2500 labourers at a cost of Rs 4 crores.
3. The standstill clause contained in Eugene Black's proposal of 13 March 1952, and agreed to by both the parties, suggested that pending a solution of the problem "neither side will take any action to diminish (water) supplies available to the other side for existing uses."

but he had come to the conclusion that he could not bring about any radical change. Hence, he had decided to take advantage of some kind of escape clause in his contract and leave early next year. Whether he has definitely made up his mind or not about this, I do not know because he has previously threatened to depart also. It may be just a way of exerting pressure. Anyway, one cannot rule out his leaving us and we have to think of the consequences and what we should do then.

5. I was told by the Chief Engineer that the wages bill amounted to Rs 5 lakhs daily. The total amount spent is in the neighbourhood of Rs 8 lakhs daily. Thus a day's delay means several lakhs of unnecessary expenditure. Delay, in fact, is far more expensive than anything else. Every avoidable delay must, therefore, be removed, quite apart from Slocum's criticism.

6. Delay occurs in sanctions which have to go both to the Punjab Government and the Central Government (Ministry of Irrigation and Power). I was told by the Governor, who is Chairman of the Bhakra-Nangal Board that these delays have been reduced from months to weeks now. Even weeks seem to me unnecessary and some way ought to be found to avoid this delay.

7. So far as orders for plant etc. are concerned, the engineers should know beforehand what they want. Only rarely an emergency might arise which requires some new machine or spare part which cannot be provided for previously. Normally, it should be the business of the people in charge to state, in good time, what they want, so that nothing should be held up because of delay.

8. Even so, we must devise some method of sanctions being given with speed. I understand that the Chief Engineer is authorized to sanction purchases up to Rs 1 lakh. This is a fairly large sum. If anything exceeds this sum, the sanctioning authority should be able to deal with it within a few days, unless it is some complicated matter. I was told that delays usually occur in the Central Government, either in the Ministry of Irrigation and Power or the Finance Ministry. When it was suggested that more frequent meetings of the Central Board should be held, it was said that it is inconvenient for the representatives of the two Central Ministries to attend such meetings frequently. That is hardly an adequate reason for delay. The amounts involved are so large, and even the salaries of the top-ranking people like Slocum are so much bigger than the salaries of persons in the Central Government who are Members of the Board, that delay at the Centre must prove very wasteful. It may be desirable to place Central representatives at Nangal in order to avoid these delays. In any event, this matter should be examined and some way out found.

9. Delays in railway transport, I was told, have also been very considerable, though I believe some improvement has been made. The Railway Ministry might examine this. Also the complaints about thefts. Evidently there have been some

thefts of machinery meant for Bhakra-Nangal. This is deplorable in deed that the whole question of thefts on railways has assumed such big proportions that it requires the most urgent and effective examination by the Railway Ministry and the Railway Board. These cause heavy loss to the Railways apart from other losses. I was told that it has come to such a stage that, whenever any consignment arrives from abroad for Bhakra-Nangal, they have decided to send a man to Bombay to accompany it, to protect it from thefts. This is an extraordinary situation which does little credit to our Railways.

10. The present Chief Engineer⁵ is supposed to retire next year on the completion of his 55 years of age. He is said to be a good and efficient man. I think it would be absurd for us to apply the age limit for retirement to a man in charge of this important work, when it is admitted that he knows his job and when it may be difficult to replace him. This question does not arise immediately, but we should bear it in mind. Indeed, the whole question of retirement of specialists and experts at 55 appears to me to be exceedingly unwise. I doubt if anywhere else in the world this is done. There is a lack of experienced engineers and we cannot spare any that we have got whatever the age. The work is more important than routine service rules....

11. I gathered from some representatives of workers that there was dissatisfaction among them about their service conditions. I am unable to express any opinion about this matter, but I think that their complaints should be gone into carefully. These workers, or many of them, are skilled people. Two matters were mentioned to me, which have nothing to do with their conditions of service but which have an obvious importance. There is apparently some kind of a tablet somewhere giving names of engineers and higher paid staff who have died or suffered disability as a result of accident while working. No mention is made in this of the lower-paid workers who have died in the same way. This seems to me odd and improper. In this matter, there can be or should be no differentiation between various classes of workers. The idea that the lives of the higher-paid workers count and others are of no particular value is a bad one.

12. The second complaint was that, when the President or I go there, no representative of the lower-paid staff is brought into the picture, either for presentation or otherwise. This may appear a small point, but it has a psychological significance. I think that on all such occasions some selected representatives of various grades of workers should be presented. I remember that, at my instance, at a big railway function, some old guards and engine drivers were made to sit on the dais. That was good and we should show this courtesy to good employees whatever their rank.

5. R.R. Handa.

13. I was told, with what truth I do not know, that there is no provision for compensation for death through accident. I can hardly think that this is a correct statement. However, this might be looked into.

14. Apart from the particular complaints made by the workers, it seems to me that the general approach of the superior staff to the junior staff should be considered and a more cooperative atmosphere encouraged. There should be no hard and fast line between them. They should be made to feel that they are partners in this great undertaking and not just unimportant people doing unimportant work for a daily wage. Amenities should be provided. Of course some are provided, but there might be some addition to them. We are spending vast sums on this project. By the addition of trifling amounts for amenities, we might very well increase the goodwill of the workers and the general atmosphere of the place which will yield results even in regard to the work, apart from being the right thing.

15. Slocum mentioned a small but typical example of waste. A truck or some other like conveyance was used just for two or three workers to go to some place when its carrying capacity was much more. A little better organization would avoid these wasteful journeys. A conveyance should be used to the full. These conveyances are expensive and they should not be needlessly used. All these matters require careful organization. They may seem petty but they mount up. The wear and tear of these vehicles is great.

(iv) Education

1. Importance of Manual Labour¹

... I have a very good opinion of the National Cadet Corps. In fact, what worried me was the fact that it was rather limited in numbers. We have not spread it far. But there comes the question of expenditure more than anything else. I should like almost every student to be in the Corps.

1. Address to the Madras circle of the National Cadet Corps, who had constructed a colony of fifty houses, Chennai, 2 October 1953 AIR tapes, NMML. Extracts.

You might know that we have started an auxiliary wing to it, the Auxiliary Cadet Corps, the whole idea being that we want every young man, and if I may say so, every young woman too, to come into the scope of training. We give a fuller training in the NCC and I have no doubt that that should form an essential part of our curriculum. Training again should include this type of physical labour, of constructive activity, not merely the drill and all that which is desirable in its own way.

I am particularly happy to have come here today and seen the work that this Madras circle of the NCC has done here. It is something solid, something which will not only be useful to others, but will give them a feeling that they have done something worthwhile. The individual who does something, creates something useful. He feels that and it is a good feeling which makes him great which is the opposite of, if I may say so, a feeling of frustration which some people have.

It is a feeling of achievement and if a person begins to achieve small things, he is likely to achieve big things in life. But, if a person sits and waits for things to happen, well, things are likely not to happen at all, and he is likely to wait for ever. Above all there is a conception, in India—the conception of manual labour being rather degrading — a fantastic, ridiculous and a dangerous conception, because manual labour is ennobling. It is by manual labour that the world gets on and not by the few lawyers and clerks who sit in offices.

But apart from that, from the physical point of view, for building up a healthy nation, it is desirable and necessary. You can do your exercise, you can play your games. All that is very good. But obviously the best way of exercising yourself is by creating something in the process, so that the exercise brings achievement. In exercising yourself this way you build something, you create something, you get exercise and you get a sense of achievement and you are mentally and physically the better....

2. Selection of Artists for Scholarships¹

I have received a letter from the Ministry of Education informing me of a

1. Note to the Minister of Education, New Delhi, 7 October 1953, File No. 40(229)/52-PMS.

scheme to award 100 scholarships to young artists of outstanding promise.² I know nothing of this scheme except what is given in an attached paper which states that every scholar will be paid Rs 250 per month. This means an expenditure of about Rs 3 lakhs a year.

2. It is suggested that a selection committee of four persons representing the various Akademis etc. should be formed to award these scholarships, and as Chairman of the Sahitya Akademi, I have been asked to nominate a person to this selection committee.

3. It seems to me that a mixed committee like this is hardly a suitable medium for the selection of scholars. It will practically amount to one person representing either art or music or literature choosing the scholars for that particular subject. It would probably be better for a group of persons in that subject to choose scholars. I know that if I had to choose a scholar for literature by myself, I would have the greatest difficulty.

4. Nor is it clear as to where these scholars will study these special subjects. I find it a little difficult, for instance, to suggest where a person specialising in literature should study.

5. It would perhaps be better to clarify these points before inviting applications for scholarships.³

2. The Government of India proposed to award 100 cultural scholarships, each of the value of Rs 250 a month, to encourage young workers in the fields of fine arts, music, dance, drama and literature. The scholarships were open to Indian nationals of not more than 35 years of age with sufficient general education and outstanding promise in their chosen fields.
3. The Minister of Education, Maulana Azad, replied that the selection of candidates was not an easy task. He suggested the setting up of two boards of experts, one for letters and another for fine arts, for such selections. Nehru in a second note dated 18 October 1953 (not printed) stated: "If scholars are chosen, it would be better to have a committee or a board to do so. It is difficult for me to make a suggestion as to who should constitute a board, as I am not yet clear about the nature of these scholarships. I do not know at what stage people will be chosen and at what age and where they will be sent for training."

3. To V.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
13 October, 1953

My dear V.T.

I enclose a letter from Keshava Deva Malaviya.

I am myself rather worried about our schemes to employ a large number of young men in one-teacher schools.² This may be good from the point of view of giving some immediate employment, but it has no relevance from the educational point of view. More and more I am convinced that the only way to educational progress is to adopt wholeheartedly the basic scheme.

The graduates and others who are going to be put in charge in schools now will have no training or very little and they will be a drawback to us later. It seems to me far better to take these young men and give them an intensive course of training in basic methods and then to utilise them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. The problem of the educated unemployed in India was being tackled on an emergency basis. It was expected that one-teacher schools would absorb 30,000 teachers in 1953-54 and 50,000 additional teachers in 1954-55. Three thousand social education centres were expected to be set up in 1953-54 and 5,000 in 1954-55.

4. To V.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
30th October, 1953

My dear V.T.,

You will remember my sending you, some time ago, (I think, early in August 1953) a note by Dr. Harry B. Friedgood.² In this note he dealt chiefly with medical education and health services and he pointed out the serious situation in which we are likely to be soon because of lack of personnel. He also did not approve of the way we were treating this matter now generally.

1. JN Collection. Copies were sent to Minister of Education and Minister of Health.
2. An American educationist who met Nehru in July 1953.

This question of training technical personnel in adequate quantities for the future applies to others also—teachers and engineers and, more especially, persons of the former type. Unless we tackle this now, there will be bottlenecks in the future. We have been thinking too much in financial terms of these problems and not so much from the point of view of training personnel.

I do not quite know what is being done about this.

I had sent my previous note to the Education Minister and the Health Minister also. The Education Minister wrote to me that Dr Friedgood's suggestions were valuable and worth serious consideration. He suggested that they might be discussed by some of us.

Perhaps such a discussion would be useful, though there is not much point in having a vague discussion without some specific ideas or proposals before us.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To Abul Kalam Azad¹

New Delhi
November 4, 1953

My dear Maulana,

When in Patna, I visited for the first time the Khuda Bakhsh Library. I also visited Jalan's² private collections.³ The latter is a curious mixture of some valuable articles and some relatively unimportant ones. I had breakfast there in a very fine silver set, which was said to belong to Raja Birbal⁴ and in which he

1. File No. 40(194)/60-70-PMS.
2. Diwan Bahadur Radhakrishna Jalan (1882-1954) a zaminder and businessman, founded this museum in 1896 at Patna. A man of art and culture. Jalan used to wander across the country and abroad in search of rare and valuable antiques. He not only invested all his resources but even borrowed from his friends to pay for objects of art, rare furniture, precious stones and sculptures.
3. Nehru visited and spent half an hour at the Jalan Museum on 2 November 1953 and signing the visitors book, wrote: "my second visit—many additions which make this a rare and beautiful collection."
4. Alias Maheshdas (1528-1605), Akbar's companion and a brilliant wit and poet.

had entertained Akbar. This was of fine chaste silver, some pieces having some gold too. There were about 150 pieces of various kinds. I do not know what Jalan is going to do with his collections. I hope he will have the sense to give it to the nation.⁵

For the present I am writing to you about the Khuda Bakhsh Library. As you know, this has some very valuable manuscripts and paintings chiefly of the Moghul period. I was very much struck by the beauty of these manuscripts and, more especially, of the paintings. I think that we should try to get them reproduced in the best possible way. They have not only an artistic value but a historical value. There were some paintings by Bihzad,⁶ the famous Turkish painter. The Government of India should undertake this work of getting first-rate reproductions. I do not know how much it would cost, but it is worth it.

I think we should also help in getting a proper catalogue made of the Khuda Bakhsh Library and sending a trained man for the purpose. Such a trained man should know modern methods, including the proper statistical method of doing this work.

The present man in charge, who is a relative of Khuda Bakhsh⁷ is good, but he has no one to succeed him. It would be a good thing if someone was trained for this purpose.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. On the request of Rajendra Prasad, Jalan transferred most of the Chinese coins to the National Museum in Delhi in 1960-1961.
6. Bihzad (Ustad Kamaluddin) master painter and artist, of late fifteenth and early sixteenth century AD, was the court painter of the rulers of Khurasan and Persia. He founded the Bihzad school—"Bihzad Qalam" of painting at Herat.
7. Khuda Bakhsh (1842-1908); admitted to the Patna bar, 1868 and soon became the leading lawyer in Patna; Lord Ripon appointed him Vice-Chairman of Patna Municipality and of Patna District Board; appointed Government pleader, Patna, 1880; made Khan Bahadur 1883; one of the greatest authorities on Islamic bibliography, he founded the Oriental Public Library at Patna in 1891; Chief Justice, Nizam's High Court, 1895-1897 and awarded C.I.E. title, 1903.

6. Learning while Playing¹

Dear Children, I am very happy to see all of you here. You have given me an affectionate welcome and I have seen you dancing and singing and playing. I like your games very much and feel that you are slowly preparing yourselves in this way while studying and playing in your schools. What are you preparing yourselves for? You must be thinking that you have to go to school and study because you are small and that later, when you grow up and have been to college, you will not have to study any more. But what is the difference between studying and playing? In fact, all our studies should be like playing and we must learn while playing. This kind of playing and learning should go on all the time. You often take the name of *Bharat Mata* and that you are her children. That is all right. But you have to make yourselves really strong, study well and learn to play and work together. There are a number of you assembled here today, but there are millions of children like you all over the country who also go to school and study and play and are thus slowly building a new India.

I see the future of India in your eyes. You will be India when you grow up. The children of today are the India of tomorrow. Therefore, there is a great responsibility upon you to grow in such a way that the country may become strong. There must be unity among us and no barriers of any kind. We must not fight among ourselves in the name of caste and religion, etc., as grown up people do today. It is not a good thing and they are causing harm to the country, instead of serving her. All children are equal, no matter which caste or religion they belong to. We want to treat everyone in the country as equals. In the same way, you must be equal when you grow up and not fight among yourselves. You must work while you are playing and learn to serve the country well. *Jai Hind.*

1. Address at a gathering of children at the National Stadium, New Delhi, 14 November 1953. From AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

7. The Importance of Basic Education¹

I have been asked to inaugurate the All India Basic Education Conference which is to begin on the 14th November 1953 in Assam.² I am sorry that I am unable to accept this honour. It is not possible for me to leave Delhi at that time even for a day.

But I wish to send all my good wishes to this Conference and I hope that its deliberations will yield results and lead to a greater spread of basic education.

Almost everyone today in India criticizes our present system of education. Indeed, it is becoming increasingly doubtful how far this present system is education at all, in any true sense of the word. Our universities have become battle grounds where "Committees of Action" function, all kinds of demands are made, hunger-strikes are resorted to, and generally an atmosphere of an industrial conflict prevails.

It is bad enough to have conflicts in industry, but it seems astounding to me that we should put our educational institutions on that level. To blame students or teachers for this state of affairs serves little purpose. There is something wrong in a system which produces these results. Of course, there are other factors too.

I am deeply concerned that all this should happen and come in the way of the proper development of our young men and young women. Governments can take action, but this is not merely a question of Government action. It is something wider and deeper, and it is necessary for public opinion, for parents and guardians and, above all, for the young men and young women, to appreciate the significance of this disorder in our educational system. What kind of a future do they envisage for themselves or for India? Is it out of this that character is built or knowledge gathered? Wisdom, of course, need hardly be mentioned in this connection. And yet it is out of the hard root of character and trained and disciplined mind and body that nations are made.

Here we are in this great country of India struggling hard to make good, to go ahead, to raise the awfully low standards of our people and to bring some comfort to our millions. Looking at the world today, for us, as for many other countries, it is a struggle for survival. It is also a tremendous adventure

1. Undated. Message to the All India Basic Education Conference, released to the press on 14 November 1953. From the Press Information Bureau.
2. The Conference was inaugurated by Jairamdas Doulatram, the Governor of Assam at Titabar.

which should call out the best that is in us and develop a crusading spirit in our people.

I often wonder if our young men and women appreciate the significance of the times they live in and of the great responsibility and the proud privilege, which should be theirs, to function in these times, and to serve their country and humanity. Unless we have some such high ambition in our minds, how are we to grow in stature and become, as a nation, what we want to be. This is a serious matter deserving the most earnest and urgent consideration for all of us.

Education, it is well known, is essentially based on the foundations laid in the earliest years of a child's growth. It is said that it is those early years that count, and most of all, the first six or seven years. Unfortunately, there is hardly any provision for those very early years, which are called pre-basic. Basic education, I believe, begins at about seven. That is an almost equally important period. If our early schooling is wrong, subsequent developments will also be wrong. The effect will follow the cause.

Therefore, it is essential that this early schooling must be built on the right foundations, and I believe more and more that those foundations are those of basic education in the true sense of the word.

I am told that if good basic schools were established everywhere all over the country and, as a consequence, post-basic education was also provided for, the cost would run into many hundreds of crores. In fact, it would be much more than the total income of the Government of India today. It is a pity that we cannot find this money, and we have to think again, therefore, as to how to do this. When basic education was first envisaged, it was thought that it could be organized in a simpler way, and I do not know why it should be beyond our capacity to think of this problem of having good basic schools within our resources.

I wish the Conference every success.

8. To Chief Ministers¹

New Delhi

November 20, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,

As you know, I have been rather shaken up by recent student troubles, chiefly

1. JN Collection.

in Uttar Pradesh. They are a bad omen for our future. We criticize or condemn some students, and there is little doubt that some of these students have misbehaved badly.²

2. In Lucknow and, to some extent elsewhere in the UP, there appears to have been a well-planned and organised attempt to damage Government property. Private property was not touched. It is obvious that this could not have been done without careful planning. I do not know who did this, whether it was a small group of students or outsiders. This matter deserves full enquiry, because it is likely to be repeated whenever any trouble, student or other, takes place. We have been warned.

3. This whole trouble seems to be so out of proportion to the issues that I have a feeling of grappling with something that I do not wholly understand. This leads me to think that we are up against something rather different from and bigger than a mere student demand. But, however that may be, the fact remains that large numbers of students are dragged into the picture and either actively or passively support misbehaviour. Very probably the active miscreants are not many and they might not even be students. In our large universities, it is quite easy for a small number of outsiders to mix with the students and not to be found out.

4. Not only do the great majority of students sympathise with this violence and so-called direct action but oddly enough, even their parents do so, or many of them. Respected citizens get so unnerved at what happens that they lose all sense of proportion and indirectly support these trouble making elements.

5. There is something wrong about all this and we have to find out why this happens and how we can avoid this happening.

6. Police measures and the like are essential at a certain stage, as otherwise the whole community would suffer and the life of the city would break down completely. But police measures are obviously not enough and, in fact, unless very carefully regulated, they tend to add to the trouble. They made the peaceful onlookers sympathise with the trouble-makers and thus the situation is worsened.

7. This question has, therefore, to be approached in a variety of ways, including the psychological approach, both to students and the general public. Generally speaking, the State should not interfere in a student dispute. It should be an impartial arbiter which comes into the picture only when absolutely

2. The Ministry of Education in a report, *Education in Universities in India, 1951-52*, listed the causes for students unrest as "loss of leadership by teachers, growth of economic difficulties, general loss of idealism, absence of social life, a sense of fear and insecurity, and unhappy living conditions."

necessary. The main responsibility must lie on the university authorities and, principally, the Vice-Chancellor and his Executive Committee. The position of the Vice-Chancellor is a crucial one. If he cannot control the students or inspire respect in them, then it will be difficult to maintain discipline or a feeling among the students that some things must not be done.

8. Next comes the professors and teachers. If they do not set a good example, then how can we expect the students to do it? Unfortunately, some of our professors and teachers have themselves been found to encourage and even instigate these student troubles.

9. The Chancellor's position is a special one. He is usually the Governor of the State. He is thus connected with the State Government as well as the university. He ought to be the impartial friend, philosopher and guide in whom not only the authorities but also the students have faith. Normally it would be better for him not to interfere, unless the position absolutely requires it. Of course he can always give private advice. If he has to interfere, this should be from a higher level so that his words and his advice carry weight. No member of the Government should be actively associated with the executive functioning of the university. Such association might well produce embarrassing situations, as the Government, or rather the Education Ministry of the Government, has to deal with the university in a variety of ways. If a Minister is actively associated, then there is danger of his being considered as belonging to some particular group in the university and this will affect the whole Government. A Minister should be much above this kind of thing so that he can exercise his influence more effectively.

10. I believe that in some universities, or perhaps all, some nominations are made to the Syndicate or the Executive Council of the University. Normally these nominations should be on the recommendation of the Vice-Chancellor to the Chancellor, who may of course consult the Education Ministry. If the Education Ministry is directly concerned with this, again there will be a tendency for that Ministry to become associated with some group in the university.

11. It seems desirable that early steps should be taken to give effect to the recommendations of the University Commission, in some matters at least. As the Vice-Chancellor is the pivot of the university, his appointment must not be a matter of private canvassing and dispute in the university itself. The greatest care should be taken in the appointment of educationists, and not pure politicians, to this post.

12. If we are to maintain any kind of academic atmosphere or discipline in a university, we must keep out what are called party politics from it. I do not mean to say that students should not have definite views, even on party lines, if they so choose, or may not express them fully in their debates etc. But it appears to me totally wrong for the university to become the playground for a

scene of conflict between political parties. Not only students but professors and teachers must keep these party politics out of the university. As individuals and in some other field of activity, they have the freedom to take part in politics. But students as such should not be exploited to this end.

13. It would be desirable for leaders of parties to make this clear and call upon their own party not to bring in their party disputes into the university or attempt to control the university or the students' union for that purpose. Probably some leading parties in India might well agree to this. But there are some at least which will not, like the Communists. Indeed I would not approach them in this matter because their whole basic policy is different and, even if they agree, it is difficult to rely on their word. The communal parties again are totally unreliable and need not be approached from this point of view.

14. After all, we have to understand ourselves and make others understand, including the students, what the function of a university is. It is meant to train people in body and mind, as well as spirit, for such future service or function that they might have to perform. If conditions are created in a university which militates against this, then it fails in its primary purpose. Students should realize that far from fitting themselves for this function, they are making themselves totally unfit for it, if they indulge in these deplorable activities. Such value as is attached to a degree etc., has already largely gone. It is not likely to count for Government service or other such services. Indeed it would be better to separate the Government service from these examinations and degrees.

15. We have often criticized the kind of education that we are having in India. This is an important matter of course, but the problem before us now is somewhat different and more urgent one, and that is, the atmosphere in which any education can be given. Unless this is tackled, the best scheme of education will fail.

16. There has been an argument about student unions. I do not wish to go into this. But it should be clearly understood that this business of forming action committees, indulging in direct action, hunger strikes, etc., is wholly unbecoming and harmful to all concerned. Indeed hunger striking for political or like objectives (I would say for any objective) is a menace. It must be put to an end.

17. A university is essentially a place of cooperative endeavour. If this is lacking, then there is little left of the university. It must, therefore, be our earnest attempt to produce this atmosphere, not only by such laws and rules as we can make, but even so by the spirit in which we approach all the problems of our education.

18. These are some ideas I am venturing to send you for your consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. University Grants Commission¹

Before this paper is put up before the Cabinet, I would like the Education Ministry as well as the Finance Ministry to consider this note of mine.

2. We are proceeding on the basis of the University Grants Commission being given large powers and a high status.² The only point of appointing such a Commission is for it to have these powers and status. Otherwise it will not function effectively at all and will not be respected by the universities. The Members of the Commission are three Vice-Chancellors³ apart from the Chairman⁴ and representatives of Education⁵ and Finance.⁶ It is right that this Commission should have the highest position in regard to educational matters and, more particularly, in regard to grants being given to universities. I take it that they will deal with all universities including the Central Universities. Their decisions about grants should be accepted as a matter of course. Whether the Commission is called an advisory body or not, its decision about the allocation of grants within the sum provided should be final, unless some grave impropriety occurs.

3. I do not understand the suggestion that the member of the Commission representing the Finance Ministry should have the power to veto the decisions of the other members of the Commission, or, as it is said, that no matter having financial implication should be decided without the concurrence of the representative of the Ministry of Finance. That amounts to a veto. Practically every matter that the Commission will consider will have financial implication, as in the case of grants. If one member can stop these or veto them, then the Commission does not function at all and has no real authority and no one will

1. Note, 2 December 1953. JN Collection.

2. The University Grants Commission was set up in November 1953, to act as an expert body to advise the Central Government on problems connected with coordination of facilities and maintenance of standards in the universities. It was also to advise the Central Government on allocation of funds for grants-in-aid and examine financial needs of the universities.

3. Laxmanaswamy Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor, Madras University; N.J. Wadia, Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University; Acharya Narendra Deva, Vice-Chancellor, Banaras Hindu University.

4. S.S. Bhatnagar.

5. K.G. Saiyidain, Joint Education Adviser, Government of India.

6. K.R.K. Menon, Secretary, Ministry of Finance.

pay much attention to what it says. I do not see where the Finance representative comes into the picture in this way, except as a member of the Commission. In fact, even as a member of the Commission, he will not be in a better position to decide about grants than the Chairman and the representatives of the universities, whose views should normally prevail. The Finance representative should be interested in seeing that there is no financial impropriety. That is a different thing from having authority to object to any matter having financial implications.

4. With regard to the issue of directives also, the matter is not clear to me. What kind of directives will be issued? They cannot relate to the allocation of grants. They might refer to the general policy governing the work of the Commission. That policy will be laid down right at the beginning and may be varied by the Government.

5. This whole question of education has become so vital and important that it requires the most careful consideration, and any wider directives about policy will probably have to be considered by the Cabinet or a committee of the Cabinet. I think it would be desirable to have a small committee of the Cabinet consisting of the Minister of Education, the Minister of Finance and the Prime Minister for this and any other matter referred by the Commission for guidance.

6. I would, therefore, suggest that:

- (i) The status and powers of the Commission should be as high and wide as possible. It should be considered an autonomous body, subject to general policy control of the Government.
- (ii) In the matter of grants, its decision should be considered more or less final.
- (iii) The Finance representative on the Commission should only refer any matter which he considers as involving financial impropriety. This reference might be made to the Cabinet Committee, suggested above.
- (iv) The Commission should deal directly with the Minister, that is the Minister of Education, and not through the apparatus of the Ministry.

7. I should like these matters to be considered so that, if possible, the summary for Cabinet might be altered accordingly.

10. To K.M. Panikkar¹

New Delhi
4th December, 1953

My dear Panikkar,

Your letter of the 30th November.²

I entirely agree with you. But how are we to find these expert and imaginative writers of history? The Education Ministry has appointed some kind of a board to write a history of the freedom movement in India. The persons who are on this board are estimable persons, but I just cannot imagine any one of them singly or all of them together writing any readable history. Perhaps you had better take a hand in it.

Anyhow we shall keep what you have written in mind.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Panikkar, Ambassador of India to Egypt, had suggested the publication of a national history of India in the 19th and first half of the 20th Century, written from the viewpoint of economic, social, religious and political development. He also suggested publication of a balanced history of the 1857 movement in 1957.

11. George Roerich¹

I should like you to meet George Roerich who is in Delhi at present and will probably stay here till Monday or Tuesday. He is the son of the well-known painter.² His brother is Svetoslav Roerich,³ who is a painter and who married

1. Note to T.N. Kaul, Joint Secretary, MEA, 4 December 1953. JN Collection. A copy of this note was also sent to N.R. Pillai, the Secretary General of the Ministry of External Affairs.
2. Nicholas Konstantin Roerich.
3. Famous painter, married Devika Rani and settled down in India.

Devika Rani.⁴ George is a linguist and knows Tibetan very well. Also Chinese, Mongolian, Sanskrit and a number of European languages. He has translated several books from Tibetan, and I think the Calcutta University has published some of them. He finished a big trilingual dictionary, some years ago, during war time, Tibetan-Sanskrit-English. This has not been published because it is a big task and no publisher is prepared to take it up.

2. Roerichs were a white Russian family which migrated at the time of the Revolution. Old man Roerich was some kind of a figure in the Czarist Court. Probably you have seen some of his paintings. There is a Roerich Museum in New York.⁵ These people were attracted towards Buddhism, Lamaism etc. and travelled a good deal in Central Asia, Tibet, Mongolia etc.⁶ They used to live in the Kulu Valley,⁷ where I was their guest in 1942. Now they have split up and

2. Roerichs were a white Russian family which migrated at the time of the Revolution. Old man Roerich was some kind of a figure in the Czarist Court. Probably you have seen some of his paintings. There is a Roerich Museum in New York.⁵ These people were attracted towards Buddhism, Lamaism etc. and travelled a good deal in Central Asia, Tibet, Mongolia etc.⁶ They used to live in the Kulu Valley,⁷ where I was their guest in 1942. Now they have split up and George lives at Kalimpong.

3. They tried to go back to Russia some years ago, and, in fact, got permission to do so, but then some difficulty intervened. They are not of the normal White Russian variety and are quite friendly to the present regime in Russia even though we may not like some aspects of it. I suppose it is a kind of nationalist pride in the greatness of Russia.

4. Our Intelligence has looked upon them with some slight suspicion although they have never had anything to get hold of. In fact, every foreigner in Kalimpong is the object of some suspicion, and usually with reason.

5. When I went to Kalimpong, George Roerich put forward some scheme of teaching Tibetan to Indian students and Sanskrit to Tibetans who are coming over and wanted to learn it. I referred him to Visva Bharati and Calcutta University. Our Ministry also had some correspondence I think. Visva Bharati is still, I believe, considering that scheme. The Calcutta University has some contacts with him and some scholars have gone to Kalimpong to learn Tibetan from him. He is also teaching Sanskrit to some people from Tibet who have come over. I think he has a good collection of Tibetan manuscripts. Recently he translated a history of Buddhism from the Tibetan to English.

6. It struck me that we should give a few scholarships to students to learn Tibetan that is, not merely the spoken language but even the literary language.

4. Famous film actress and producer.

5. The International Art Centre, also known as Roerich Museum, containing paintings and collections of Nicholas Roerich was set up in 1924.

6. Nicholas Roerich visited the Himalayas and the Central Asian regions four times

7. I should like you to meet Roerich and have a general talk with him about conditions in Tibet etc. He is an interesting person, full of information about odd things. His general report to me has been that things are very calm in Tibet and both the people and the Lama hierarchy have adjusted themselves to the new order. This is chiefly so because the Chinese have refrained from interfering in anything. The Tibetans are, therefore, not so apprehensive as they used to be. In fact, many Tibetans had come to India with their belongings, books and manuscripts. Some of them have now returned taking these books and manuscripts back as they thought conditions were stable. Roerich told me something that was surprising. The Chinese Government have not only fully recognized the Tibetan hierarchy, including nobles etc., but they actually create nobles now and give high titles, equivalent to Princes and the like under the seal of Mao Tse-tung.

8. Another interesting story he told me was that the Chinese were somewhat surprised to meet some eminent scholars in Tibet who, from the point of view of Buddhism, discussed with some knowledge dialectical materialism with them, which according to them was not unlike Buddhist philosophy.

9. I should like you to meet him to gain some information about conditions in Tibet, the Dalai Lama, the Panchen Lama⁸ etc.

10. He told me that Kalimpong is becoming a big centre of the Tibetan trade. He saw hundreds of packed horses carrying sewing machines to Tibet.

11. Also I want you to maintain some contact with him in case we might use him for language studies and the like. It might be worth exploring how much it would cost to get his big Tibetan-Sanskrit-English dictionary published.

8. Panchen Lama 10th incarnation (1935-1989); Tibetan spiritual leader, second in importance to the Dalai Lama. A protege of the Chinese, the 10th Panchen Lama was not universally recognised. When the Dalai Lama left Tibet in 1959, the Panchen Lama was deputed by the Chinese to take over, but was stripped of his power in 1964 for refusing to denounce the Dalai Lama. He did not appear again in public until 1978.

12. Norms for University Administration¹

The Working Committee have noted with grave concern the recent developments in universities and colleges in some parts of India which have resulted not only in violence and destruction but have vitiated the atmosphere which should prevail in a place of study and learning. A university is essentially a place of cooperative endeavour and a place where the younger generation is trained and disciplined in body, mind and spirit for particular functions and the service of the nation. India today requires highly trained and disciplined personnel for building the country and it is education that is meant to provide this personnel with the necessary training, character and discipline. To the extent that the country has men and women of high character and disciplined behaviour who have the training necessary for the great tasks ahead, will India progress. Degrees awarded by universities have given some indication in the past of this training. But progressively these degrees cease to have much value attached to them, and degrees without a background of character can serve little purpose in the building up of a nation. If conditions arise in a university which produce conflict, indiscipline and low standards, then the university has failed to perform its primary function and is not adequately serving the cause of the nation.

2. The subject of education is a vast and highly important one and has been examined by various commissions from time to time. These commissions have made a number of proposals, some of which, though accepted, have not yet been given effect to because of financial or other difficulties. Whatever these difficulties might be, it is essential that they should be surmounted.

3. A university must maintain an academic atmosphere and the intrusion of party politics into it is therefore undesirable. Students as well as their professors and teachers have the freedom to hold and express their views even on controversial topics in their debates. But it is wrong and harmful for the university to become the playground or the centre of conflict between political parties. It is desirable for leaders of parties to make it clear that party politics should be brought into the university in any way, No attempts should be made to control either the university administration or the students' union for party or group purposes.

1. The resolution, drafted by Nehru, was adopted by the Congress Working Committee which met in New Delhi on 5 December 1953. File No. G-13/1953, AICC Papers, NMML, Also available in JN Collection.

4. The Chancellor's position is a special one. He is usually the Governor of the State and is thus connected both with the State Government and the university. That position entitles him and gives him the opportunity to be the friend and guide of the university authorities as well as the students. The Vice-Chancellor is the pivot of a university and appointments to that high office should be made with the greatest care and should not be a matter of private canvassing.

5. Next to the Vice-Chancellor, a heavy burden is cast on all the professors and teachers who have to set a good example to the students. Parents have also to help in creating the right atmosphere in the university, and the public, therefore, must fully realise the vital importance of the maintenance of discipline and cooperative working in our educational institutions.

6. Certain questions have arisen about the constitution of student unions. However these may be decided, it should be clearly understood that forming action committees, indulging in direct action, hunger strikes etc., are wholly unbecoming and harmful to all concerned.

7. The Working Committee is further of opinion that the entire educational system should be organized on the basic method and that necessary changes to bring this about should be made as early as possible.

8. The Committee trust that the Central and State Governments as well as the universities will give effect to the suggestions made in this Resolution as speedily as possible in order to lay the foundations of a proper system of education in this country.

13. Powers of the University Grants Commission¹

These papers should be circulated to members of the Cabinet and as an urgent decision is required, this matter should be put up before the Cabinet meeting tomorrow together with the Education Ministry's note. My previous note² as

1. Note, 8 December 1953. JN Collection. Copy of the note was sent to Abul Kalam Azad.

2. Of 2 December 1953. See *ante*, item 9.

well as the Finance Minister's note³ should also be circulated, also this present note of mine.

2. When I suggested that a small sub-committee of the Cabinet might be formed, this was really not a part of the scheme at all, but for the convenience of the Cabinet and the Education Minister. Such a committee, of course, can always be formed when necessary. The committee was not meant to come in the way of the Education Minister or the Finance Minister in their respective spheres. But it was intended to facilitate certain processes and expedite them by a joint consideration. However, there is no necessity for such a committee to be formed at this stage and this question can, therefore, be dropped.

3. I do not have my previous note dated the 2nd December before me now, and so, I do not quite remember all the points I mentioned in it. But some reference is made in the Finance Minister's note to those points and I am dealing with them here.

4. The purpose of having a high-powered University Grants Commission is to make them responsible for the division of the money available for the purpose among the universities concerned, which means all universities in India, including the Central universities. For this purpose, the Commission should be practically autonomous. They should follow the English parallel. The legislation may well say that they recommend, but, in practice their recommendation should be accepted as is done in England.

5. So far as this division of grants to universities is concerned, this is the special work of the Commission and they are the best qualified to judge. Even the Cabinet is not in a better position to judge this because they cannot keep in intimate touch with the universities and their work. In effect, this power is delegated in practice to the Commission. The Finance representative will function, of course, as a member of the Commission and will give his views on the various matters that come up before it. It is quite right that any matter of financial impropriety should be especially noted by him and brought to the notice of the Government. But the quantum of grants etc. will be determined by the Commission as a whole.

6. It is for the Government to determine the total amount to be placed at the disposal of the Commission for grants-in-aid to the universities. In this matter the Commission's advice might be sought, but the decision must be that

3. C.D. Deshmukh in his note of 6 December had objected to making the University Grants Commission a high-powered autonomous body with unlimited financial power since it might encroach upon the powers and authority of Finance Ministry especially in regard to framing of budget of the Government of India, allocation and disbursement of grants-in-aid from the Consolidated Fund of India and issue of directives in financial matters.

of Government. After that total sum is decided upon and the Commission is informed accordingly, the Commission will then give grants within that sum.

7. Formal orders from a Ministry will naturally issue according to rules under the signature of the Secretary of the Ministry concerned. But the Commission will deal directly with the Ministers concerned and all decisions will be taken by the Ministers.

8. The Education Minister will be principally concerned with the University Grants Commission and, therefore, orders will be issued by him through his Secretary.

14. Understanding History¹

I send my good wishes on the occasion of the 16th Session of the Indian History Congress at Waltair.

A study and proper understanding of history is essential in order to understand current events, because the present has its roots in the past. It has often been said that Indians have not had a marked historical sense. Perhaps there is some truth in it. At the same time, a mere bald record of historical events has little meaning. Some of our recent histories in India are more a narrative of events than anything else and do not help much in understanding a particular period. I hope that history will now be viewed in a wider aspect and, more particularly, in its economic and cultural aspects. We have to understand the major forces that have shaped the progress of man.

In India, and indeed in Asia, we stand today at the beginning of a new era. The colonial period, during which Europe dominated Asia, is over, although there are still traces of that domination in some parts of Asia. At the same time other powerful forces are rising which might well interfere with the freedom of Asian countries.

I hope, therefore, that our historians will bring insight into the study of the past, its merging into the present, and thus help us to understand this complicated present of ours.

1. Message to the Indian History Congress at Waltair, New Delhi, 17 December 1953. JN Collection.

15. Quality of Education¹

I have given anxious thought not only to the establishment of the University Grants Commission, but to the developments leading to its formation. I prefer a simple and austere beginning rather than any spectacular inauguration because the achievements of the Commission will be more worth publicising than the first meeting.

Education in the present day India must take note of vast changes sweeping across the country especially after Independence. I hope that the University Grants Commission will evolve a policy which will bring about a complete reorientation of university education.

New factors had come into being after independence, which had swept aside the old order in India. Independence had released new forces, may be for good or evil, I cannot say. Particularly it revolutionized young men's thinking. They have to take full account of this.

There is keen demand for education from all over the country. Even in distant and interior parts whenever one goes, the demand is made for opening new schools and colleges. The villagers are ready to construct school buildings provided Government is prepared to run them. That shows how earnest they are about learning. On the other hand, the question arises as to whether there is any use in opening more schools when the utility of the present education system is being questioned.

In this changing world, decisions taken today may become outdated after two or three years. Basic education alone seemed to stay as the fundamental article of faith in the education system. It may be changed here and there, of course, to suit the circumstances.

I am surprised that often people who appeared for IAS and other examinations with high degrees are unable to answer even simple questions. Their minds are closed, except for what they had read in the text books. That cannot be called education.

I am deeply distressed at the present day behaviour of the students and their tendency to resort to direct action. I have suggested earlier at the time of the students trouble in Lucknow the closure of the University for some time. The suggestion was not made in a moment of irritation. I still feel that a

1. Speech while inaugurating the first meeting of the University Grants Commission, New Delhi, 28 December 1953. From *The Hindu*, 29 December 1953 and the *National Herald*, 30 December 1953. Extracts.

temporary closure of universities will help the students and teachers to reconsider their attitudes. I do not want students and teachers to be arrayed in opposite camps as if engaged in a conflict.

In some places like Calcutta, I am told that there are hundreds of students at a single lecture. There is no contact between the teacher and the students. It will be better to ask them to read at home....

16. Importance of Primary Education¹

...When I got your invitation for this conference I was in a dilemma. At first I did not know if I could come, though I wanted very much to come. At the same time, to tell you the truth, I was a little ashamed to come here and face

...When I got your invitation for this conference I was in a dilemma. At first I did not know if I could come, though I wanted very much to come. At the same time, to tell you the truth, I was a little ashamed to come here and face you. What is the point in my giving a long lecture about the important role of teachers when their condition all over the country is so bad? What would I say if you asked me why had the conditions not improved? I have no immediate answer to that. This was my dilemma, and I wondered what to say to you in such a situation. It is true that there are big tasks waiting to be done in the country. But whichever way you like, the most important task is the education of children. What is the wealth of a country? It is not gold and silver but the people who constitute the wealth of a country—especially the children and youth.

So, the most important task is to look after our children and youth, for they can make or mar the country. Our greatest responsibility is the very young children. It is said that by the time a child is seven years old, he is quite well formed as far as his behaviour and intellect are concerned and he does not change very much thereafter. He may learn something and grow in body and mind. But he does not change very much after the age of seven and if by then he has not acquired good habits, he has great difficulty in doing so later. Therefore, the first seven or ten years in a child's life are very important as far as education is concerned. Education is always important but the first few years are absolutely crucial.

In our country, there are no adequate arrangements for the education of very small children, that is, at the pre-primary stage. There ought to be some

1. Speech at a conference of Primary School Teachers, Nagpur, 5 January 1954. AIR tapes. NMML. Original in Hindi. Extracts.

arrangements for education even of infants. By education I do not mean book-learning. Even play can be an education if it is properly organized. In fact real education ought not to be very different from play. Learning should be fun, only then will it be effective. It is foolish to think that you can teach a child with the aid of a stick. Children must learn willingly and happily.

There is a great deal of discussions about many matters but no serious discussion is ever made of the education of very small children. The trouble is that when there is no arrangement for others, what are we to do? We can go only as far as our strength will permit. When it is obvious that children's education is extremely important that the question of people who teach them, and what they are, becomes equally important because the kind of education that is imparted is in their hands. If the condition of the teachers is not good and they are unhappy, they cannot do their work well. It is quite simple. But what are we to do? We are well aware of the things that need to be done for them, but we can go only as far as our resource permits. Progress takes time. So we are in a great dilemma.

In my wandering all over the country, my attention is drawn to little children, and I see that they do not get enough to eat, clothes to wear or that there are no adequate arrangements for their education and play. I feel very unhappy because the children of this country are our national wealth. They are our treasure and if we are not able to look after them properly, then we will not be able to make proper arrangements for India's future. What will be the future of India? We are here today but the India of tomorrow belongs to those little children who are in schools today. If we do not think of the future now by providing good education for our children, then whatever else we may do by putting up factories and other things, will be of no use. After all, nations are made or marred by people and not by factories or machines. Factories are also important but even more important are the men who run the machines. So we again come round to the question of education.

There is a great debate going on about college and university education these days. Commissions have been set up—and they will give their views. But still not much attention is being paid to primary education, which lies at the root of everything and if it is done well, everything else will also go well. There is no doubt that the work of the primary school teachers is extremely important in this sense. There are different problems in different states. But the condition of our teachers leaves much to be desired and this is a burden on us that has to be removed. We are in a dilemma as to how we should go about it because there is so much burden on the government today that it has become almost impossible to shoulder them all at once. They have to be taken up one by one and in fact, all these things can be done only when our resources and wealth increase.

I have already said that in my opinion play should be educational and learning must be fun. Only then will they serve the purpose. I do not know about the system which prevails here so I cannot express an opinion. But I have a feeling that it is not very good. It is not your fault. It is the system which is not good and ought to be changed.

It has been changed in some places and everyone accepts the fact that change is essential. But there is some delay. I have no doubt that our education ought to be of the basic type, involving learning and playing and if handled properly, it appeals to children and activates their minds and bodies and gradually progresses. I have no doubt about that. Now the difficulty is how to get large sums of money which are necessary for basic education. If we want to spread it all over the country, we will require crores of rupees. Where are we to get it from? India is not a very rich country. So we have to find some means of doing the task without spending much and the expenditure can be increased as our resources permit. But if anyone hands us a blue-print which is absolutely beyond our capacity, we cannot accept it. You must understand our dilemma. I do not want that we should be on opposite sides or that there should be a confrontation between us. That will be of no use because ultimately I think all of us want the same thing to a large extent and the question is how we are to achieve it by mutual cooperation and consultations and not by threats or making a noise about them. It has become almost a habit with us ever since the days of the British to demand by shouting from the rooftops. Yet another new thing is that people go on hunger strikes at the slightest pretext.

The older students in schools and colleges and universities also indulge in strange antics, hunger strikes, etc. How can anything be taught if there is a conflict between the teachers and the taught? There has to be a special bond of love and confidence between them. It is not right that there should be a running battle between them. The atmosphere has been rather vitiated and has to be brought under control. All of us want that our educational system must change and improve. There may be two or three different views about it but all of them lean more or less in one direction. Our ministers and others must bring this about after consulting scholars and experienced people. The only obstacle is likely to be lack of resources.

What is a school? A school does not mean a building with four walls or some stocks of furniture. It is my opinion that if the money that is spent on buildings is spent instead on other educational facilities, it will be of far more use. I agree that a school building should be a good one and there must be good equipment for the children. It is better not to have a building rather than to have only a building standing if the other facilities are not good, for, what can a building alone do? You cannot educate anyone with bricks and mortar. So we must think about all these things and make some arrangements by which

there is an ever-greater spread of basic education and only if that is carried right up to the top can we change the atmosphere in the country somewhat and also train people to shoulder the great responsibilities of the country in future.

Please remember that in a free country, the country's burdens have to be borne by all the people. This is the price of freedom which has to be paid for in full by the people. Everyone wants a share in the advantages. They are quick to present demands but no one is prepared to take on its responsibilities. Both these things have to be done to keep the balance straight. Therefore all of us have to take on the responsibilities that freedom brings and work in mutual cooperation for the progress of the country. We have to make India more powerful, for all kinds of grave dangers threaten the world today, as you must have learnt from the newspapers. How can we face these tremendous problems, if there is no unity but constant tension among us? Therefore we have to educate and train our children in schools to grow up into good citizens and soldiers of India and to serve the country, not with guns and weapons, but in other ways. After all a country can progress only as much as its people or their training and strength and skills permit. A country cannot grow merely by numbers. We have a large population of thirty-five crores. That does not mean that we are in any way ahead of a country with perhaps a population of five crores. One country of five crores of people ruled over our country for a long time because they were more powerful and skilled and there was cooperation among them. So we must also acquire these things now.

Your job is to teach. As you know, teaching has always been considered a great profession, whether it is the education of the young or old. Teachers have always been held in high esteem. And you must also realise that this task has to be done with great care and devotion because you are making a new India. We have to lay the foundations of a new India today in a thousand different ways and the most important of all of them is the education of children and youth, for the future of India lies in their hands.

I have put some of my thoughts before you. You must now carry on. I was happy to hear that you are holding a conference like this and I was amazed to hear that nearly fifteen thousand teachers from all over the country are participating. It is a good thing that you should come together and learn from one another. One thing you can see very clearly from this. Delegates have come from different provinces, from the north, south, east and west. You can see the basic unity which underlies India and this is a lesson that you have to teach your children. There are different provinces in the country but the country is one, even if we do not speak the same language. We are the citizens of one country and irrespective of our religion and caste, everyone enjoys equal rights here. All this you can see for yourselves and teach the children right from childhood if you wish to make the country strong.

17. Bal Bhavans¹

Separately I have written about the necessity for building a suitable National Theatre in Delhi.

2. I should like to make another proposal which I consider important, that is to build a Children's House or Bal Bhavan or by whatever name it might be called. There are already Bal Bhavans in some places in India, notably in Bombay. They serve a very useful purpose and attract large numbers of children. I think that every city and town should have such Bal Bhavans.

3. My idea of a Bal Bhavan for Delhi is rather ambitious. It should have a large hall which can also be used as a picture gallery of children's paintings. It will have various play rooms and rooms for games; also rooms for hobbies, a children's library and reading room, a cafeteria, bath rooms and dressing rooms, a pool for bathing, a creche etc.

4. This is only a very rough indication of what it should contain. There are many other things which it should have. It will be preferable for some land to be attached to it for out-door games and children's sports.

5. It is essential that such a Children's House should cater for every type of child, more especially for the poorer children. It often happens that a place like this is monopolised by the more prosperous children. That should be avoided.

6. It must be situated at a place which is conveniently accessible to the city proper. Otherwise, poorer children will not get there easily.

7. I have no idea how much this will cost, but I should like it to be an attractive, a fairly spacious building. I think we should be prepared to spend Rs 5 lakhs on such a House and its equipment. More equipment may be added later if necessary and there should be room for this. Government should undertake to build this. It would, however, be put in charge of a Managing Committee or Governing Body consisting chiefly of non-officials.

8. There will be recurring expenditure which will have to be provided for. It is possible to raise this recurring expenditure, or a good part of it, in various ways.

9. Such a Children's House or Bal Bhavan will have a powerful effect on children all over Delhi. It will do more good to them than most schools. I have a number of ideas about it which I am not for the moment putting down.

10. I do not know what happens to the large number of children's paintings and pictures which *Shankar's Weekly* collects every year. It might be possible to pick out the good ones and place them permanently in this Children's House.

1. Note to Ministers for Education and Works, Housing and Supply (WHS), 9 January 1954. File No. 28(5)/56-59-PMS.

11. I suggest that the Education Ministry might take charge of this proposal and draw up a summary for Cabinet in consultation with the WHS Ministry.

18. To C.D. Deshmukh¹

New Delhi
January 26, 1954

My dear Deshmukh,

Some three or four years ago Shankar,² as you no doubt know, started issuing an Annual Children's Number. To this he invited contributions from children from all over the world. These consisted of pictures as well as writings.

This attempt of Shankar's somehow touched a responsive chord and the venture has grown at a great pace and has attracted world wide attention. About forty countries are now participating and pictures and writings are received from all these countries. Substantial prizes go out to children in these countries. Both from a national and an international point of view, this has become quite an institution and a unique one. There is nothing like it anywhere else.

I saw this year's exhibition some days ago.³ I suppose you could not see it as you were away. It was remarkable from two points of view. One was the comparison of paintings in different ages, showing both growth in maturity and sometimes best after a certain age. The small children's paintings were particularly interesting. The second interesting point was comparing the products of children from different countries. They were much the same at the earlier stages and then they diverged. There were quite a considerable number of good paintings and sketches. But the real importance lay in the entire collection which brought out these differences. An eminent English artist, Halliday,⁴ who is staying with me, went to see this exhibition and came back greatly impressed. He wrote immediately to England to arrange for the whole exhibition to be

1. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 40 (258)/53-PMS. A copy of this letter was sent to M.A.K. Azad.
2. K. Shankar Pillai.
3. On 17 January.
4. Edward Irvine Halliday (1902-1984); outstanding British artist and portrait painter; did mural paintings in London and Liverpool; painted portraits of: Queen Elizabeth, the Duke of Edinburgh, the Queen Mother, Lord and Lady Mountbatten of Burma, Jawaharlal Nehru, Edmund Hillary and many others; immediate and past president, Royal Society of Portrait Painters, past president, Royal Society of British Artists; vice-president and chairman, Artists General Benevolent Institution since 1965 and president, Artists League of Great Britain since 1975.

transferred there. I believe that some proposals have been made for it to go to America also.

The idea has caught on remarkably and has been commented upon in newspapers in different countries. In India, it is definitely encouraging artistic talent and, to some extent, taking it out of the groove of routine teaching in schools.

Doubts arose as to whether these paintings were the children's efforts alone or had been touched up by others. A test was made in Delhi early this month.⁵ Children were invited to come and paint. 600 of them turned up varying in ages from three to fifteen and they sat for several hours and painted, producing some remarkably good things.

After I saw this exhibition, it seemed to me that something must be done to give it a more stable basis and also to preserve the large number of pictures that were coming in. As a matter of fact, some of the foreign embassies wanted to buy selected pictures, but Shankar refused to part with them. I mentioned this matter rather vaguely to Maulana Azad and suggested that we should consider helping this to a larger extent than we had done. The Education Ministry gave some help previously—Rs. 5,000/- in 1952 and Rs. 12,000 in 1953. I also suggested that the pictures should be taken over and properly housed.

Apart from this, I put up some time ago to the Education Ministry a rough idea of a Children's House being built in Delhi. I had felt that such institutions are very desirable in our cities and we might put up a really decent House in Delhi as a kind of model where all kinds of things might be provided for children, such as games, hobbies rooms, library, reading room, small theatre, bathing rooms etc. It struck me later that this would be an ideal place for housing the collection of children's paintings which Shankar had. We could also distribute some of these paintings to similar places in the States.

Maulana Azad liked the idea. I thought then that I should get hold of some facts. I asked Mathai,⁶ therefore, to enquire from Shankar what these facts were. Mathai has prepared a note, a copy of which I enclose. This gives the facts as stated by Shankar.

For the moment, I am merely sending this to you so that you might think over this matter and consider what we could do to stabilise this important venture which is growing fast. We can talk about this later with Maulana.

Shankar's Children Number is separate from his *Weekly*. It would, of course, be desirable to make it entirely separate.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. An on-the-spot painting competition organized by the *Shankar's Weekly* was held in Delhi on 10 January 1954. Seven hundred child artists of 3 to 12 years age, drew paintings which were exhibited at the Eastern Court from 12 to 16 January. On the 17th Indira Gandhi gave away the prizes to children whose paintings won prizes.
6. M.O. Mathai.

(v) Scientific Research

1. To. T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
October 12, 1953

My dear T.T.,

Some days ago the minutes of the meeting we held on the 23rd September, when Kasturbhai Lalbhai² was also present, in regard to ATIRA, were placed before me. I thought they were a correct record. I have now seen a note by you in which you say that the minutes do not correctly represent the understanding arrived at that meeting. My own impression is that that was a correct record, but what is much more important is what we should do about this matter and not what the record of the last meeting is.

You will remember my talking about this matter on two or three previous occasions. I considered it purely from the scientific and research point of view. It is quite clear to me that we could not have more than one major textile research institute in the country. We have grave difficulties in getting high-class personnel and research work cannot be done by just anybody who has got a degree. It requires a special type of individual with a background of training, experience and above-average ability. We have a fair number of good scientists in India. But they are far too few for our purposes and even now we have to import sometimes a foreigner. I have no objection to getting a foreigner if he is really good. Science cannot be made into a narrow national preserve. But the fact is that it is exceedingly difficult to get first-class men in science, much more difficult than in administration, etc. where the work is relatively of a routine character.

We have been thinking of trying to specialise research work even in our universities on the basis of one or more universities concentrating on one particular subject. At present every university tries to take up every scientific subject and does it very badly indeed. This is partly due to lack of equipment, but chiefly due to lack of really competent men in charge. It is like having a large number of general practitioners in medicine who dabble in everything and no chance being given to specialists to develop.

Therefore it became inevitable that we must concentrate on one major textile research institute and we should in fact discourage duplication of any effort. I understand that there is only one such major research institute for the textile industry which is recognised by the Government. There are, of course, many laboratories which help and are helped by that institute. We cannot afford to

1. File No. 17(267)/52-PMS.

2. Chairman, National Research Development Corporation, Government of India.

have more than one proper research institute for this industry even if large funds were available. Funds are the least part of this kind of work. It is men that are wanted. Where there are several rival institutes for the same subject, their standards deteriorate and there is a bidding for the services of such persons as might be available. This is bad from the scientific point of view as from any other.

There is no doubt that ATIRA has developed into a very good institute. This has been so chiefly because it is in charge of a first-class man, one of our brilliant young men in science — Vikram Sarabhai. Also it is due to the help it has received (I am not referring to financial help here) from our Scientific Research Department at the centre. I am quite clear that this cannot be duplicated in India at present, nor should it be. We must make this a really good institute supplying the needs of the industry and of science generally. We may and should have laboratories and the like in other centres of the industry, but to endeavour to develop proper research institutes there is waste of money and effort and, indeed, is bound to result in lowering of standards instead of raising them. There is no way out of it except to have one central institute and no other and obviously the existing one is Atira. We must actively discourage any attempt to set up a rival show and we should encourage this institute to serve the industry all over India. Research is not geographical or regional.

There is thus a clear difference between a real research institute and a laboratory for doing odd bits of testing or the smaller varieties of work. The real research institute has two functions:

- i. Fundamental research, that is pure scientific work dealing with the type of problems that arise in the industry, and
- ii. Investigation into particular problems which may be referred to it.

The first of these will be completely out of reach of the other laboratories; the second will usually be out of reach, though not always so. Therefore, there is no doubt in my mind that the other laboratories will have to function in a subordinate capacity to the one big research institute we have got.

You mention that ATIRA is under private management and therefore it cannot become a national laboratory and the central research institute for textile industries. This is partly correct, but not wholly so. ATIRA came into existence on the recommendation of a Government of India committee round about 1946. The Government of India contributed over half, I think, of its initial capital. The constitution was approved by the Government of India. There are three nominees of the Government of India in the governing body of twelve, which also has three scientists. The budget has to be approved by the Government of India and the general policy pursued must have the sanction of our Scientific Research Department. We give an annual grant of Rs. 1,50,000 on the understanding that a like sum is raised otherwise. In fact, locally they raise

Rs.2,25,000 rupees. I believe ATIRA is asking for a bigger grant from the Government of India now. ATIRA is working directly, so far as scientific research is concerned, under our Ministry or NR & SR. No change can be made in its constitution without our permission.

Therefore, it is a semi-governmental institution with a considerable degree of governmental control. It is not entirely a private institution. Normally, my preference would be for a full government research institute and it may be that ultimately this may develop as such. The leather research institute in Madras started more or less in the same way, but later, because of lack of funds from private sources, became a full government institution. At present, however, I would not suggest making any major change in ATIRA and needlessly taking upon ourselves a heavier financial responsibility. If the millowners of Ahmedabad contribute 2½ lakhs a year, they should certainly continue to do so.

I gather that a number of important mills elsewhere like the Delhi Cloth Mills and the Khatau Mills at Bombay have been trying to join ATIRA but, under the rules, they were prevented from doing so. Recently these rules have been changed and they are joining. I have no doubt that some other major mills in the rest of the country will also join ATIRA because of obvious advantages. In fact, its reputation, which is great and is more or less India-wide, is inducing others to join it. From the point of view of efficient working, this is a desirable development.

Therefore, from every point of view there is no escape from the position of having one central research institute for the textile industry and that one can only be ATIRA which is functioning with great success under very competent leadership. I have been there myself and I have been impressed by its work.

The fact of the matter is that most of our millowners are hopelessly backward in everything except perhaps in the knack of making money. In the past they seldom thought of research or of scientific development and carried on in the old way. Now suddenly it has dawned on them that science pays. The Ahmedabad people were a little more advanced in their thinking and established this research institute. Others perhaps imagined, as businessmen are likely to do, that money does the work of science. It does not. Money can buy much, but there are strict limitations. These out of date businessmen imagine that by putting up a building and hiring a few persons they will profit by it.

I want them to profit, but the way to do it is to build up one major research institute to which all their energies are devoted and from which they can all take advantage. This has nothing to do with geographical location. In addition to this, the smaller laboratories can exist in as many places as possible. This is the only scientific approach.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To Mahavir Tyagi¹

New Delhi

10th November, 1953

My dear Mahavir,²

I am sending you a note about the release of the Colaba site for the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research and the Atomic Energy Commission.

On the 1st of January, I am supposed to lay the foundation stone of a great building for this Institute of Fundamental Research and the Atomic Energy Commission. And yet the place, where I am going to lay the foundation stone, is at present occupied by some hutments. There has been a long controversy about the release of this area which has already been given over to the Institute in theory. Defence say that they cannot release it till the Post and Telegraph release something else. Post and Telegraph people say: where are we to go to? It is also said that even if Post and Telegraph release their site, this will not accommodate the Defence people. Post and Telegraph people are terribly crowded there.

Anyhow we have arrived at a crisis and the foundation stone has got to be laid on the 1st January. It is no good waiting helplessly for things to happen. Surely our army people are a little more resourceful than all this. Normally speaking, at least one month will be necessary to clear the site before the foundation stone is laid; if not a month, at least three weeks. This is going to be an international function and many international scientists of repute are going to attend it.

I have a feeling that Defence have not paid too much attention to this and have not made any real effort.

There is a letter attached to these papers from Major Chakraborty, in which he definitely says that it is not possible to move any families from their present location, nor is it possible to close them in any more. In other words, it is not possible for them to hand over the area which has been allotted already to the Institute of Fundamental Research and all our research must be held up because of this matter. This is costing us a lot of money, apart from the delay in the most important atomic energy work.

This requires a little more imaginative approach than has been given to it, and the headquarters of the Bombay Sub Area should be shaken up. We cannot have important national work held up because some arrangement cannot be

1. File No. 17(25)/56-PMS.

2. Minister for Defence Organization.

made to vacate some hutments. It must be remembered that it was agreed long ago to vacate them.

I am prepared to speak to Post and Telegraph, but I am sure that this is no solution of the problem.

Will you please look into this matter immediately?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To S.S. Bhatnagar¹

New Delhi
20th November, 1953

My dear Bhatnagar,

I am sending you a letter from M.N. Saha, together with a note of his on the Atomic Energy Commission of India. Also copy of my reply to him.²

As I have said in my reply, Saha's note is one long tirade. However, it deserves notice from us, and I should like to reply to him, meeting his points. Where he makes any suggestion which we can accept, we should certainly do so.

He lays great stress on the secrecy we keep up in this work, although there is nothing secret about it. According to him, this only prevents atomic energy workers in India as well as the public here from knowing what we are doing. This criticism must be met.

He also refers to the absence of any programme for training scientific personnel for atomic energy. This also deserves consideration.

For the rest, the criticism is chiefly that the Atomic Energy Commission has done very little work and practically made no progress.

I should like Saha's note to be considered not only by you but by Homi Bhabha³ and Krishnan⁴ separately, so that I can have the benefit of the advice of all three of you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. See the next item.
3. Homi Jehangir Bhabha, atomic physicist, was Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy and member, AEC.
4. K.S. Krishnan was Director, National Physical Laboratory and member AEC.

4. To M.N. Saha¹

New Delhi
December 3, 1953

My dear Saha,

You gave me a letter dated 11/12 November with which you had attached a note² on the Atomic Energy Commission of India. As I told you then, I had read your letter and note with considerable surprise because the whole tone of which was angry and far from scientific. Comments which are made with this attitude of mind, naturally do not carry too much weight. To some of the points you had raised in that letter, I knew the replies; to others, I did not.

Although, as I have said above, I did not like the tone and approach of your note, which seemed to me more of a tirade and personal reactions to certain things which you did not like than an objective survey and account, I decided to send it to each of our Atomic Energy Commissioners. I have now had full replies from all the three of them. There is nothing very secret in those replies, but, at the same time, I can hardly broadcast them. I have no time to write at length to you on this subject.

It should have been quite easy for you to discuss these matters with Bhatnagar and Krishnan when you came to Delhi or with Bhabha when you saw him in Calcutta on his return from Japan. You preferred, however, not to do so and instead to write a note containing a number of personal attacks. You

1. JN Collection.

2. The note summarised the views of a large group of Indian scientists on the performance of the Atomic Energy Commission. It stated that the omission of proper training programmes from the objects of AEC had been a handicap; and alleged that cooperation of eminent Indian scientists was not being secured on grounds of secrecy, while foreign nationals were being taken into confidence by it. The note alleged that secrecy was in fact being imposed by the AEC, to hide its incompetence and to concentrate "all power and distribution of patronage in a few hands..."; this had prevented the development of a correct policy and an appropriate review of the work of AEC. As a result, the Commission failed to take any steps for five years towards setting up a nuclear reactor and extracting Uranium and Thorium from Indian ores. The note also stated that the funds of the Commission were being diverted for other purposes; and relevant development was being neglected.

refer to some scientist friends of yours who apparently have a high sense of humour and considered something as very "funny."³

I must express my distress at the way this whole matter has been handled by you.

If you wish to discuss this matter, I am prepared to arrange for some of the Atomic Energy Commissioners at least to meet you when you come to Delhi and discuss your various points. We expect from a scientist of your eminence, help and a more constructive and cooperative attitude. I have no doubt that outside advice from eminent scientists will be of great help and some errors might be rectified. But, if the approach is personal and merely condemnatory, then it helps no one.

I am no scientist and cannot express any opinion about highly technical matters. But I have a measure of intelligence and, at least I hope, a capacity to understand things that are explained to me. I have been connected with the Atomic Energy Commission for these few years and have valued its work. I have discussed it with foreign scientists too whenever they come here. My own impression is that we have made fairly considerable progress and are likely to make much more progress in the near future. This is confirmed by the replies I have got from the Members of our Atomic Energy Commission.

Some of the points you have made in your note are fairly easy to answer. You must have made them without knowing the facts, which it was not difficult for you to find out. But I cannot find time to write to you at length about these matters.

As I have said above, I am perfectly prepared to arrange a meeting for you to discuss these.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. M.N. Saha in a letter to Nehru criticised the Government of India notification assuming control of development of industries connected with Plutonium and Neptunium, which were not natural products. He pointed out that since India could not expect to produce those substances within the next fifty years, assumption of control by the Government was ridiculous. The Secretary of AEC replied to Saha that reasons for inclusion of those substances in the list of prescribed substances would become clear when plans of the AEC for development of atomic energy in India materialised. This reply was considered funny by scientist friends of M.N. Saha, who felt that though the Government had vested so much power in this body, they ought to know that the subject is "science not magic."

5. To A.J. John¹

New Delhi
December 21, 1953

My dear John,²

Your letter of December 16th enclosing a telegram from Bhatnagar.

I feel that you are needlessly nervous about this matter of the participation of the Government of India in the development of the mineral resources of Travancore. Primarily, of course, we are concerned with the atomic energy aspect. But we are equally concerned with the financial aspect, more especially relating to the Travancore-Cochin State. I am quite sure that the terms considered are very beneficial to the Travancore-Cochin State.

Even apart from the question of atomic energy, which becomes increasingly important now, I am sure that the only way to take full advantage of your minerals and the mineral concerns is for the Atomic Energy Commission to deal with them on a world basis, i.e., in regard to disposal, etc. Indeed, there is no other way. They cannot be dealt with privately. You will get into enormous difficulties. Our Atomic Energy Commission is in touch with the principal world markets and then there is the political consideration. As you know, there is a great deal of talk now about a US -Pakistan pact or military aid. All this affects greatly the question of disposal of our minerals to foreign countries, and has to be controlled for political reasons.

Therefore, the only way to deal with them is the one we have suggested. That, I think, is going to be a profitable way for your State. Indeed, you should congratulate your State on the good terms, with a guarantee of the Government of India, that you are getting. Certain private interests may not like it. But we cannot allow private interests to come into the picture at the cost of vital national interests.

You refer to the public of the State. I would have no difficulty in explaining to the public and gaining their warm approval. The public might not include some private interests. Even those private interests are very short-sighted and do not realise that in the developing world situation they will not be able to deal with this matter without constant reference to the Government of India and their consent.

I would, therefore, recommend to you to finalise this matter as soon as possible. Indeed, there is very little left to finalise, because we have agreed to most of your important terms. It was with the intention of finalising this as early as possible that it was suggested that you might send some representatives

1. JN Collection. Copy of letter was sent to S.S. Bhatnagar.
2. Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin.

here. I hardly think even that is necessary and you can agree. Or you can send someone just to look into odd matters that are still remaining. Of course, if you yourself come or any of your ministers, he will be welcome.

This will not and cannot have any adverse effect on the general election. The effect, indeed, should be in your favour.

I am laying the foundation stone of our Atomic Energy Institute in Bombay on the 1st January. We should have liked to finalise this matter before that date.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Fundamental Research¹

Most of the speeches that we have heard today have been largely concerned with mutual congratulations. Well, it is always pleasing to congratulate each other and, right too, that one should acknowledge the work done by others on such an occasion. We see this beautiful *shamiana* and you will presently see me fixing that foundation stone. But you do not see all the work that has gone behind it—the tremendous labour, thought and discussions.

I might take you into a little secret. Reference has been made to me in this connection that I helped in getting this land, this site.² That is true. I did. I was able to help a little. It was no easy matter, I can tell you! The Defence Minister had to go into repeated conference with the Prime Minister on the subject and ultimately they convinced each other, and there was a unanimous decision. But it is rather odd that on this new year's day, we should gather here and I should perform this function; odd in one sense, that it does represent a step forward in a new direction. There are seldom any jumps like this and if this step is taken today, there were many steps behind it. Nevertheless some steps stand out. We are taking this step for this Institute of Fundamental Research. Maybe that name³ has to be revised because its work is going to be

1. Speech at the foundation-stone laying ceremony of a building to house the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Mumbai, 1 January 1954. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. See *ante* pp. 193-194.
3. The institute retains its name: Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, a national centre of the Government of India for nuclear sciences and mathematics, located at Homi Bhabha Road, Mumbai. The Institute, established in 1945, celebrated its 'golden jubilee' in 1995-96.

on a much bigger scale. But it somehow brings to the mind, at least it brought to my mind, and I want to put this idea across to you; that we are stepping forward into some kind of a new age, not in India, I mean all over the world. We who live through this period of transition and change and are so occupied with our many smaller problems, even though those problems may be big as they deal with the world war or peace and that is a very big question. Even so, perhaps, this age may be known in future as the age of transition to the atomic or nuclear age of this world.

Something very important is happening to humanity. Dr Bhabha mentioned that we might be on the eve of a momentous discovery. That may be so. But anyhow, nothing is happening on the first of January I mean! But you might, so far as the world is concerned, say that we entered in that age, when the atom bomb was hurled at Hiroshima; at any rate, the world became conscious of it although it had started earlier. Now this is an important fact to realize, this enormous change that might come about the world in the course of some years, not overnight, but still very rapidly, may be in 10 years or 15 or 20 or 25, I do not know. But that is nothing really, considering the big change, provided of course, always, that these vast forces and energies that are released do not turn on their inventors and swallow them up. It is well-known. History teaches us, that often the men who make a revolution become victims of a revolution. As revolution is sometimes followed by a counter revolution, the same forces that the revolution releases, sometimes kill the makers of a revolution. Well, we have heard of various major revolutions in human history, the American Revolution, the French, the Russian, the Chinese, which stand out. But obviously a far bigger revolution than all of these put together, was the Industrial Revolution, which has changed the face of things in the world. An equally big or bigger revolution may be the revolution brought about by gradual command over atomic or nuclear energy.

When I say that there is this danger, there is this possibility of these vast forces, instead of being utilized for humanity's benefit, tearing up humanity, you will realize that there is that danger, through war and the like. I am surprised at the casual way people talk about war; still more surprised at the casual way they talk about the use of atom bombs and atomic energy in war. Either they do not understand what they are talking about or they have become completely callous to the future of humanity.

Here are these terrible forces coming more and more under the control of man, and that unfortunate man who controls them, cannot even control himself. That is the problem of humanity today. Either man controls himself and then controls the other thing, or the other thing controls him and he vanishes. I do not know, what will happen in the future. But anyhow, it is up to us, to try to understand these forces, with such resources as we possess, such ability as we possess, and if our resources are not so great as we would like them to be, we

have certainly first-rate ability and we can develop it. We want to give opportunities for that ability to develop and to increase our resources to that end. And this Institute, of which I am going to lay the foundation stone presently, is one of the major ways in which we want to develop that ability, give those opportunities for fundamental research, which is so basic today, if we are to understand the world today and the constant changes that are taking place in human knowledge. So, we attach very great importance to this matter. When I say 'we', I do not quite know what I mean. I may mean the Government of India, I may mean many things. And, therefore we have collaborated in this matter fully and we continue to do so—the Government of India, Government of Bombay and the Tata Trust.⁴

Now, I am not going to add to what has been said in praise of various persons, but I should like to say that the work that the Tata Trust have done in the advancement of science in India has been commendable in many ways. One is the mere fact that they have taken interest in the advancement of science, but more especially, because they have had the vision to look ahead and they have advanced it in certain pioneering ways which brought them no profit and was not intended to bring them any profit. The profit motive may or may not be commendable, I have nothing to say about it. But it is certainly commendable to do this thing without a profit motive and having some larger vision before them. Therefore, I may add my word of appreciation to this tradition of the Tatas and the fostering of pioneering work in science.

Dr Bhabha has mentioned to you that in this Institute here, he has divided up the work we might do in regard to nuclear energy into two parts. One part which may be partly secret; the other in which there need be and should be no secrecy. So far as this Institute is concerned, there is going to be no secrecy about it at all, unless some very grave emergency arises, that is a different matter. It is like any Institute. Science in fact does not flourish in secrecy. It is a bad thing to have too much secrecy about scientific work. Very often modern advancement in science is due to the enterprise of commercial firms. That enterprise is good. But they develop secret processes and that is not so good because they do not spread to others.

So science should have as little secrecy as possible. In this Institute there will be none. Personally, I do not see why there should be secrecy about the other works we might do elsewhere about the atomic energy. But unfortunately, other countries, and those other countries are more advanced than we are, and if we have any association with them in regard to this work, they want us to keep it secret, even if we do not. So the other work has to be somewhat secret because of our association, more than anything else. So far as this is concerned,

4. Sir Dorabji Tata Trust.

it will be a higher institute of research and learning. It may not be connected with the University of Bombay but I have no doubt that the University of Bombay and the students and professors of Bombay will somehow in a distant way profit by it, may be after sometime, in a more intimate way. The institute itself will not be isolated, living a life apart from common humanity, but living in this great city of Bombay, with its cultural, educational, research and other activities, will also have somewhat more human outlook, I hope. So I congratulate all those who have been associated with this undertaking, and I hope that this institute will benefit India and mankind.

7. The Scientific Temper¹

I have often had the occasion to speak in public meetings but never before have there been so many instruments before me as there are today. It looks as if I shall soon be presented in a cage. What is it all about? There are three mikes from the AIR but you do not need a whole bunch of them here. It is ridiculous. Remove a few of them. Is this some kind of a joke? Or is it an exhibition?

Yesterday I was in Bombay, laying the foundation stone of a huge science institute building. Today I am here at the Hyderabad Central Laboratories and will attend the annual conference of the Indian Science Congress. I shall be speaking on subjects related to science there. So within a period of two days, I have to speak thrice on scientific themes. It is obvious that I cannot say something new or original every time. Sometimes, I have to repeat myself. One subject which has come up again and again is the great significance scientific progress has for India. Dr. Hussain Zaheer² mentioned that some people in India feel even now that it is a waste of money. But I feel that on the other hand, there are large numbers of people in India who understand that progress in science is of fundamental importance. Whatever progress we may have made in the field of science in the last six to seven years, one thing that we have

1. Speech at the inauguration of new buildings of the Central Laboratories for Scientific and Industrial Research, Hyderabad, 2 January 1954. From the AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. S. Hussain Zaheer was the Director of the Central Laboratories, Hyderabad.

succeeded in doing is to instil into the minds of people the importance of science to India. It is important not only for the ministers and officials but for the masses too to understand this. Therefore, I want that you should not confine yourselves to the educated intelligentsia but try to explain things to the masses. After all a democratic government functions on the will of the common people. Therefore, it is also important that in future the work should be done in a language understood by the masses, as far as possible. Otherwise there will always be a mental barrier between you and the majority of the people in India.

So we have established a number of laboratories in the country and in most places, I have laid the foundation-stone myself. Whenever the occasion arose, Dr. Bhatnagar has dragged me there. I am happy to see the work progressing so well, though sometimes I do have a suspicion that by putting up large buildings, are we making real progress in the field of science? That ultimately depends not on bricks and mortar but on human beings. We do need bricks and mortar but also human beings. We do need bricks and mortar and equipment no doubt. We cannot do without them. I want that the buildings should be strong and sturdy and beautiful in design. But ultimately we come round to human beings and the opportunities that they enjoy. We must not allow all our energy and resources to be wasted merely in putting up the building and have nothing left over for other work. One of the common complaints about Indians made by foreigners, and even Indians themselves, is that though we talk big, we do not fulfil our promises. We make big plans, dreams, sing poems in praise of such ventures. But ultimately it remains in the air. This complaint is not unjustified. There is a great deal of truth in it. Therefore, we must strive to remove this impression by showing thoroughness in whatever we do and complete the tasks that we take up. We are also guilty of leaving things half done. We are always ready to tell others what to do and so nobody does anything ultimately. If we own a car, instead of driving it ourselves, we employ a chauffeur who in turn needs a cleaner and another boy to help him. This is the way we work. The blame for not doing something ultimately falls on the boy. Then there are our students who think that they are doing high-class intellectual work by sitting in a class-room, listening to lectures and look down upon manual labour. Things are now somewhat changing. A few years ago, when I visited the United States, I heard that some of our Indian boys were there for training in agriculture and dairy farming. The principal of the college told me that the Indian students were very hesitant to soil their hands by milking cows or tilling the soil. We could not understand how they could do agriculture with pen and paper. They have become accustomed to ordering others to do things. This is a structure of society which is completely unrelated to the present times. It has even been seen that people want helpers to do the messy jobs in scientific laboratories. The students do not like to do them. This is something

which is very rarely found anywhere else in the world, at least as far as I know.

So we must change our thinking a little. It concerns the whole way of life, not only science or some other field of work. We must rid ourselves of the idea that the only first class job is a white-collared one and that manual labour is beneath one's dignity. There is nothing more absurd than this. I do not say that intellectual work is not excellent. But the individual who looks down upon manual labour is useless. I am convinced about this. Gradually his mind will deteriorate. Therefore, under the new scheme of basic education, we have combined some form of manual work with reading and writing, right from the early years. Working with one's hands stimulates the brain.

The age of science dawned a couple of hundred years ago and has transformed the world completely. There is no doubt about it. However, people often fail to understand its significance though they benefit from it. Science has not transformed the world through some magic formula. It was man's effort to understand the world of nature, and the forces latent in it. He succeeded in harnessing electricity for his own use and split the atom to discover an enormous source of power. In this way, man has succeeded in bringing the forces of nature under control which has benefited the world beyond measure. At the same time, there are some ill-effects too. The atom bomb can destroy the whole world.

Anyhow, we must understand the true spirit of scientific energy. It is not confined to the laboratories or something which is useful for industrial development. That is a narrow way of looking at it. We must have a broader vision for the individual or scientist who cannot look beyond his nose, cannot go very far. It is obvious that he must think beyond the present and at the same time stay firmly rooted in reality too. Apart from this, the most important thing is our attitude to scientific research. We must not start with any preconceived ideas but conduct all experiments with a completely open mind. As you know, this is not the way people normally think. They usually have their own preconceived ideas and if facts prove them wrong, they try to close their eyes. Science is the search for truth, for facts and we have to accept the results of our experiments, whether we like it or not. There are very few people who are willing to do this. But a real scientific spirit is one of pure enquiry. We must keep the doors and windows of our minds open. We must make scientific progress, of course, but it is even more important to inculcate the spirit of scientific enquiry and a scientific temper in the people. Only then will our narrow-minded ways disappear and the country can make progress. Narrow-mindedness takes many forms. You find it in the political field, in religion, in our way of life, etc. It shackles our minds and puts us in a cage from which it is very difficult to come out. We have lived in such cages for a long time. It happens everywhere. We are now trying to emerge out of them gradually. So it

is a good thing that we should progress in the field of science for it helps us to get out of our mental ruts.

I am pointing this out to you because it is not mentioned very often. It is obvious that we need a knowledge of science to understand the modern world and we cannot progress unless we do so. All our officers and administrators who run the country with skill and ability put together, cannot take the country anywhere unless there is scientific progress. Please remember this. Balance this against the old system in which the officers were most important to a country. Now it is the engineers and the scientists who are indispensable. They can change the world and turn it upside down. Those who sit at a desk and pass orders also serve a useful purpose. But their importance has diminished. The world can do without them, but not without the others.

So this is the importance of science and we must prepare ourselves mentally because we can do nothing without training. It is true that some people, particularly politicians like me, can get by without any training at all. But if you want to be a carpenter, it will take years of training before you can become one. This is true of any profession in the world except politics. Politicians seem to jump into the arena and begin to shine. This is democracy for you.

I am fully in favour of democracy. Please do not think that I am saying something against it. The fact is that we must create a climate in which only people with training and skill must rise to positions of responsibility. Well, one of the reasons for India's backwardness during the last couple of hundred years was the complete absence of scientific progress. There were a few scientists here and there and undoubtedly of very high calibre. But the general scientific temper was absent and the people lacked the opportunity to develop it. It was not our fault. Once the opportunity is provided, we are capable of excellent work, as our young men and women have shown. So we wanted to lay the foundations of scientific research. Science is taught as a subject in our universities which is no doubt essential. But other opportunities for research are equally necessary. So we established 13-14 national science laboratories all over the country and I feel that good work is being done in all of them. You may not look for anything spectacular for that is not the nature of scientific work, except very occasionally. Anyhow, we have set up specialized science laboratories in Delhi, Poona, Madras, Calcutta, Lucknow, Jamshedpur and other places. It was proper that they should be spread all over the country for it is not right to confine them to any one place. We want to inculcate a spirit of enquiry and scientific temper in India and give people the opportunity to undertake original research.

Now the Hyderabad Central Laboratories is not one of the specialized laboratories. The work being done here covers a very large area. The question that arises is whether this is better or the specialized laboratories should be expanded. I feel that there is potential in both and we need both kinds of

laboratories. There is no doubt about it and we must set up as many as we can. But India is a very large country. We need general laboratories where both specialized and general research is done. If we want to raise the level of scientific research in the country, it seems proper to me that we should have a few more laboratories like the one in Hyderabad in every region in India. Dr. Hussain Zaheer has presented a kind of defence as though he is being attacked. His argument is that there is no duplication at the Central Laboratories and even if there was, it was not wrong.

Well, as I told you, it is obvious that arguments can be presented on both sides. But I have no doubt about it, and I am sure neither can anyone else, that on principle regional laboratories are a very good idea for a country of this size. The question is not of principles but how to fit it into the scientific work going on in the country. We have our universities, of course, and in a way, they are general laboratories of a kind. But the problem that arises is that if everyone dabbles in everything, nobody can become really good. We do not have the resources and teachers to train people. If we expect one individual to teach all the subjects in a school it is obvious that no one will learn anything much. So different people teach different subjects.

We have to take all these angles into consideration. We cannot expand at the cost of quality, as it has happened to some extent in our universities. There is no doubt about it and it is regrettable. There are good teachers and professors in the universities but not enough. It is people from the universities who ultimately work in the laboratories. Therefore, if the quality of education in universities suffers, all our work will suffer. Therefore, taking all these things into account, we must not waste our resources in expanding too much and ensure a high quality of work at all times. Instead of a number of people doing something inefficiently, we must concentrate our energies into doing high quality work. There is no harm in duplication in scientific work. But it should not stand in the way of our doing something else which is essential. All these things have to be weighed in the balance. We are making good progress in science. But the fact is that for a country of this size, it is not enough. We have to do much more.

We have to keep all these things in mind. I am convinced that it is a good thing that there is a general science laboratory for the southern region. The Chief Minister stressed that these laboratories should work for the progress of Hyderabad State. But I could not understand why it should stand in the way of other institutions making progress. It is wrong to make rules of this kind. It is obvious that the Central laboratory will work in the interests of Hyderabad. But that does not mean that the surrounding areas will not benefit. We cannot create barriers in scientific progress.

I had come here once before and I am here again. The proof of the usefulness of these laboratories lies in the work it does. As I said, it does not

depend on buildings though you need good buildings in order to have efficient functioning. So I hope that the work will go on full steam, in every sense, so that the people of this region as well scientific progress in the whole country may benefit as a result. This laboratory has a big role to play in the progress of the people and the country. *Jai Hind.*

8. Challenge to Science and Scientists¹

It has been my privilege to attend almost every session of the Science Congress during the last seven or eight years. Once I even had the high honour of being the President of it. On other occasions I have delivered, what are called, inaugural addresses. And so I have been invited and summoned today to take precedence over the President and deliver some kind of an inaugural address.

My mind goes back during these seven years and I think that it may well be said that whatever our other failings might have been in this country, we have done a fairly creditable job in regard to scientific work. I do not mean to say that we have performed any wonders or made new discoveries and all that, but what is important is that we have laid solid foundations for scientific work, and out of those solid foundations opportunities come, and out of the opportunities and the work done, results flow. Therefore, we are entitled to take some satisfaction at the progress of scientific work or rather the foundations of scientific work, the laboratories, national laboratories and institutes that have started functioning during these six or seven years. I wonder, I speak subject to correction, if during these last few years or during a like period this type of progress has been made in regard to science in any other country. Having said that I wish to make it perfectly clear that I do not consider that something which has been done here is enough. That is a foundation and the foundation though good requires something else before it becomes habitable. And therefore I think we have to pursue this path vigorously, effectively and enthusiastically for a variety of reasons, both practical and other. The Vice-Chancellor has quoted what I am supposed to have said somewhere, I forget when and where I said it and even if I said it, but I will take his words for it that I did say it. Anyhow,

1. Inaugural address at the forty-first session of the Indian Science Congress at Osmania University, Hyderabad, 2 January 1954. AIR. tapes, NMML. Extracts.

there is much truth in that. That is to say, without our developing science, not only science in its practical and theoretical aspects, but also the temper of science, we are likely not only not to go ahead, but perhaps to slip back. Therefore, obviously, the importance of science is very great. It requires to be dinned into many of our people who have been bred in an earlier and different tradition, which did not think much of science or took science for granted as the work of some odd people messing about in laboratories, not realizing that the modern world is a child of science and almost everything that is happening today is somehow or other connected with science or its development. Whether we touch our grave problems, economic problems, problems of poverty, of raising the standards of living, of unemployment, or whatever problem, we have to think about, we have to call in science to our aid. All that is well known and well accepted. But there is another aspect of science, which is forcing itself on our attention more and more, a powerful aspect, a rather terrifying aspect.

Now, science all along has been concerned with the 'why' of things. Why is this so? It has tried to understand the nature of this phenomenal universe of ours, and in trying to understand it, it has uncovered many of nature's laws; taken advantage of that knowledge and used it for human benefit usually, sometimes not so much for humanity's benefit. Anyhow, science has been concerned, as I said, with the 'why'. Why is this so? Why is that so? A true scientist is not so much concerned with where his inquiry will lead him to. He just tries to discover the truth in some shape or form. It may lead him to heaven and it might equally lead him to hell. That is not his business. He is merely trying to find out how the forces of nature and other things are working. Having found it out, naturally, it becomes his job or somebody else's job to utilize it to human advantage. That was natural. And I am not quite sure that I would like a scientist to get out of that way of looking at things or of searching for truth. I am not sure that I would like the scientist to develop the politician's mind or approach to things. Now a politician's mind, I am not talking in any terms of criticism of the politician or the scientist, but they are different approaches, and I am not talking, naturally of the immature or indifferent scientists or the immature or indifferent politicians. I am talking about the more or less competent politician and the more or less competent scientist. A politician seeks not so much the 'why' of things, but he wants to get somewhere. He wants to achieve certain results in the political field, in the economic field and in other fields. Now, if the scientist's approach and the politician's approach were joined together, then we get something, well, in the sense, an integrated approach to the various problems we have to face.

As I said, the scientist thinks of the 'why'. He does not think of where that 'why' is leading to. So he goes on uncovering and discovering many things, many forces, and then sometimes finding, to his horror, that those forces may

be used for evil purposes. Also sometimes finding to his horror that he himself had become a prisoner to his own discoveries, and the forces that he had let loose.

And so we have today in the ultimate sense a challenge to science, and to the scientist, because we have arrived at a stage when merely the 'why' is not quite enough. And it might well happen that the results of those researches in science might produce ultimate and grave disaster to the world. People say scientists are responsible. Well, in a sense they are, because it was they who uncovered those, released those forces and brought them within the ken of human knowledge. At the same time it is rather silly to blame scientists for it. We are all responsible in various ways. But it is true that the scientists have to give thought to this matter, and to realize that the work they do, and which they no doubt do in all good conscience for good purposes, may lead to terrifying results. And that is the challenge of the day to science and the scientists. Are they, both in their wisdom and their folly, to become the tools of others and be exploited for evil ends by the knowledge that they gain or will that knowledge be used for bettering humanity, and removing its many ills? As the Prime Minister of England said the other day, we have a strange choice today; one is, I forget his words, but something to this effect; he said one is undreamt of advance for humanity, the other is irretrievable disaster. Well, surely if you put that choice before anybody, nobody is going to choose the latter. There is no difficulty about choosing. And yet although there is no difficulty about making that choice, yet the choice in action is not made. How far it is made even in minds is rather doubtful, because the mind is oppressed by fears and apprehensions and hatreds and all that wretched brood. And the results is, that while we have something for which humanity has pined and worked and laboured for through the ages almost within humanity's grasp, we cannot reach it, and there is a possibility of, instead of reaching it, our having to face terrible catastrophes and disaster, for the whole race of man.

Now, that is the problem, and all other, in effect, all other problems which you may discuss in this congress or which we may discuss in our political or economic or other conferences, really sink into insignificance before this terrible choice of the age. None of you have the power to control the world's destiny, just as the politicians have not either. They may be leading persons in States having the governance of large number of human beings in their hands, and you may read about them in the newspapers which give big headlines to the notorious politicians of the day. But the fact of the matter is that, however big they may appear in headlines or in their offices, the forces at work in the world are infinitely greater than they, and before them sometimes they almost appear as puppets, unable to control not even themselves, leave out the forces. Nevertheless, that is perhaps an exaggerated view that I put forward, even those politicians, and even those scientists can do a good deal. They are not quite

helpless. And therefore the problem arises what they should do about it. How to make sure that the right choice is made between that tremendous good and that tremendous evil? It is not a question of our passing a resolution. That would be easy enough. It is a question of our going deeper down into things, and from the 'whys' of science, thinking of the where to where do we go to, what do we aim at? Of course even in the last several years, a generation or whatever you might like to call it, science which began with abstruse laws and formulae in the realms of mathematics, physics and the rest has advanced in that realm tremendously, till you peep into the edges of this universe with the help of those extraordinary formulae, which wise people understand, I do not. Now, science has moved on to other realms, to biology, to psychology, to trying to study the mind of man, his actions and so on, and thereby rather crossing over from that strict definition of science, as it used to be to other realms which are vaguer, and thereby also crossing over from the pure 'why' to something else. Anyhow whether in the practical world or in the theoretical sphere, science comes up against this challenge, all of us do, if we think about it; we may of course ignore it, we may be lost in our little problems and imagine that they are very big. But none of us really dare ignore this major problem.

Our friends, who spoke before me talked about Hyderabad, how it has been a place where various synthesis have grown up, various linguistic areas, various religions and the like. That is perfectly true, but that of course can be said about the whole of India. Now, I am not going to praise India, and to make out that it is unique among nations. Each country is unique of its kind. And the people of each country tend to praise their own country and think it is the chosen country. But it is not a question of praising India or any other country, but trying to understand that. And it seems to me that India has had that past tradition of synthesis. It had strong roots of its own and it could not easily be blown over or swept away by currents of air. But currents came to it, rivers of humanity flowed into it, and got mixed up with the ocean of India, making a change there, no doubt, and affecting it and being affected by it. And through this course of ages what is India today, grew up. And so after this millenia of history we are a peculiar mixture, carrying the burden of the wisdom, the folly and the madness of the thousand years and it is all mixed up, and sometimes the wisdom comes up, often the folly, and sometimes the madness. What are we to make of all this? How does science help us to bring a modern synthesis of these problems, something in keeping with the genius of India to work for synthesis, in spite of all those who have tried in the past to break it up, in spite of all those small-minded persons without vision, who today think parochially in narrow terms, forgetting the larger issues before this country or the world. Here even in Hyderabad you have plenty of those narrow-minded persons who cannot think, except on those narrow-minded terms, forgetting

that it does not matter, the slightest bit, how their petty problems are decided, this way or that way. But it does matter a great deal to India and to Hyderabad and to the world, how the big problems are going to be decided. And it is time that people realized that this petty-mindedness and small-mindedness should not be encouraged, should not be tolerated. Where are we looking to? Which way are we going? That is always the question. And even though I might be a politician overwhelmed with the problems of the day, I cannot help, as no sensitive person can, looking a little beyond today, a little beyond tomorrow even, for then, my own country's history pursues me, its a long story of joy and sorrow and agony, and I want to look ahead. And I do not want to make the mistakes that we made yesterday or the day before. We want to profit both by the wisdom of the past and the follies of the past.

But here I again come back, how does science help us? The scientist quite rightly will work in his particular field. He will burrow his way and seek through trials and errors, new truths, uncover them; many a time he will fail but even when he fails he will learn and teach. That is right, but then somebody has to bring about a synthesis of this wider knowledge in the scientific field, and apply it to the political and other fields of human endeavour. And that is badly needed in this world today, lest we take a wrong path and go astray completely. It is an odd thing that while we grow more and more learned, by science and by other ways of study, I wonder often whether we do not at the same time grow less and less wise. Because wisdom and learning are not synonymous. They may occur together. They may help each other, but they are not the same. We find today men of very high ability in their particular spheres of life, and yet men of little wisdom, men with very little consciousness of human values. And so one begins to doubt if something is not terribly lacking in this accumulation of learning without wisdom. Something we are getting now, a civilization more and more governed by intricate machines. I am a great admirer of the machine, I like it. But as I look at these great machines functioning, and as I see their influence on the human mind, that human mind becoming more and more machine-like and less and less wise. I wonder if the time has not come to balance this somehow, not, of course, by discarding the machine, that is neither proper nor possible, but by laying stress on something else. We see highly developed people who are far more advanced and developed than we are sometimes behaving in a manner which seems to us quite extraordinary. That is, the way they indulge in violence and hatred and preparations for great violence, well without realizing what the effect of it might be. So all these problems come to my mind as they must come to the minds of many of you. None of us by himself can provide a key or a solution to them, but possibly if we are alive to them, and if we give our thoughts to them in our respective spheres, it is quite possible that we may do something which might be worthwhile in this crisis of our times. *Jai Hind.*

9. Need for a Penicillin Research Centre¹

Last year when I was passing through Rome, I met Professor Chain² of penicillin fame. He spoke to me about the penicillin plant we were putting up here and expressed surprise that we were not paying any attention to the research side.

2. On my return to India, I sent a note on this subject to the Production Ministry. I was firmly convinced that the research aspect was very important. Apparently, however, nothing much has been done thus far about this and the buildings and plants are being put up on the advice of Unicef or Mr Macpherson, leaving out this important research aspect. My own impression was that the very purpose of having this penicillin plant was to have a major centre for research in biotics for South-East Asia.

3. I have met Professor Chain here twice—once in Hyderabad and secondly here in Delhi. I gathered that he has been in touch with the Production Ministry and has also seen the Planning Commission. I need not, therefore, repeat what he said to me. But I am sending this note to you to indicate my own reaction. I had a letter a few days ago from General Sokhey³ which I enclose. Sokhey is certainly an expert at this business, but in other ways he is sometimes immoderate in his approach to a problem and therefore his advice has to be tested.

4. About one thing I am perfectly clear and that is the absolute necessity of having a proper well-organized research centre. In fact, I do not understand how there can be a penicillin project, or any such project, without a research centre attached to it. Even a commercial organization would have had to do this. Much more so a State concern.

5. Secondly, we must not rely helplessly on the advice of Unicef and Mr Macpherson, whose outlook may not be the same as ours. We should, therefore, have some counterpart to this advice in India, presumably a high level scientific committee. Professor Chain mentioned this and suggested the names of Chopra, Krishnan⁴ and Sokhey for it. We could consider other names also. Chopra and

1. Note to the Minister of Production, 27 January 1954. JN Collection. Copies were sent to the Secretary, Ministry of Production and Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.
2. Ernst Boris Chain, Director, International Research Centre for Chemical Microbiology, Institute Superiore di Sanita, Rome.
3. Sahib Singh Sokhey, former Assistant Director General WHO, nominated member of Rajya Sabha, 1952-56.
4. K.S. Krishnan, Director, NPL

Krishnan are good. As for Sokhey, I am a little nervous about connecting him with this matter because he does not pull on well with others. Nevertheless, I think that because of his knowledge it would be desirable to have him on the committee.

6. Thirdly, I think that the plant and building etc. that we are putting up must be first-rate and we must not lose efficiency by some petty economy which will not be economy at all in the end. I think, therefore, that there should be air-conditioning there. We have got this in our national laboratories. In the scientific work more particularly this is necessary.

7. Fourthly, we should utilize the local waste material. This really is a part of research. We must rely as little as possible on outside aid agencies. We have to remember in this matter, as in others, that it is necessary to adapt ourselves to conditions in the country. That is the only permanent basis of functioning. If we are trying to get some material from abroad or merely copying things that other countries do, we shall not have a sound foundation.

8. Fifthly, who is in overall charge? I am not referring to the Ministry, because the Ministry's supervision is distant. Somebody has to be in overall charge. Is Mr Macpherson supposed to be in charge? I do not fancy this, apart from the fact that he appears to be away much of the time.

9. Sixthly, we should investigate the production of other drugs in this plant.

10. I am just sending this brief note to indicate my own reactions. I should like this matter to be considered very fully and soon, because delay will be expensive. I gather that Mr Macpherson has been asked to come to India from America where he is now. Even before Mr Macpherson comes, it would be desirable for us to be clear about our own mind.

(vi) Language

1. To Jagjivan Ram¹

New Delhi
11th October, 1953

My dear Jagjivan Ram,²

In Bombay I was handed the enclosed Money Order form. I have not seen it previously as I do not personally send money orders.

1. File No.2(484)/49-PMS.

2. Minister of Communications. Government of India.

Reading it, I find myself wholly unable to understand a great part of it. I am quite certain that most of our people will not understand it. Whom then is it meant for? What kind of language are we evolving which is neither graceful, artistic, nor generally understood?

As a writer myself and one interested in languages, I am terribly shocked at the way things are developing. Some of the State Governments are to blame; but at least our Central Government departments might not lose their heads completely.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. On 26 November, Jagjivan Ram replied that the Post-Master General of Lucknow was responsible for the Hindi translation of the money order forms. Jagjivan Ram had already noticed that the translations were of Sanskritised Hindi and unintelligible to common man, and had issued instructions for discontinuing the printing of such forms.

2. To Abul Kalam Azad¹

New Delhi
11th October, 1953

My dear Maulana,

In Bombay I saw a little booklet which contained the Hindi equivalents of official and technical terms in English. Apparently this had been sent to the Bombay Government for their views. In reading it, I found that a large number of words suggested were totally incomprehensible to me and seemed to me wholly inappropriate.

I do not know what is happening to our language; but I see more and more evidence from day to day of rapid deterioration which will ultimately land us in complete chaos, so far as language is concerned.

I do not know who is responsible for all this. I know that you have made repeated attempts to bring about some uniformity and have appointed committees for the purpose. But, as a matter of fact, there is no uniformity and the most ghastly specimens of the so-called language are being produced. I suffer shock after shock as I see these.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2(484)/49-PMS.

3. To Ravi Shankar Shukla¹

New Delhi
October 12, 1953

My dear Shuklaji,

The All India Newspaper Editors Conference has drawn my attention to a dictionary that is being prepared by Dr. Raghu Vira² and which is sponsored and financed by the Madhya Pradesh Government.³ They have given me a number of words with their translation which appear in this dictionary. I can only say that looking at these words, I have had a sense of extreme shock. I do not quite know where we are going in regard to language. But it is clear to me that if we pursue this course, we shall kill our language, apart from making ourselves ridiculous before the public.

I am not sending you a list of these words. I can do so if you so wish.

Language plays a very vital part in a nation's life. We have rightly decided to make Hindi as our National Language. But the kind of stuff that is being produced is not language at all, Hindi or other. It is a purely artificial creation with no meaning.

I might mention one word which seems to me typical of the amazing length of folly to which we are being led into. "Zig-zag" is translated as "*Gomutrakar*".

I am told that Dr. Raghu Vira charges the Madhya Pradesh Government Rs.300/- for every word that he is asked to coin by that Government. Obviously this business is a very profitable one. Are we producing some new language, unknown thus far, by special coinage?

Is the Madhya Pradesh Government going to have a special list of technical, scientific and other words which are not used in any other part of India and are the special invention of Dr. Raghu Vira's mind and a preserve of the Madhya Pradesh Government? If this kind of thing continues, I fear we shall have no intellectual, artistic, linguistic, scientific or technical standards left at all. Linguistically we shall relapse into some kind of chaos. Educationally we shall deteriorate rapidly. Technically and scientifically we shall be nowhere.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No.2(484)/49-PMS.
2. Editor in charge of Dictionary of Technical Terms. The Government of Madhya Pradesh had decided to introduce Hindi and Marathi as official languages since 15 August 1953.
3. A grant of Rs. 60,000 had been sanctioned to the Hindustani Culture Society at Allahabad for the compilation of standard English-Hindi dictionary on the lines of the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*.

4. To Abul Kalam Azad¹

New Delhi

October 18, 1953

My dear Maulana,

...Recently, I have written to you twice, I think, about the way the Hindi language is being developed and distorted in various States. I sent you also a copy of a letter I addressed to Ravi Shankar Shukla. I have referred to this in my fortnightly letters to Chief Ministers also.

I do not suppose that my letters to Chief Ministers on this question would produce very much results. This has become not only a linguistic question, but a political one and, as you perhaps know, there are strong forces at work. In the UP, Sampurnanand² is playing an important part. In Madhya Pradesh, Raghu Vira is functioning at the instance of Ravi Shankar Shukla.

I do not quite know what the Education Ministry is doing about it, apart from appointing a committee or so. I think that something more is needed. This matter cannot be dealt with by our officials, nor do any official letters have the slightest effect. It must be dealt with more vitally and personally. Both aspects have to be considered — the encouragement of Hindi and the discouragement of this new-fangled and distorted Hindi. Merely the negative aspect is not enough.

I think, therefore, that a very active and intensive effort has to be made on our behalf and that this should not be just on some official Secretaries-level whose letters do not count in this respect. I would suggest to you that you might put Keshava Deva Malaviya in charge of this subject. He will, of course, function under your directions. I am quite sure that Secretaries cannot deal with this matter. Keshava Deva is suited for this from many points of view, and he can make personal approaches with effect also. He is a man of energy and he knows Hindi fairly well and at the same time disapproves strongly of the new developments in the UP and Madhya Pradesh. I hope you will agree with this and ask Keshava Deva to shoulder this responsibility....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 52(5)/50-PMS. Extracts.

2. Sampurnanand, Home Minister, UP, and a leading member of the All India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, strongly opposed the move to give Urdu the status of official language in the State.

5. To Ravi Shankar Shukla¹

New Delhi
October 28, 1953

My dear Shuklaji,

Thank you for your letter of the 25th October and all the other papers that you have sent with it. These papers will be fully examined.²

There are two points that arise. The first and the most important is that whatever technical vocabulary in Hindi we should evolve should be a common one for the country. It would be a most unfortunate development if each State had its own particular vocabulary. Because of this, the approach to this question has inevitably to be an all-India approach with which all States are associated. For this purpose, all-India committees and the like had been formed. Each State can contribute to this, and States like Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh have, perhaps, a special contribution to make. But the possibility of each State going in its own direction in this matter is alarming and can only have a disruptive tendency, preventing the growth of Hindi. I know very well what the Constitution says about it.³ Surely, the Constitution does not want each State to go separately, nor does it want an artificial language divorced from the people.

The second question that arises is about the content of the language. Nothing is more important in the development of a people than their language and therefore the content of a language is of the highest importance. It has to be related to the daily life of the people and cannot come out of the head of a scholar living with dictionaries and lexicons. Technical terms have a world significance. At the present moment the English language is being enriched by about 5,000 words every year. These are of a technical nature chiefly. Most

1. File No. 2(484)/49-PMS. A copy of this letter was sent to Abul Kalam Azad.
2. Nehru had referred Shukla's letter along with a booklet, containing Hindi equivalents of technical terms used in various Government notings and draftings to the Education Ministry. On 18 November, Humayun Kabir, Secretary, Education Ministry, wrote to Shukla that "in the interest of Hindi, such a book should not be placed in the hands of officials without thorough and radical revision." Countering Shukla's contention that the Government of India "have a conspicuous leaning towards evolving terms from Sanskrit only," Kabir wrote that those efforts were undertaken before the Board of Scientific Terminology came into existence. Further that if any Ministry or Department formulates any terminologies without consulting the Board, the Government of India would not be responsible for such terminologies.
3. Articles 343-351 of the Constitution of India provides that "Hindi in Devanagari script" be adopted as the "official language of the Union", and that a number of public functions of the inherited English medium be progressively taken over by Hindi. Article 351 specifies that Hindi be enriched "by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India... and by drawing whenever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages."

technical words are common now all over the world with slight variations in pronunciation or endings. Science and technique will suffer greatly if we cut ourselves adrift from the world of science and technology in India, just when we want to advance. Any word or phrase is a living throbbing thing and not a mere creation out of nothing. The content of each word is not its literal meaning, but the history attached to it in people's minds. Thus, a language grows up from the mass of the people. It is, at the same time, conditioned and regulated by the masters of language.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. "Regional" not "Vernacular"¹

In the circular letter dated the 4th November issued by the Secretary, Planning Commission,² to all State Governments, in the last paragraph, the word "local vernaculars" is used. "Vernacular" is not supposed to be used now. It is a term almost of contempt. The original meaning of the word is a slave's language. The British thrust this word upon us in contempt of our languages. We should always say local or better still regional languages.

1. Note to the Planning Commission, 5 November 1953. JN Collection.
2. Y.N. Sukhtankar.

7. Problems of Language and Script¹

If the conference is going to consider the problem of script only, I imagine that this falls into two parts. (1) The adoption of the Nagari script by the other Indian languages, or by as many of them as possible. (2) The improvement of the Nagari script so as to make it more suitable for printing, typing and other forms of modern usage.

It is obviously desirable that we should bring about some uniformity in

1. Message drafted on 25 November 1953 for the Devanagari Script Reform Conference held in Lucknow on 28 and 29 November 1953. From *The Hindu*, 30 November 1953.

India in the matter of script. This applies more especially to the script of the languages derived from Sanskrit and secondarily to the other languages of India. If we have a uniform script, this in itself would remove a major barrier in the learning and understanding of other languages in India. It would be a unifying force and far more people than today will know more than one Indian language. This is so obvious that it needs no argument.

Oddly enough, the result of having one script would actually lead to a much wider acquaintance of those languages which at present have another script. Our decision to make Hindi, in the Nagari script, the national language of India, gives undoubtedly a big pull to people living in the Hindi-speaking areas. Others will no doubt learn Hindi, as they are doing now. But, normally speaking, they will not know it as well as a person whose mother tongue it is. I think it is important that every Indian should know at least one Indian language other than his mother tongue. In the case of people living in the non-Hindi-speaking areas that other language will necessarily be Hindi. For the Hindi-speaking areas, the other language will have to be a different one—Bengali, Gujrati, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Oriya, Assamese etc.

In Europe there are many great languages, but all of them, except in the Slav regions, are written in the Roman script. That is a great advantage and any literate person can at least read every other language even though he might not understand much of it. That advantage will come to India if we have one script.

I remember the complaint of a young Khasi boy in Assam. He told me that he had to learn his own language, that is Khasi, which was written in the Roman script. (This was introduced by the Christian missionaries many years ago and still continues, Khasi books and grammar being in that script). Then he had to learn Hindi in the Nagari script and Assamese in its own script. Also he was keen on learning English. Thus the poor boy had to learn four languages and three scripts. This did appear to me a bit too much. This would apply to all the tribal areas. That boy suggested, of his own accord, that Assamese might be written in the Nagari script. That would simplify, to some extent, his work, as obviously it would.

Thus no argument is needed for having one script for the whole of India if possible. This will create difficulties to begin with but, once done, it would make things easy for all of us. We in northern India would learn the southern languages with far greater ease. People in the south of India would learn Hindi easily as well as any other language. The real difficulty, of course, is a practical one and how far people would willingly accept such a change in the script. Language in all its forms, including script, is something which is a very intimate part of an individual, a group or a nation. It is not easy to change it, and passions are frequently aroused in such controversies. Therefore, one has to proceed with the greatest caution and goodwill. Attempts to impose a language or a script create difficulties, and usually can only be done successfully by

some authoritarian regime. The change-over should have a considerable measure of support from the people most concerned.

Two scripts are to remain, or rather should remain, in India namely, Urdu or the Persian script and the Roman script in which English or the European languages are written. There is no sense of conflict between them and Hindi. They are completely different and cannot be absorbed in Hindi. The Roman script keeps us in touch with the world generally and we must know it. The Persian script is still used by a large number of persons and is a link between us and Western Asia. It has been used in India for many hundreds of years and is part and parcel of our life. Naturally it will be dominated by Hindi and Nagari more and more. But it should be preserved and encouraged in its own sphere as something which adds to the richness of our life and thought, just as the Roman script does over a wider field.

The second question is the reference to the possibility of the present Nagari script being simplified or improved for purposes of printing, typing etc. While the script is scientific, it is slightly cumbrous for these purposes and therefore efficiency suffers considerably by its use in its present form. This is a matter for experts to consider. Some proposals have already been made for such an improvement.

It must be remembered that no script is or can be phonetically perfect unless one puts all kinds of dots and dashes above it to produce new sounds. Hindi is scientific from this point of view, but it is as limited as any other script. The most ordinary sounds in the English language cannot be reproduced in the Hindi script as it is, such as dog, cat etc. Many Urdu words cannot easily be written in the Nagari script without dots and other signs if they are to produce the exact sound of the language. Presumably, this will apply to the southern languages being written in the Nagari script. Either these signs will have to be evolved to signify a particular sound or that sound will gradually fade away. We have seen the transformation of many English words as used in Britain and in the Nagari script in India.

While uniformity is desirable, one should remember that this is not an easy matter. In Yugoslavia, which is as big as an average State in India, there are, I believe, officially recognized, three languages² and two scripts.³ In Switzerland, it is well known, that, while there is only one script, (although German script is slightly different from French and Italian) there are three official languages⁴ quite apart from English which is more known.

2. Slovene, Macedonian and Serbo-Croat, the last being the *lingua franca* of the State at this time.
3. Cyrillic and Latin. Serb was printed in Cyrillic and Croat in Latin script. Macedonian was printed in Cyrillic characters and Slovene in Latin characters.
4. German is spoken by the majority of inhabitants in 19 of the 25 cantons of Switzerland, French in five, and Italian in one.

I have ventured to place some thoughts on this subject. I would add as an author and one who loves the music of language and the beauty of words, their sounds and their historic significance, that language cannot be treated in an artificial way. It is a living, throbbing, vital and growing thing, coming out of the people and being constantly adopted to their changing lives and occupations. It should, therefore, be treated with great respect and gentleness and not forced artificially into a certain mould, which might well suppress it and put an end to the very quality in it which is of value.

8. Language and Literature¹

Literature is intimately tied to the life of a nation. No nation can progress or go very far, if its literature is weak, and alternately, if a country is weak, it is bound to be reflected in its literature. So both are linked together.

You may have heard of the great English poet, Milton.² He wrote that "Show me the literature of any country, and even if I do not know anything about it or its people, I can tell you what the country is all about from its literature alone. I can tell you whether a country is weak or strong and how its mind works, etc. by reading its literature", because literature is a mirror which reflects the condition of a people or a country, and how progressive or backward they are.

There should be no room for argument about Hindi being our national language. I was happy to hear Biyaniji³ saying that that does not mean there is a rivalry with the other languages of the country. That is an absolutely wrong way of looking at the problem. All our languages are great and we want all of them to progress. Each one of them can progress only with the help of others. If one language makes progress, it will help others too by the influence of ideas. But our thinking has been conditioned right from the time of the British that a language can progress only if it is used officially. But literature does not flourish in offices. If there is a quarrel between two languages then their literatures decline.

1. Speech after laying the foundation stone for a new building of the Madhya Pradesh Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Nagpur, 5 January 1954. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. John Milton (1608-1674).
3. Brijlal Nandlal Biyani (b. 1896); Hindi author from Akola and author of *Kalpna Kanan* (essays) 1946 and *Jailmen*. 1946; President of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan; Finance Minister, Government of Madhya Pradesh.

What is literature? What is a language? There is a spoken language and a written one. The question is whether there ought to be a difference between the two. If there is a vast difference, then literature will become weak and constricted. It may sound sweet but it will be weak because it will not have the power of the spoken language. Then it becomes what is known as court literature or something which is used by a few learned scholars for their own enjoyment. But if you want that it should have an effect on the common people, then there should not be too much distance between the spoken and the written language. There is bound to be some difference. It depends also on the subject that you are writing about. If it is a difficult subject then the language will be difficult. That is all right. But today, especially when there is a great deal of talk about democracy, language cannot be too far removed from the language of the masses, because they will not accept it, nor will the language acquire the strength of the people.

As you know, thirty or forty years ago, Kemal Pasha⁴ had tried to improve the Turkish language and to remove or reduce the number of Arabic words from it. So he appointed a commission to go to the villages — they did not go to the scholars, mind you — to look for new words which were already being used by the villagers. They drew up a list of ten thousand words which they had collected from the rural areas and perhaps they may have polished them a little. Those words were powerful, otherwise they would have died out long ago. Many thousands of those words were incorporated into the Turkish language which was thus strengthened. So, there should be a link between literature and the common language. Court language may be beautiful but it does not last there for days. Moreover, language is not a vehicle of flowery sentiments or beautiful poetry. They may be good in themselves, but the task of a language is to express ideas. Therefore, if there are serious thoughts to be expressed, the language will automatically become powerful. Mere words can have no power. It is ideas which supply the seriousness and strength to them. Nowadays there are hundreds of subjects on which all sorts of books are being written. What might be called technical words are being produced in the English language at the rate of five thousand words a year. Today there are millions of such technical words in the English, French, German, and Russian languages.

Take any new thing that is invented. For instance, with the word Mother, a couple of thousand other new words have been coined. The same thing happened when the aeroplane was invented. These were things which nobody knew about and it is obvious that you will not find equivalent words in Hindi. We will have to coin new ones or borrow from other languages. What I mean to say is that only the language which produces books pertaining to the modern currents of thought will be a live one. Any language which does not do this fails to be a

4. Mustafa Kemal Pasha Ataturk.

medium to carry the latest currents of thoughts to the people who would then have to look for some other languages to fulfil their need for expression.

But thoughts can be communicated to others only if we are capable of thinking. If we are not capable of originality of thought, but keep repeating old ideas like parrots, there will be no flow of new ideas.

In the changing world of today there are all sorts of new ideas, good, bad, right, wrong, etc. They have to be carefully examined and the good ideas sifted from the bad. Therefore, it is very essential that there should be mutual help and exchange between the various languages of words and ideas. We need thousands of technical words, otherwise we will remain backward. If you study the history of languages, you will find that all languages begin with poetry and gradually they branch out in various directions. Poetry is concerned with deeper feelings. It will be a good thing if you could see a list of publication in some of the famous European languages like French, English, Russian, German, Spanish and Italian and find out the subjects in which books have been published in any one month. You will find that after weeding out the useless ones, if you were to select those with an underlying tone of seriousness, there are hundreds of them every month, full of ideas and arguments, often opposed to one another, which mirror the flow of ideas among the people. All kinds of arguments are advanced and countered by the reading public.

Now you take an Indian language. What are the books published here. Good poetry is no doubt being written but apart from that, books on subjects of current interest and importance are very few in number. Stories and novels are written, which may be good or bad - I do not know. But the books on the hundreds of problems which confront the world today are almost non-existent. If an individual wishes to understand the world of today, he cannot do so easily. This is a great difficulty. Therefore, it is our duty, especially in such literary conferences, to strengthen the structure of a language and not fall into the error of futile, official arguments. What I am saying is difficult because language is not something that can grow or die away by a decree from Parliament. It is true that the path can be cleared to some extent by Parliament. But Parliament or Assemblies cannot order flowers to bloom or plants to grow. Nature has to take its course. You can plant a seed and then nurture it by irrigating it and using fertilizers and then it blooms in its own time. If you try to hasten the process, it will die. If you crush a flower, it becomes lifeless. So also language, it is a delicate thing. You cannot make it grow by force. You can certainly pave the way for its growth and nurture it in many ways but ultimately the growth has to be natural. No great poet has been born till today by an official decree. They are either born that way or not. You can certainly provide the opportunity for them to grow. That will be a great help. But if you will forgive me for saying so, though literary conferences are organized nowadays, there are very few people who genuinely help the writers.

I do not know about this place but I know about my own State of Uttar Pradesh from where I get numerous complaints. I do not know if there is a publisher here. I, as a writer, am an enemy of the race of publishers. Perhaps 'enemy' is rather a strong word, but it is extraordinary how the publishers try to strangle the writers and make money off their work without paying them adequately. In other parts of the world, writers have learnt to protect themselves. In our country, there are a number of good writers who are starving. Generally they are paid a very small sum for the copyright and the publishers make thousands of rupees. I am aware of all this, but there is no law to protect their rights.

We want that Hindi should be strengthened. It has the vast ocean of Sanskrit to draw from and is surrounded by languages like Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati and others which are vast store-houses of literature. Remember that the languages of Europe like English, German, French, Spanish, Italian and Russian which are very rich, started growing only about 300 years ago. They had been suppressed till then because all the work was done in Latin just as Sanskrit and Persian were used here. The language of the masses was considered upsophisticated. Then the writers revolted against the use of Latin and began to use their indigenous languages which grew gradually. This happened almost simultaneously in all the languages about three hundred or three hundred and fifty years ago and each one of them was helped by the other. That is, there was no competition between the various languages like English and French, etc. They grew naturally and influenced one another. So to think that there is a competition between Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati, etc., is absolutely wrong.

In fact we must learn more than one language instead of thinking about suppressing the others or feeling that Hindi is superior because it is the official language. My fear is that all our languages will become official languages which is a frightful thing to happen. I assure you, when I saw the dictionaries, that are being compiled, official and technical dictionaries, my mind boggled, I do not know how far they will help the growth of the language, but my fear is that great harm will be done if the Government tried to use such a language.

There is yet another grave danger to our language which has caused considerable damage. It is from newspapers which translate English reports and publish them. There is no apparent connection with the actual meaning but the report is published. It is a strange thing and so many people read them and gradually wrong words come into use. This is an extremely dangerous thing and I do not know how to bring it under control. Let me give you an example. The English word 'Imperial preference' is translated into Hindi as *Shahi Pasand*, by the newspapers. Now you can see that it is absolutely correct. But the meaning that emerges is absolutely wrong and cannot be understood by anyone.

I have put some of my views before you because all of us want to make our national language strong and lay proper foundations for it, so that it may flourish and add to the strength of the people...

(vii) Land Reforms

1. Rajasthan Jagirdari Reforms¹

At the instance of the parties concerned, matters in dispute were referred to Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, who went thoroughly into them and presented a considered and detailed report embodying his recommendations.² It is clear from this report that Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant approached these matters not only with care but with every consideration to avoid unnecessary hardships to the jagirdars. At the same time he had to keep in view the accepted principles in regard to our policy relating to land and jagirdaris. Pandit Pant was in effect constituted as some kind of arbitrator in this dispute. In dealing with it, it is clear that he went further and tried to bring about, as far as possible, compromise solutions with a measure of give- and- take. The memorandum submitted to me by the Rajasthan Kshatriya Mahasabha states their gratitude to Pandit Pant and their acceptance of the broad principles of his report. And yet, in effect, they challenge this report in many particulars.³

2. I think that, in the circumstances, it would be improper for either party, as well as for me, to challenge the well-considered decisions of this report. I cannot sit in appeal on that report, having regard to the reference of the matter in dispute to Pandit Pant by both parties at my recommendation. It is on the basis of an acceptance of that report that we have to proceed further. Any obvious errors in it can, of course, be corrected. Minor adjustments can also be made by agreement between the parties. But no basic change is desirable at the instance of one party.

3. I have given careful consideration to the memorandum of the Rajasthan Kshatriya Mahasabha as well as to the detailed reply of the Rajasthan Government. It is from the point of view stated above that I have considered both the memorandum and the reply.

1. Note to Rajasthan Government and the Kshatriya Mahasabha, Jaipur, 15 October 1953. JN Collection.
2. The Rajasthan Land Reforms and Resumption of Jagirs Act, 1952, came into effect on 18 February 1952. Upon objections from a section of Jagirdars, the Rajasthan High Court issued a stay order. The matter was referred to Nehru for arbitration, who in turn asked G.B. Pant to look into the matter.
3. The Rajasthan Kshatriya Mahasabha objected to the amount recommended for compensation in the Act and its mode of payment; the exemption limit fixed for jagirs; and about the rights and interests of the jagirdars after resumption.

4. The Kshatriya Mahasabha raise quite a large number of objections in their memorandum. In fact their general acceptance of Pandit Pant's report is very considerably vitiated by their numerous objections to it. All the points referred by them were carefully considered by Pandit Pant before he gave his decision. Normally speaking, that should be considered final. If any minor change is sought to be made or any other matter raised, the proper course would be for it to be referred to Pandit Pant himself for his advice, as he is fully seized of all these matters. But there would be little point in doing so when he has already considered it fully.

5. One of the principal points raised by the jagirdars is in regard to the mode of payment. They claim that half of the compensation should be given to them in the first instalment and the rest in ten half-yearly instalments through negotiable bonds. This is not a matter of principle, but of finance and resources. I have no doubt that it will be advantageous to the jagirdars to be paid fifty per cent in the first instalment. But this is patently beyond the capacity of the Rajasthan Government at present,⁴ nor is it likely that the Central Government can find this large sum for this purpose. I cannot, therefore, say that the Rajasthan Government must pay any sum beyond the ten per cent as a first instalment. If any further sum can possibly be paid to them, I shall be glad. I am sure that the Rajasthan Government is itself sympathetic and would like to go as far as possible, subject to capacity.

6. The whole approach of our land policy is to remove intermediaries in land and to give full rights to the actual tillers of the soil. All tenancy legislation in various parts of India has been aimed to this end. It has been agreed, however, that all lands, which were in the continuous personal cultivation of jagirdars upto the year 1948, and from which the jagirdars have been unable to eject their tenants because of the Rajasthan Protection of Tenants Ordinance, 1949, should be restored to the jagirdars for personal cultivation. But this cannot be extended to the ejectment of tenants from other lands which have been occupied by them for a long time. Jagirdars of such lands may take unoccupied lands in the locality or elsewhere.

7. Any widespread ejectment of tenants must be avoided as being contrary to public policy.

8. Compensation to jagirdars should take into account the improvements which have resulted in higher rates from irrigated lands.

9. Pandit Pant has reduced the scale of administrative charges to flat rate of ten per cent. I understand that the Rajasthan Government is prepared to

4. The Rajasthan Government maintained that the financial implications of the Mahasabha's demands were beyond its resources unless the Government of India was prepared to give a loan of the requisite amount at 2.5 per cent, which was the rate of interest they had agreed to pay on compensation.

amend the present mode of deducting administrative charges by adopting the pattern of the UP Zamindari Abolition Act, which has been upheld by the Supreme Court.

10. I am not referring to some other matters which, I think, have been disposed of adequately by Pandit Pant. This question has been pending for a long time. In effect, this delay has been to the advantage of the jagirdars, as they have been deriving income from the jagirs during this period. Quite rightly the Rajasthan Government has tried their utmost to bring about this important and vital reform by mutual agreement. The argument must have some finality and must end now. It should end on the basis of Pandit Pant's report, except for the minor changes suggested.

11. It is of course always open to the Rajasthan Government to agree to any minor variation, if it so chooses.⁵

5. The dispute between the Rajasthan Government and the jagirdars could not be resolved and finally the Act was amended in 1954.

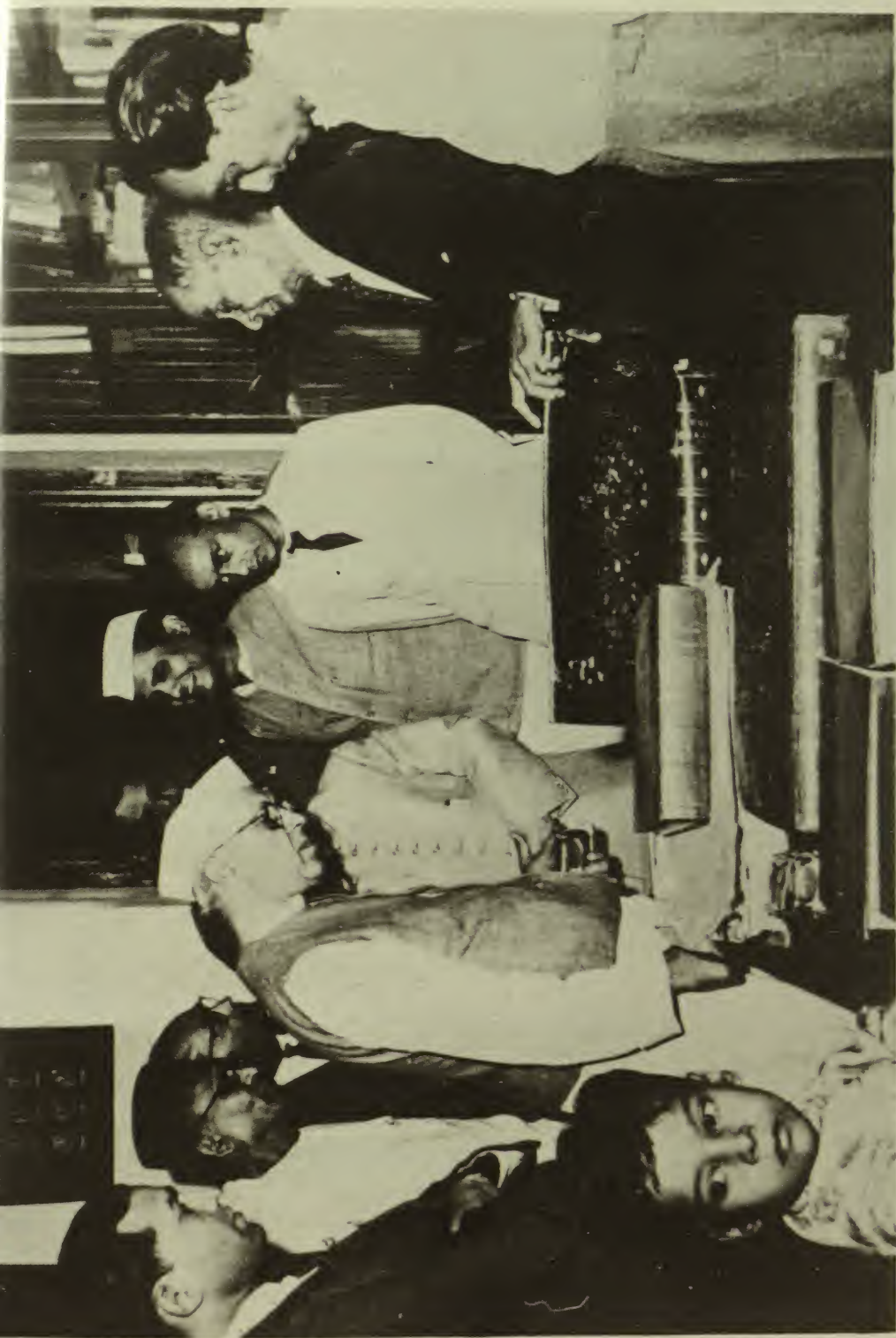
2. Land Ceiling¹

Question: What about ceilings on land holdings?

Jawaharlal Nehru: You read the Planning Commission Report. Ultimately one could not lay down any general application of the principle which had been accepted because conditions in different States are not the same. We left it to them. We have one difficulty. We have not got a proper land census and that we are proceeding to get.

Q: Is there any finality about this question of ceilings on present holdings for, in the last Agriculture Ministers' Conference, certain statements were made which gave the impression that the question was an open one.²

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 15 November 1953. From the Press Information Bureau. For other parts of the press conference, see post, 424-427, 515-517 and 622-624 pp.
2. The AICC session at Agra in July 1953 called upon the State Governments to take immediate steps to collect land data and the fixation of ceilings on landholdings with a view to redistributing the land among the landless workers. But the Agricultural Ministers' Conference fought shy of the issue and its President, Punjabrao Deshmukh, the Union Minister for Agriculture, opposed the basic principle of fixing ceilings on existing landholdings and advocated the abandonment of that policy.



AT THE KHUDA BAKSH ORIENTAL PUBLIC LIBRARY, PATNA, 1 NOVEMBER 1953



AT THE SITE OF BHAKRA-NANGAL, 8 NOVEMBER 1953

JN: It is the definite opinion of the Planning Commission but you see difficulties arise.

Q: Is this question binding on all State Governments or is it open?

JN: The principle has been laid down. The application is naturally left to the State Governments in regard to the actual ceiling or the timing of the applying of the ceiling. The ceiling may be higher or lower. It depends upon the circumstance and always the overriding consideration is that food production should not go down.

In Punjab, I may tell you, I went to the community projects—Navanshahr, and I was surprised to see how food production was going up very rapidly. Some very excellent farmers, refugees, have come over from Lyallpur area, first grade farmers and the way they have developed this area is extraordinary.

I hope I am not wrong; he was one of these Sikh farmers and got forty maunds of wheat from an acre. Good land no doubt but it was chiefly the man himself who did it. All these factors have to be considered. I believe he had a farm of sixty acres. Now, I would not like to break that up when I see a fine piece of work being done in the sixty acres, not only wheat but all kinds of things are farmed there. I just would not like to break up into little farms. Production has to be taken into consideration but our general policy is to have ceilings and to distribute the land wherever possible.

Q: Is the fixation of ceilings on lands to await the completion of the land census by the Planning Commission?

JN: No, we do not do it; it is for the State Governments to take action. They have taken action in some places; that action may be temporary and may be further action will be taken after the land census is complete.

REORGANIZATION OF STATES

1. Rationale of Reorganization¹

The process for the re-distribution of States on a linguistic basis has begun and let us do it well and thoroughly. Let us not be afraid of it or be sorry about it. It is a historic development which is taking place, or going to take place, all over India in various shapes or forms. However, this problem should have waited till the other processes of consolidation in India have taken place. I would have preferred that this process of refashioning the provinces and States of India was postponed or delayed till we had built the country with a solid foundation....

There are demands for linguistic States in South India² and in western India.³ They cannot be treated in isolation. Let us, for instance, take the demand for a Maharashtra State. The Maharashtrians are a fine and virile community among the people of India. There is nothing wrong in their desire for a Maharashtra province. But, as soon as we begin to consider this problem, we can see how many questions arise. The first naturally is that the Bombay State will have to be broken up which would lead to other consequences.

This applies to Karnataka also.⁴ The Kannadigas want a State, and I sympathize with them and there is no reason why they should not have it. There is more reason on their side than on the side of many others. But Karnataka by itself is not a simple issue. If you consider the problem, Mysore

1. Address to Congress legislators and workers, Chennai, 2 October 1953. From *The Hindu*, 3 October 1953. Extracts.
2. The main claim advanced on behalf of the Madras State was for the addition of the Tamil-speaking areas of nine taluks of Travancore-Cochin. The areas to which claims had been made on behalf of Kerala were the districts of Malabar, South Kanara, and Nilgiris, Coorg and the Amindive and Laccadive Islands.
3. The Marathi-speaking people spread out in the States of Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and Hyderabad demanded a Samyukta (united) Maharashtra State that would include large parts of all these States. The Gujaratis, who opposed the inclusion of the city of Bombay within the Maharashtra State, demanded a consolidated Gujarati State that would include large areas of Bombay, along with the States of Saurashtra and Kutch.
4. In the provincial distribution under the British, the Kannadigas were dispersed over a number of States. They were reduced to the position of ineffective minorities in three out of four units. The claim of Kannada-speaking areas for unification and formation of a Karnataka State had been recognized.

comes into the picture.⁵ Bombay,⁶ Madhya Pradesh⁷ and Berar⁸ also come into it. We cannot just say: "You can have Karnataka province and there it is." The whole of central and south India will be shaken up. Therefore, we have to consider the picture in its entirety.

If we look at Rayalaseema or the Bellary district, there are areas which are bi-lingual. If we look at the question as if some national boundary is being drawn up between one nation and another, passions are roused and people are excited about it. When we think of Karnataka, Maharashtra or any other State, we will find that all kinds of overlappings, linguistic and cultural, will arise in many ways and a hundred and one problems will also face us.

The biggest problem is economic. We talk a great deal, and rightly, about the economic problem. The principal question is the economic issue of raising the standard of our people and getting rid of unemployment and poverty. If this is the biggest problem, should we do something which comes in the way of a solution of it or delay it? It is an important consideration. That is why I say, language, though an important factor, is not the overriding factor. The other factors have to be considered.

It is for this reason that we are going to appoint a high-powered commission to go into these matters. I have always thought of the appointment of such a commission because I do not think that we should accept everything as it was

5. Since Karnataka areas outside the State of Mysore were regarded as underdeveloped and were likely to have a financial deficit, opposition had grown in the last two or three years to the unification of Mysore with other Karnataka areas. It was claimed that Mysore State had a distinct administrative and cultural tradition. Some of the legislators from Mysore had given a memorandum to Nehru in January 1953 expressing views against the formation of a Karnataka State with Mysore as an integral part.
6. The formation of a Karnataka State involved the separation of the Karnataka districts from the existing Bombay State. The demand for further division of the State came firstly from the sponsors of the movement for samyukta Maharashtra and secondly from a section of the Gujarati-speaking population. Linked with these demands was the future of the Marathawada areas of Hyderabad, the eight Marathi-speaking districts of Madhya Pradesh and the city of Bombay, where, owing to its multilingual character and its importance as a centre of trade and business, the question required serious consideration.
7. If the eight Marathi-speaking districts of Madhya Pradesh were to become a part of the separated Maharashtra State, the question of the future of the remaining districts of the State had to be considered along with the future of the other Hindi-speaking units of Central India, namely, Vindhya Pradesh, Bhopal and Madhya Bharat.
8. The four districts of Berar Akola, Amravati, Buldana and Yeotmal, were Marathi-speaking districts in the present State of Madhya Pradesh. There was a demand for the separation of the Marathi-speaking areas from the rest of the Hindi-speaking areas of Madhya Pradesh. The question whether this separation should lead to the formation of Maha-Vidarbha or the integration of this area with a larger Marathi-speaking unit had assumed importance.

in India today. But certainly I had hoped that the appointment of such a commission would be delayed for at least ten years till independent India settles down and that we can take up the cutting up of States in a slightly different way.

We came to the conclusion that it was better we did not delay the matter. If by delay one merely keeps the people's mind in ferment, it is not worthwhile. So, we have decided to go ahead with this commission.

I hope that the commission will be appointed in the course of this year and that it will go ahead with its work quietly and dispassionately. How far the commission will be able to do its work in such a manner depends upon other people. Anyhow, it is my intention that the commission should work in that way, and take into consideration the picture of India as a whole.

I am not prepared to consider linguistic provinces singly. But I am prepared to consider here and now the whole of India, how the reorganization of States can be carried out keeping in mind all factors, and keeping in view linguistic, cultural and other matters, so that the commission can put before India a full picture...

The business of linguistic provinces narrows our outlook and makes us less conscious of India and more conscious of our States or provinces. If this is the result, it is a bad result. The overriding consciousness of the people must be of the country as a whole. It is what is called national consciousness. Otherwise, you become narrow and provincial. If in each State, people become narrow or have an awareness only of their own State, it is bad. We have to guard against it....

I am not tied up to any area. India is big enough or small enough for me. I am perfectly at home in any part of India. Personally, it does not make any difference to me. But the question is whether our own area has increased our awareness of India, because our future depends absolutely on the growth of the awareness of Indian unity. We are having it politically, but more than that, we must have psychological and emotional awareness....

Nothing should be done to weaken the fabric of India. It is manifest that if we succeed purely on some kind of linguistic basis and not on any other, we may make ridiculous divisions from the economic and administrative points of view. One has to accept a ridiculous division as between nations, because national boundaries are the result of historic incidents or war. But there is no reason why we should have absurd divisions—economically and administratively—merely to satisfy some urge for what is called a common language area. We want to develop all languages. Now as the policy has been put before the country quite clearly by the proposed appointment of a commission to go into the whole matter, it seems to me that it is completely unnecessary and wrong for people to go on agitating for this linguistic State or the other. It has no meaning. Shouting of slogans and passing of resolutions

demanding this or that reminds one certainly of what we did under the British rule. It is not quite fitting in a free country to do so. The matter has been decided. It is a complicated process disrupting institutions, boundaries, administrative functions of all kinds, whether civil or military. Everything is disrupted when we change the map of India....

I want you to look at the problem of administrative division from this point of view. I have accepted the idea of reorganization of India. Long before the Constitution was drawn up, it was my idea that India should be divided into a hundred States and that we should be done with it. I do not like big States, coming as I do from the biggest of them. But I am opposed to the type of emotional slogan-raising approach to the problem I see, and I am still more opposed vitally and unalterably to the hunger striking approach to this problem....

2. Scope of the Commission¹

As you know, we have to appoint what we have called a high-powered Commission for the redistribution of the States in India. We have stated that this would be done some time after the establishment of the Andhra State. No date was mentioned, but I have indicated that there would be no great delay in this appointment and that, in all probability, the Commission would be appointed by the end of this year.²

2. In appointing this Commission, we have to consider very carefully:

- i. the composition of the Commission, and
- ii. the functions and terms of reference of the Commission.

3. This matter will, of course, come up before the Cabinet formally. But, in view of its importance, it is necessary that each one of us should give previous thought to it. About three weeks ago I addressed a number of Chief Ministers

1. Note to Cabinet Ministers, New Delhi, 12 October 1953. C.D. Deshmukh Papers, NMML.
2. On 22 December 1953, Nehru made a statement in Parliament that a Commission would be appointed to examine the question of the reorganization of the States in the Indian Union. See *post*, pp. 253-254. This Commission was constituted on 29 December 1953. It consisted of Saiyid Fazl Ali, Governor of Orissa, as chairman and Hriday Nath Kunzru, Member of the Council of States and K.M. Panikkar, Ambassador of Egypt, as members.

and some Governors on this subject.¹ I enclose a copy of the letter I sent them as this will indicate to you how my mind was working at the time.

4. I shall be grateful if you will give thought to this and write to me about it directly so that I could have the benefit of your views. Later some kind of a summary for the Cabinet would be prepared for consideration by the Cabinet.

5. If possible, I should like a decision to be arrived at by the end of November so that we can announce it in Parliament which will then be sitting.

3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol.23, pp. 200-201.

3. To S. Nijalingappa¹

New Delhi
28th October, 1953

My dear Nijalingappa,²

... I thought I had made the position quite clear to you when you and some of your colleagues came to see me in Parliament House.³ I have said nothing in Bombay, Kurnool, Madras or Coimbatore which in any way modifies what I told you. I have been laying stress everywhere on the inter-relation of these

1. File No. 7(99)/48-PMS. Extracts.

2. S. Nijalingappa, President of the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee, in his letter of 17 October 1953 to Nehru, said that "your recent statements in Andhra, Kerala and at Coimbatore, Madras and Bombay had created a feeling that the Government are not in earnest about the problem. Your statement in Bombay that the problem of Karnataka cannot be isolated and that among the problems to be solved the problem of Mysore is also one, that has strengthened that feeling." He also wanted to know the terms of reference of the commission to be appointed for the reorganization of States.

3. Members of Parliament from Karnataka had an interview with Nehru on 14 September 1953 in Delhi in which they explained that the demand for a separate State was raised by all sections of the Karnataka people and the issue involved only the addition to the already existing Mysore State, the areas inhabited by Kannada-speaking people and contiguous parts. Nehru conceded that the formation of Karnataka was probably easier than any other case in view of Mysore's favourable attitude, but added that the Government had to approach the problem from the all-India point of view. The creation of Karnataka State would, in his opinion; necessarily have some consequences on the adjoining parts of Maharashtra, Gujarat, etc., and would give rise to new problems.

various problems not only in the south of India but even elsewhere. Therefore, the matter can only be considered as a whole and not in bits. It is for that purpose that we are going to appoint a high-powered commission.

The inter-relation of these problems does not mean that none of them can be settled till all are settled. It simply means that the whole picture should be seen and then steps may be taken in particular places where the problems are relatively simple. That step has to be seen in the context of the whole. Thus, speaking personally, and I think most of my colleagues would agree with this, the question of Karnataka province is by itself not only a simpler problem than many, but is something that in principle has been accepted for some considerable time. But, in giving effect to that particular question, immediately one comes up against the problem of splitting up Bombay State and the formation of other States even apart from Karnataka. Thus, this problem has to be considered as a whole. The mere act of Karnataka going out of Bombay State, which is not particularly difficult, has a consequence on other States which has to be considered and provided for. The question of Bombay city is undoubtedly difficult, but the fact that a question is difficult, does not mean that it should not be tackled or solved, or that it should come in the way of others.

The whole point is that all these questions should be considered together so as to produce a reasonable and more or less logical picture. Even when certain principles are agreed to, the actual reorganization is a highly complicated matter. If we start something without giving due thought to all aspects, then we get stuck up in these difficulties. In fact, instead of speed, we are involved in greater delay. Therefore, we have decided on the procedure, we are following, of the high-powered commission.

As I have said above, Karnataka's claim for a separate State is not only well-known, but is generally accepted. The question is in what manner to give effect to it. I do not think that Mysore offers much difficulty.

I cannot give you any terms of reference for the high-powered commission. I can only repeat what I told you that it will have the fullest discretion to go into every matter and to make recommendations. My own view is that they should consider broad principles and come to some general conclusions first, before going deeply into the details. If those broad conclusions are later accepted, then it is easy to go into details according to some priorities.

I must say that I do not understand the apprehension of some of our friends in Karnataka over this issue. Everything that can possibly be done about this is going to be done in the proper way. To try to do it improperly would only create difficulties for them as well as us.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To Ajit Singh¹

New Delhi
October 28, 1953

Dear Sardar Ajit Singh,²

I have your letter of October 27th.³

In this you say that you do not believe in any commission to be appointed, but only believe in my personality and convictions. This might be considered a compliment to me and I am grateful for your good opinion about me. But I am functioning in a democratic set-up in India and not as an autocrat. I am Prime Minister because Parliament so wills it. I cannot function in defiance of Parliament or act in any manner which would indicate that I am bypassing the wishes of Parliament.

It has been announced in Parliament, and generally agreed, that a high-powered commission should be appointed to consider the question of reorganization of States in India. I have told you already that this commission will have perfect freedom to consider this subject in all its aspects and to make its recommendations. It is only then that my colleagues in Government and I can decide what we should put before Parliament and the country. The final decision will naturally be that of Parliament. It is not possible, and indeed it would be improper, for me to act in any other way. I should have thought that you would appreciate this obvious democratic procedure.

If I came to important decisions because of some particular pressure exercised on me, that would be an act of irresponsibility on my part and I would not be worthy of being Prime Minister of this great country.

I trust that you will appreciate my attitude and the reasons for it and explain it to Jathedar Sampuran Singh Raman.

You can certainly release our correspondence to the press.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. A Member of Parliament from Pepsu.
3. Ajit Singh had informed Nehru of the decision of Sampuran Singh Raman, President, Shiromani Riasati Akali Dal, Pepsu, to fast unto death if the demand for a Punjabi-speaking State was not agreed to by the Government of India.

5. The Primacy of the Nation¹

... I am sorry some people are in the habit of thinking in small ways. Those people are unaware of the great things that are happening in our country and the great work of reconstruction that is going on. I must say that those who talk of small things cannot become big and only those who are big can talk of bigger things. Let me say here that I am not going to be deterred in my mission and my desire to serve the people of India and reconstruct a new India of my dream, whatever the threats which may be given from any quarters. I do not mind any persons throwing a few pamphlets on me.² That does not injure me at all. But such threats cannot make me leave the path which I wish to follow. I believe that the best interests of the country and the people are to be served by following that path.

I will concede the right of thinking independently to everyone, for I do not believe that the whole people of India will think in one way. I am not in favour of having 'yes-men' only, but when we think, we must all think in terms of what is in the best interest of India.

It is a privilege to have lived in this age. We struggled and fell down. We got up again to go along our path. We fell again. But we were up again in the service of our cause and we continued to tread the path which ultimately resulted in the breaking of the shackles which tied India down to subjugation. Many thought that we had been defeated, but it was never so. Every time we fell down we got up again with greater strength and with greater devotion to serve the cause of our country.

I am astonished to see a few people in the Punjab who are thinking in a small way. I ask them to remember always that India is one of the big nations of the world today and Indians are expected to think and act in a noble way. We have to think with a larger perspective and work for the larger interests of the country.

The people in this country profess different religions. Each of these religions is part and parcel of our life and if we neglect one, our social life is incomplete. But religion is a matter for the individual and should not be mixed up with politics. Moreover, our old society has kept a section of the society subjugated socially and economically. They have been crushed and oppressed. We are now determined to remove this social injustice. This cannot be done by legislation

1. Speech at a public meeting in Ludhiana, 8 November 1953. From *The Tribune*, 9 November 1953. Extracts.
2. Some pro-Akali Sikhs had raised slogans and thrown pamphlets at the cars that carried Nehru and others, asking for a Punjabi-speaking State and equal treatment for Sikh Scheduled Castes with Hindu Scheduled Castes.

alone; our attitude towards the downtrodden has to be changed. But this will naturally take time because in a democracy the time factor is inevitable.

It will be utterly wrong to think that people of one religion or one province are being discriminated against. We will allow no discriminatory treatment to anyone. Every person in this country, to whatever religion he may belong, will get the same rights as any other.

There are some fundamental points that cannot be lost sight of. One of them is the unity of India. Unity of India must be upheld at all costs, and for this, communalism and provincialism must be combated.

Formation of provinces is an administrative necessity and cannot be done at the cost of country's interest which is supreme....

On the one hand there are great river valley and community development projects and on the other there is the building up of the capital at Chandigarh. On their completion not only the people of the Punjab but that of the country as a whole would benefit. I expect the people to give due importance to these developments, which will change the shape of things....

You have to be courageous. We cannot make any progress if we are afraid of taking a step. Chicken-hearted people who think and act in narrow grooves can never comprehend bigger issues. Those who take a larger view of things can only take a big stride. Gandhiji had taught us to be great in our thought and action and flashes from his greatness gave us life.

After centuries of subjugation, not only India has regained freedom but the whole of Asia is regaining independence. European countries came to Asia, entrenched themselves here and imposed tyranny. But it has vanished now and whoever still remains will have to follow suit. India ultimately succeeded, in spite of several setbacks, because we had courage and faith....

6. To the Presidents of Pradesh Congress Committees¹

New Delhi

November 14, 1953

Dear friend,

I am addressing you on a matter which has caused me much concern. As you know, Government has decided to appoint a high-powered commission for the reorganization of States. We came to this conclusion, because it was not practicable to deal with this problem in an isolated way. The only way to look upon it was to take the whole picture of India and then consider this problem in all its aspects. It is not only for Government to proceed in this way, but for

1. File Nos G-40(ii)1953, and P-27, 1953 AICC Papers, NMML.

the people generally in India to have some realization of every aspect of this problem as well as of the consequences that flow from it. The decisions then taken would be far sounder than odd and separate decisions.

This decision having been arrived at and publicly announced, it has surprised me that any person, and much more so Congressmen, should carry on agitations on this subject. This seems to me not only unbecoming, but harmful. The Congress Working Committee has in fact called upon Congressmen not to agitate in this matter, as the way to a full consideration is open now.² Therefore, for Congressmen to agitate is to go against the clear advice of the Congress Working Committee and might almost be considered a breach of decorum and discipline.

I realize that there are strong feelings in this matter. But strong feelings do not yield results unless they are properly directed and controlled by judgment and discretion. Indeed, because there are strong feelings, we have to proceed with a good deal of caution and tolerance. It is not a question of strong feelings on one side, but conflicting feelings. Hence the necessity for careful consideration and forbearance and restraint.

You are fully aware of the state of the world today. It is full of dangerous possibilities and we can never relax and imagine that our safety and freedom are secure. Within our country there are very difficult economic problems, unemployment and the like. There are powerful disruptive tendencies, communal, provincial, caste and even some political. It has been the chief virtue of the Congress to unify the country and to supply that cementing force which led to our great movement for freedom. It is the principal business of the Congress today to continue to be that cementing and unifying force. If the Congress, or congressmen, pull in different ways, the unity of the organization is affected and that will immediately react on the unity of the country.

Therefore, it is of essential importance for us to see things in proper perspective and not allow ourselves to be swept away by some passion or feeling, however right that feeling might be. We must behave as a mature organization and a mature nation.

I would beg of you, therefore, to pay particular attention to this aspect of the matter and check in every way these tendencies towards separatist activities. In particular, I want you to check agitations for linguistic provinces when it is clear that the question is going to be considered in the most appropriate way possible.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. The Congress Working Committee in a resolution on 20 September 1953 appealed to the people to refrain from any agitation for the formation of new States or for changes in the existing boundaries of States. The Committee felt that if the Commission, which the Government of India proposed to appoint, was to discharge its duties satisfactorily, a calm atmosphere should prevail.

7. To S. Fazl Ali¹

New Delhi

16th November, 1953

My dear Fazl Ali,

You know that we have been giving a great deal of thought to the proposed commission for the reorganization of States. I wrote² to you on this subject and you replied to me making some suggestions.

The subject is of the highest importance and, in fact, it means the drawing up of a new map of India, perhaps. It requires a combination of all kinds of abilities plus tact. Therefore, we have been much concerned at the choice of names for this commission. I have repeatedly stated that we shall announce this commission this year, that is, before the end of December.

It is our present intention to have a small commission of three persons, a Chairman and two other Members. As for the terms of reference, they should be of the broadest character.³

After giving the fullest thought to this matter, we feel that we shall ask you to become the Chairman of this Commission. I hope you will agree. We have not decided about the other two names yet. Indeed, we should like to consult you about them before finalizing them.

It is rather difficult for me to say how long this Commission will take to do its work. It may take anything from one year to two years.

For the present, the only persons I have consulted about this matter are the President and Dr. Katju, and they are both of the same opinion as I am, and would like you to accept this very responsible post.

I must, of course, write about this to your Chief Minister, Nabakrushna Chaudhury, also. I am, therefore, writing to him.⁴ But I am asking him, as I must ask you, to keep this matter entirely secret. You may, of course, discuss it with him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Not printed.

3. The Government of India vested the States Reorganization Commission with full discretion to consider any proposal or principle bearing on reorganization. The Government indicated four principles which should govern the consideration of the problem: (i) preservation and strengthening of the unity and security of India; (ii) linguistic and cultural homogeneity; (iii) financial, economic and administrative considerations; and (iv) successful working of the national plan.

4. Not printed.

8. To S. Fazl Ali¹

New Delhi
November 25, 1953

My dear Fazl Ali,

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd November.²

I am glad you are agreeable to accept the Chairmanship of the Commission on the Reorganization of State (please do not call it "the Boundary Commission").

I should very much like you to return to Orissa as Governor after you have finished your work in the Commission. That is my present intention. But it is a little difficult to be quite certain as to what the position might be at that stage. Indeed, the recommendations of your Commission might lead to new problems. Therefore, there is an element of uncertainty about the future of all matters. But, subject to this, I should like you to go back to Orissa, unless there is some special work demanding your attention.

The disputes between Bihar and Orissa and Bihar and Bengal need not trouble you or us. Some arrangement can be made about them. They are very minor in the context of India. What you and your Commission will have to do will be something on a very big scale. We have not finalized our terms of reference yet. We shall do so after consulting you. But, as I think I wrote to you, we want to word them as widely as possible to give the Commission a large discretion to recommend almost any change in India.

The major problems which the Commission will have to face will be in South India and Western India. There are the questions of Karnataka and Maharashtra and, to some extent, Kerala. Whichever of these problems is tackled, and more especially Maharashtra and Karnataka, a number of other States are immediately affected. Thus, if we take up Karnataka, it affects Bombay and Mysore immediately. Also perhaps Hyderabad. If we take up Maharashtra, Bombay and Madhya Pradesh are affected. Anything that results in splitting up the present Bombay State has many consequences.

These are the major problems. Then you have some demands in the North. There is the demand for a Punjabi-speaking province.³ There is Pepsu which,

1. JN Collection. A copy was sent to Kailas Nath Katju.
2. Accepting the chairmanship of the Commission for the Reorganization of States, Fazl Ali wrote that because of his long association with Bihar, he would not consider it desirable to concern himself with deciding territorial disputes to which Bihar was a party.
3. In Punjab, the Akali Dal was agitating for the separation of Punjabi-speaking areas from the Hindi-speaking parts of the State. But the Central Government resisted this demand as it considered that the demand was based on religious rather than linguistic grounds.



ADDRESSING A CONFERENCE OF AFRICAN STUDENTS, NEW DELHI, 26 DECEMBER 1953



ADDRESSING THE INAUGURAL MEETING OF THE UNIVERSITY GRANTS COMMISSION, NEW DELHI,
28 DECEMBER 1953

as it is, is rather absurd with little bits and patches all over.⁴ There are the questions of small areas like Ajmer,⁵ Bhopal,⁶ Coorg,⁷ etc. There is a controversy about Abu.⁸ And there are various boundary disputes.

There is also the further question of whether every State should necessarily have the entire paraphernalia of Governor, High Court, Public Service Commission, etc., or whether it might be preferable to have a number of smaller States joined together for this purpose. Generally speaking, I am not very much in favour of huge States. It is quite possible that in the future they might develop into powerful autonomous units, something like satrapis. On the other hand, small States are top heavy and their economic development is difficult. It might be possible for large areas to be held together in a region for economic and some other purposes.

The primary considerations must necessarily be the unity and security of the country plus the economic development. Security specially applies to the border areas. For instance, if you consider the Punjab, obviously we have to take into consideration a number of special factors. There is also the North East Frontier Agency which is largely forest and hilly lands and wholly undeveloped. All kinds of frontier problems come up there. The Assam Government wants to have it under its control but it is really a semi-military

4. Pepsu, the smallest Part B State, was an artificial unit of five disconnected areas which were surrounded mostly by the territories of Punjab. The Government of the State contended that having regard to the special background against which this State was created, the *status quo* should not be disturbed. But there were demands from time to time for merger in the adjoining areas, the outlying enclaves of Kapurthala and Mohindergharh and the hilly tracts of the State.
5. Ajmer was a one-district Part C State surrounded on all sides by Rajasthan. The question of its merger in a larger unit had been raised from time to time since 1921, when a committee went into it. The Rajasthan Government had urged that the linguistic, cultural and geographical links of Ajmer with Rajasthan must be respected.
6. The State of Bhopal owed its separate existence to a commitment made to the Ruler, at the time of the merger of the States, that it would be administered as a Chief Commissioner's province for five years. This period had now expired and, therefore, there was no difficulty in the way of the merger of Bhopal with Madhya Pradesh for the economic development of the region.
7. Coorg had retained its separate existence as a Part C State. The affiliations of the State were however predominantly with Karnataka because 35 per cent of its population were Kannada-speaking.
8. As a result of an order, issued by the Governor-General on 25 January 1950, a number of villages in the Abu Road and Dilwara tehsils of the Sirohi State became part of the Bombay State. The remaining portion of the Sirohi State merged in Rajasthan. As this decision was resented by the leaders of Rajasthan, an announcement was made in Parliament in October 1951 that the Government of India proposed to reconsider the matter. The Government of Bombay was not in favour of reopening the decision reached in January 1950.

area and the Central Government is much more likely to develop it than the Assam Government can possibly do.

I imagine that before you enter into what might be called the boundary question, you will have to form some broad picture in your mind about the problem as a whole and how to approach it. After that you may have to vary that picture because of practical considerations.

You will see thus that the question is something far more than that relating to boundaries and, therefore, I do not like the description of the Commission as one relating to boundaries. You may very well suggest something which changes the map of India internally.

The Secretary of the Commission must certainly be a person of competence and I think it is only right that he should be a person whom you approve of. As a matter of fact, I want to consult you about the two other Members of the Commission also. We have not decided about any one yet, though we have a number of names in our list.

I might tell you that I rather doubt if Supreme Court Judges or High Court Judges are particularly suited for this kind of work, however good they might be as Judges. Essentially this is not a legal or constitutional problem, but a political problem requiring a statesman's outlook and not that of a Judge only. You have the advantage of having been in the Supreme Court and the High Court, but your vision is much broader. Therefore I think that the other two Members should not be Judges, unless there is some very special and outstanding personality particularly suited for this work. The two names⁹ you have mentioned are good people but I rather doubt that in this particular matter they would be wholly suitable.

Another difficulty arises. Because the most important problems before you would relate to the south, it is difficult to appoint a person from the South to the Commission. Almost every prominent man has got some definite views on the subject which he has expressed already. Our choice therefore gets progressively limited.

I shall write to you further on this subject.

Your Chief Minister has informed me that he is agreeable to your accepting the work on the Commission.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. Fazl Ali had suggested that either S.R. Das, a Judge of the Supreme Court, or C.C. Biswas, the Union Law Minister, be considered as the second member of the Commission.

9. To Shankarrao Deo¹

New Delhi
November 26, 1953

My dear Shankarrao,

I must ask you to forgive me for the delay in answering your letter which is dated 4th November, but which reached me many days later.² Just about the time it came to me, I was being overwhelmed by a vast number of letters and telegrams conveying greetings on my birthday. I have not yet got out of this sea of congratulations.

When I saw your letter a few days ago for the first time and read the first page of it, I felt that I should deal with it at some leisure later. Your letter, you will remember, is a fairly long one of 12 typed foolscap pages and so I put it by then. It was only last evening that, in re-arranging my papers, I took it out and read it in full.

You refer to what you call the fundamental difference between your outlook on life and mine. Perhaps, you are right. But I rather doubt if that has much to do with the question you discuss in your letter, namely, the re-distribution of provinces on the basis of language and culture. Even in discussing this question, in effect you lay stress on the future of the city of Bombay.

I am indeed sorry if, as you say, my attitude in this matter has given cause for irritation, vexation and misery to thousands of our countrymen and that I have shown perversity in my approach to this question. It is always difficult, of course, to sit in judgment on oneself. I can, therefore, say nothing about my own perversity, if there has been any such thing in my dealing with this question of linguistic provinces. To my mind this question, as all questions, was one of priority. I am not at all wedded to the present provincial divisions of India. I think there is great room for improvement and change. But I did think that this question could be tackled in a better way after the lapse of some time and not immediately, as you suggest, after the coming of independence. You know

1. File No. PG-29/1953-55, AICC Papers, NMML.

2. Shankarrao Deo wrote: "The wrong and perverse turn which this movement for linguistic provinces has taken is greatly your responsibility... Your spacious pleading against linguistic provinces is perhaps due to your preconceived notions.... Your persistent opposition to the disintegration of Hyderabad appears extremely strange to me... You view that there is a synthesis of culture in that State. But the pattern of culture obtained in Hyderabad is very artificial and it can be looked at as a degenerated and morbid phase of the Indian culture. I feel that the diversity of Indian culture would be greatly damaged if linguistic, social and cultural forces are fused together with the imposition of governmental or administrative authority."

well the nature of the problems we have faced during these last six years immediately after Independence came, the after-effects of Partition and the tremendous upheaval in North India and, to some extent, in East India. Soon after, there came the Kashmir conflict and military operations. Then the Hyderabad police action. These are some major things I mention. There were, of course, innumerable other things. It is possible that my judgment in regard to the priorities was not correct. After all, I can only proceed on my own judgment. During these earlier years, in all such matters, I naturally paid the greatest attention to Sardar Patel's views and judgment. It so happened that he felt much more strongly than even I did over this question of priority. I am not referring to his other views in this matter.

Apart from priorities, there was the question of doing a thing in such a way as to lead to satisfactory results. Even a right thing done at a wrong time, and in a wrong way, might lead to great upsets, ill-will, and trails of bitterness being left behind. I was in search of a time and a way when this could be done without, as far as possible, all these evil consequences. It is possible, of course, to say that I misjudged the situation and gave wrong priorities.

The coming of Independence was a very major event in our history and in our national life. The fact that it came, in a sense, cooperatively and peacefully was a great advantage. Nevertheless, it was a very big change in every aspect of our national life. Perhaps, most people do not realize this, but a little thought will show how it affected our whole administrative structure. Large numbers of foreigners in our military and civil services went away. Equally large numbers of persons went to Pakistan. Everything was split up—the administration, communications, services, Army, Navy, Air Force, canal water systems, railways, telephone and telegraphs, etc. It was not an easy matter to settle down. And all this occurred, you will remember, after the great strain of the Second World War which itself had brought far-reaching consequences. Obviously, the first thing to be done was to settle down and get a grip of this new situation.

Meanwhile, with the coming of Independence, inevitably, and possibly rightly, all kinds of new forces were released. New urges, new demands and new expectations came to the fore which it was beyond the bounds of possibility to meet speedily.

There was the major question of all, the economic question. This led ultimately to the Planning Commission and Five Year Plan. It is immaterial whether one agrees with that Five Year Plan wholly or not. I am merely pointing out the major problems that faced us and which demanded priority.

As regards the re-alignment of provinces, the question was to me not merely the creation of one, two or three new provinces, which certainly had some justification, but rather the re-shaping of the internal map of India, keeping in view all factors. That would certainly lead to the creation of some new provinces in the South. But it seemed to me most unwise to deal with this question in

bits and patches. Each State is closely inter-related to others. Each step taken inevitably involves numerous other steps and changes. Therefore, the question of the creation of a new State could not be isolated from numerous other questions. We came back, therefore, to the all-India question of re-shaping or re-alignment of States.

Andhra appeared to be the simplest of all without creating too much difficulty. I would have preferred to take that up together with others. But it had a long history behind, and other circumstances made us decide that we might go ahead with it. I might inform you that this decision was taken sometimes before Sriramulu's fast and death. Simple as this case was, even so it has given us a great deal of trouble, and that trouble is not wholly over.

If we took up a more complicated case, that would undoubtedly, even with goodwill, have created a very big upset in South India. Without that goodwill matters would have been much worse. All our attention would have been concentrated on meeting a difficult transitional stage, and opportunities would have been given to individuals or groups, who are out for trouble and disintegration, to play their mischievous part. All our resources would have gone into that, and we would have had to say a long good-bye to planning and economic progress.

You may, of course, say that there are many snags in my argument and there is another side to the picture. That may be so. I am putting before you, very briefly, some of the considerations that weighed in our minds; and I think they were weighty considerations.

If we had undertaken this reshaping of provinces earlier, I have no doubt that the whole business of our drawing up our new Constitution would have been greatly delayed and we would have carried on in a haphazard way without fresh elections and probably with the old Constituent Assembly. We might have functioned in the way Pakistan is functioning now. That is to say, in a fluid condition with no stability or firm basis. That would have been bad and would have come in the way of almost everything that we wanted to do.

You accuse me of constantly decrying provincialism.³ It is true that I refer to the provincial spirit and criticize it. That has little to do with demands for new States or provinces. I decry provincialism in Bihar where there is no such demand or in other provinces. It is the narrow parochial spirit which I think is harmful to our country, whether it takes the form of communalism, provincialism, casteism or the like. We must remember that we are a national

3. Shankarrao Deo wrote: "You never lose an opportunity to carry on a propaganda against the sponsors of the linguistic provinces, by dubbing them as anti-national, parochial and encouraging fissiparous tendencies... People are openly saying that, even if a high-power commission is appointed, the issue would be determined according to what Pandit Jawaharlalji desires and dictates."

unit in India for the first time in history. It is true that culturally there has been a binding force during the ages. But in the present context that kind of cultural unity, though important, is not by itself enough. There has to be an awareness and a conscious realization of national purpose and national unity. Anything that militates against it weakens India. I am not at all in favour of what might be called uniformity. I am always laying stress on the wonderful diversity and variety of India. In fact, I rather doubt if many people realize how wonderful this is. Most of them want to impose their will on other parts of India, thinking that they represent India more than others in other parts. To me the tribal people of the North-East Frontier, who are completely different from us, are as much Indian as anyone else. I see no reason why I should impose my ways upon them.

You refer to my perversity in opposing the disintegration of Hyderabad. Quite apart from the merits of this question, any such move in Hyderabad during the past few years would have shaken up the whole of South India, politically, economically, financially, emotionally and otherwise. I am quite sure this would have been most unwise, even though by some linguistic logic it might be correct. What will happen to Hyderabad, it is for the future to decide.

As for the question of culture, that is a large issue on which, perhaps, we may have different opinions. I am not referring to what might be called the culture obtaining in Hyderabad, but a larger issue. Culture is something broadening and not narrowing. Every addition to one's stock of culture makes it richer. Everything that puts barriers between us and others narrows us and is a lessening of culture. Culture, of course, must have depths and not only extent. I confess that I find that cultural standards India has as a whole today leave much to be desired and compare unfavourably with many countries. Language, of course, is a very important part of culture, but it is not the whole part.

You know that this whole question of reorganization of States is going to be considered by a commission soon and that, for my part, I am not at all opposed to new States being carved out like Karnataka, Maharashtra, etc. Your fear appears to relate to the city of Bombay and you are apprehensive lest I should throw my weight about on this question.⁴ You attach too much importance to my weight in such matters. But apart from this, I am by no means dead clear in my mind as to what should happen to Bombay and I am prepared to be convinced. I refuse to think of isolated cases and want to see the picture of

4. Shankarrao Deo argued the case for the integration of the city of Bombay in Maharashtra on the grounds that it did not deserve to be treated differently from other important multilingual cities like Madras and Calcutta, that it was geographically an integral part of Maharashtra, that if it was deprived of its hinterland, its further growth would be arrested; and that the separation of the city from Maharashtra was administratively not desirable.

the whole of India in the new context and then decide. You will appreciate that there are plenty of people who hold contrary opinions in regard to the city of Bombay. As to which opinion is right and should prevail is a matter for consideration and not of calling each other perverse. That does not help at all.

You may have read of the conflict between Yugoslavia and Italy about the territory of Trieste.⁵ Here is a city with one type of population and the hinterland of another type and there is fierce conflict over it. I have no doubt that much can be said on both sides.

This entire subject is a big one and concerns the whole future of India. We cannot deal with it in a casual way or as advocates of one cause or another. We have to rise above this and decide what is best for our country and our future. I have no fixed opinions, though naturally I have some ideas on the subject. I want more light so that I can consider every aspect and then venture to put forward what my own opinion might be.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. After the Second World War, Trieste had been divided into two zones. Zone A, including the city itself, had been placed under Anglo-US military occupation and Zone B under the Yugoslavs. Fearing annexation of Zone B by Yugoslavia, Italian armoured troops had moved up to the frontier at Gorizia and Italian naval movements had also been reported.

10. To K.M. Panikkar¹

New Delhi
4th December, 1953

My dear Panikkar,

... I have now to put forward before you a very important proposition concerning you. This relates to the proposed commission for the reorganization of States in India. You will realize without my telling you how vital the work of this commission is going to be. It will affect the whole future of India. Some people imagine that this commission is just to decide about some odd demands like that of the Karnataka or Maharashtra or Kerala, etc. But I have been approaching this question from a much wider point of view. Naturally, these demands for

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

so-called linguistic States have to be considered, because they are there. But the more I have thought of this question, the more I have felt convinced that the subject requires an overall and searching scrutiny and cannot be considered in an isolated way for one State here or there. In fact, very basic questions arise, which might and, indeed, will require changes in our Constitution. What kind of States should we have—big ones or small? Should we have relatively small States but with certain common features at the top, thus, common High Court, Governor, Public Service Commission as well as developmental schemes?

Naturally no one can write on a clean slate and it is not an easy matter to upset things as they are too much. But if a crack appears and has to be remedied, we might as well look upon the picture in a bigger way and see what can be done as a whole.

It is our intention, therefore, to give the widest discretion to the proposed Commission to consider the whole problem of India in all its aspects and make their recommendations, whatever they might be. This is a big task and will, no doubt, require time. How long, I cannot say. But I should imagine anything from a year to two years.

Our present intention is to appoint a Commission consisting of three persons only. We would not like them to take public evidence, because that creates unnecessary excitement and extreme forms of advocacy. But the Commission would have the right privately to receive any representations or meet any persons. How they will proceed about it, it will be for them to decide. Probably, apart from our formal terms of reference, we might give an instrument of instructions for the guidance of the Commission.

Naturally the linguistic aspect is there and has to be faced. I would prefer to call it the cultural aspect. The other considerations are, first of all, the unity of India; then the national security and defence; financial considerations and economic progress, which will include our Five Year Plan, developmental schemes, etc.

The major issues would naturally be the demands for Karnataka and Maharashtra, also Kerala. As soon as you touch any of these, a host of other problems arise. Thus, Karnataka or Maharashtra means a splitting up of Bombay State. Mysore is affected. There is the Hyderabad problem.² In regard to Maharashtra, there is Berar, etc. Madhya Pradesh is affected.

There are boundary problems, of course, as between, say, Andhra, Mysore,

2. In Hyderabad three predominant linguistic units—Telugu, Marathi and Kannada—had been brought together forcibly over two centuries ago and kept together artificially under the administration of the Nizam and against the wishes of the people. Public sentiment was insistent on the need for the disintegration of the State on the basis of linguistic and cultural affinities.

Madras and Orissa; similar problems between Orissa and Bihar; between Bengal and Bihar³; a talk of a Punjabi Province; incongruity of Pepsu as it is, and so on. Minor problems relate to Coorg, Ajmer, Bhopal, Abu. But, even before any decisions are taken in regard to this multitude of problems, some broad approach has to be determined, may be this has to be done after some survey.

Anyhow the problem is of reshaping India and that is one of the biggest problems that we can face. I have given a tremendous deal of thought to this question of appointing a commission. I have informally consulted a large number of people, all our Central Ministers, all our Chief Ministers, a number of our Governors, etc. Having done so, the burden of decision has to be undertaken now. I am anxious that we should make an announcement in Parliament before this session concludes, that is, by the 24th December.

As I have said above, I want to have a commission of three only, plus a Secretary, of course, and other staff. After much thought, I wrote to Saiyid Fazl Ali, now Governor of Orissa, and invited him to be the Chairman of this commission. He has accepted. I think he is a very good choice and he has done very well in Orissa. He has a high judicial background, High Court, Supreme Court, etc. Some people thought that we should appoint Judges of the Supreme Court to this commission. I did not agree to this, because the problem is not a judicial problem, but a political one. I have not chosen Fazl Ali so much for his Supreme Court experience, but rather for other qualities. Anyhow, taking it all in all, I think he is an excellent choice. We have now to consider the selection of two others. I want you to be one of the members of this commission. With your wide experience in many fields, national and international, your historical knowledge and insight, I think that you will be able to be of great service in this matter. Indeed, I think that it should appeal to you.

I want you to give full consideration to this and if you agree, as I hope you will, to send me a brief telegram just to say that you have received my letter and you agree with my proposal. You need not refer to it in detail.

I have not mentioned this matter thus far to anyone except to one or two of my colleagues. Therefore, this should be kept absolutely secret. I shall go ahead with it further after receiving your reply.

I am not sure when this commission will start functioning. The sooner, the better. But I take it that it will begin some time late in January.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Orissa claimed Seraikella and Kharsawan in Singhbhum district of Bihar on the ground that Oriya was the largest single language group. West Bengal claimed Manbhum, Purnea and Santhal Parganas districts of Bihar on the grounds of geographical contiguity and river control and irrigation development.

11. To S.G. Vaze¹

New Delhi
December 17, 1953³

My dear Mr. Vaze,²

Hriday Nath Kunzru has spoken to you about my invitation to him to join the commission for the re-distribution of provinces. I am told that you were somewhat hesitant about this. I can quite understand your hesitation because probably you thought that this commission's work was rather limited. As a matter of fact, we are thinking of this commission in the biggest possible way, something that might reshape the whole map of India from many points of view. It is being entrusted with a historic task and I can think of no commission which is likely to have work of such vital and far-reaching importance. It is after the most earnest thought that we have decided upon the members of this commission and the few of us, who have been considering this matter—because in such cases it is difficult to spread the area of consultation—specially wanted Hariji in it. The President also was of this opinion.

I am quite sure that when you know the nature and vital importance of this commission, you will have no objection whatever to Hariji joining it.

We have to make an announcement about it soon and all our plans would be upset if Hariji dropped out at this stage. I therefore told Hariji on the telephone this evening to explain this position to you and to allow me to announce his name. If I may say so, the other work that Hariji might be doing is of secondary importance to this great national task. In this context, I feel sure that you will agree that Hariji is a good choice and that he should join this commission.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Shridhar Ganesh Vaze (b. 1885); joined Servants of India Society as life member, 1907; worked on the staff of the *Gnyan Prakash* and the *Servants of India*, the Society's publications in Marathi and English respectively.

12. Terms of Reference of the Commission¹

The Government of India have been giving careful consideration to the problem of the States which are constituent units of the Indian Union. These States, as they exist today, are largely the result of historical processes and the spread and consolidation of the British power in India.² On the attainment of Independence, India was partitioned and the independent State of Pakistan was created. A process of merger and integration took place in regard to what were then called the Indian States. This integration of the old Indian States, which was brought about within a very short period, was an event of historic significance. The integration, however, was naturally based to a large extent on the old pattern which existed before Independence.

The pattern of our States in the Union is thus the result of historical accident and circumstances. The mere existence for a hundred years or more developed political, administrative and cultural associations within and between them.

The greater development of political consciousness among the people and the growing importance of the great regional languages led gradually to demands for the formation of certain States on a linguistic basis. Each such separate problem, was, however, closely interrelated with other problems, and any formation of a new State necessarily affected a number of other States. It thus became increasingly difficult to consider any such problem in isolation.

The language and culture of an area have an undoubted importance as they represent a pattern of living which is common in that area. In considering a reorganization of States, however, there are other important factors which have also to be borne in mind. The first essential consideration is the preservation and strengthening of the unity and security of India. Financial, economic and administrative considerations are almost equally important, not only from the point of view of each State, but for the whole nation. India has embarked upon a great ordered plan for her economic, cultural and moral progress. Changes

1. Statement on the appointment of the Commission for the Reorganization of States, 22 December 1953. *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People) Official Report*, Vol. X, Part II, 7-24 December 1953, Cols. 2842-2844.
2. The formation of British Indian provinces in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was governed by the considerations of administrative convenience and economy, and reasons of military strategy and security, with no consideration of the linguistic and cultural homogeneity of the different regions of the country. When the Constitution came into force in January 1950, the Indian Union was composed of nine Part A States, eight Part B States and ten Part C States.

which interfere with the successful prosecution of such a national plan would be harmful to the national interest.

The Government of India have come to the conclusion that the whole question of the reorganization of the States of the Indian Union should be carefully examined, objectively and dispassionately, so that the welfare of the people of each constituent unit, as well as of the nation as a whole, is promoted. The Government have accordingly decided to appoint a Commission to conduct such an examination. The Commission will investigate the conditions of the problem, the historical background, the existing situation and the bearing of all important and relevant factors thereon. They will be free to consider any proposal relating to such reorganization. The Commission will be at liberty to devise their own procedure for their work, for collecting information and for ascertaining public opinion. The Commission will ordinarily hold their sittings in private.

The Commission will make their recommendations to the Government as soon as may be practicable, and not later than the 30th June 1955.

The Government expect that the Commission would, in the first instance, not go into the details, but make recommendations in regard to the broad principles which should govern the solution of this problem and, if they so choose, the broad lines on which particular States should be reorganized, and submit interim reports for the consideration of the Government.

The Commission will have a Secretary and such staff and advisers as may be considered necessary.

The Commission will consist of Shri Saiyid Fazl Ali, at present Governor of Orissa, Shri Hriday Nath Kunzru, Member of the Council of States, and Shri K.M. Panikkar, at present Ambassador of India in Egypt, of whom Shri Saiyid Fazl Ali shall be the Chairman of the Commission.

13. Factors Bearing on Reorganization¹

The Congress welcomes the appointment by the Government of India of a Commission for the Reorganization of States and the wide terms of reference that have been laid down for it. The present constitution of the States in India, as a result of historical growth and the changes brought about after

1. Resolution drafted by Nehru on 20 January 1954 and adopted by the Kalyani Congress on 24 January 1954. File No. G-55 (D)/1954, AICC Papers, NMML.

Independence, is in many respects unsatisfactory and their reorganization has thus become necessary. In considering this problem it is important that all relevant factors should be borne in mind, such as, cultural and linguistic affinities, administrative convenience, financial considerations and economic progress both of each State and of the nation as a whole. In particular, the unity of India and national security must be given first priority.

This problem can only be considered satisfactorily in a dispassionate and objective manner and therefore an agitational approach is not only not necessary now, but is likely to prove harmful and delay satisfactory solutions. The Congress, therefore, recommends to the nation to help in the solution of this problem by encouraging a cooperative and objective approach and avoiding bitterness and mutual recrimination. Congressmen, in particular, must avoid public controversy, especially among themselves, on these issues.

This is particularly necessary when the present situation in India demands national unity and a combined effort to build up the nation.

14. A Right Decision¹

I cannot see the relevance of the debate which is taking place on this resolution. There may be differences of opinion. But basically it seems to be lacking a sense of reality. The point on which there was opposition has already been accomplished. You are telling me to stall something for five years when it has already been done. You are trying to close the gates of the stable when the horses have bolted. Looking at everything, I think what has happened has been for the best. It is not only a question of principles but even looking to the circumstances, what has been done at the behest of the Congress Party. The question is how to go about it and, more important, what stand the Congress ought to take. Anyhow, it has been done with your approval. But the question is how we should give directions to the country so that it runs smoothly and there are no quarrels. We want to take the right decision. This has been the main point of the resolution. India's unity is of the utmost importance.

1. Speech on the resolution on Reorganization States at the plenary session of the fifty-ninth session of the AICC, Kalyani, 24 January 1954. AIR tapes, NMML. Original partly in Hindi. Extracts.

Jagjivan Ramji said something about culture.² This is not the time or the place for me to go into this question. But I have rather definite views about the way the word 'culture' is used loosely. Everyone seems to think that he alone is the representative of culture in the country. I feel the less this word is used the better. The meaning of the word must be understood first. To say that there must be uniformity of culture in India, though right in some ways, can be absolutely misleading in another. There are different aspects of culture. Leave aside the question of languages. Let me tell you that a man who lives in the mountains is not the same as the other people in the plains. I understand the mountains folks well. Others simply do not understand them. I would not like them to have to decide about issues which concern the people who live in the mountain. There is no question of culture in this. There are many issues involved in this. I will not go into all that.

Because I got a letter just now from a delegate from Tamil Nadu,³ I shall say a few words. He has seen the resolution. There are two amendments to that resolution.

One is, that in view of the new situation created by the possibility of US military aid to Pakistan, the work of this Commission should be postponed for five years.

The other amendment is that where the words "linguistic and cultural" occur they should be changed to 'geographical'. And there has been an argument on this also....

As a matter of fact this opposition is somewhat unreal, unrealistic because a decision has already been taken. A Commission has been appointed and it has been appointed in line with the thinking of the Congress, with the resolution of the Congress, passed last year at Hyderabad.⁴ Therefore, a thing having been done, there is absolutely no point in our saying that the thing should not be done. It is over. The journey has started. All that we are concerned with now is, how we should see that this work is done properly, decently, adequately, and peacefully, and how it should result in a more harmonious and, I hope, a better administered India, a better reorganized India. That is the question. Therefore, the whole purpose of this resolution is not to consider the very basis of it, which was decided long ago; but rather how to proceed now, in particular, how Congressmen should now consider this question.

2. Moving the resolution on Reorganization of States, Jagjivan Ram, the Union Minister of Communications, said that it was wrong to think that language and culture were one and the same. India had one common culture in spite of so many languages.
3. A delegate from Tamil Nadu wrote that he had not understood a word of the proceedings because he understood neither Hindi nor Bengali. Someone should explain to him.
4. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 21, pp.

Even in the discussion here, one could have glimpses of certain feelings which really had nothing to do with this resolution, but which came up. Let us recognize, therefore, that while we talk a great deal about the unity of India, sometimes even we, who talk so greatly about it, if our skin is scratched, something entirely different from unity is seen under our skin. That is a failing that we must recognize and deal with.

In the name of unity, everybody wants others to be like unto his own image. That is not my idea of unity. Imposing myself on others is not unity, it is imposition. Unity is of elements which may not be wholly similar, yet working together in a united way.

Therefore, let us take this resolution as it is, and try to see that this enquiry is conducted properly, and decently, without our getting excited about it, specially in the Congress, without our showing how disunited we are on this issue even though we talk of unity so much. There is no reason why we should not be able to decide it properly. There is no difficulty about it.

Remember that this business of Reorganization of States not mathematical or algebraic business, finding some mathematical formula of so much population, area and so much this and that. This business of size is very deceptive, just as the size of human beings may be deceptive. A State may be very small, and yet very much worth having. It may be a high quality State. Numbers do not matter. I wish the population of India was about one-tenth or one half of what it is. We would be a much more powerful nation, a much more advanced nation, if our population is half of what it is. Numbers do not matter. Numbers weaken. It is quality that is wanted, and each State has to show not numbers to justify itself, but the quality of its people, the quality of its work. And if a small State shows high quality, I say it is much better than the largest of the States in India.

Therefore, we have to think in terms of our country being a country of high quality, not numbers. We have had these numbers not now but for hundreds of years. During the British period also we had these numbers. So we have to decide how to produce high quality in the whole of India, and in every part of India opportunity to develop in accordance with the genius of our people, the genius of that particular part of India. Some parts of India are highly artistic. Some excel in other ways. Let them excel in every way. If you want to impose the same pattern on every part of India the result will be no excellence at all, just a dead uniformity.

Therefore, I beg of you to consider this serious matter. It is not that this resolution dealt with some odd problem of Bengal or Bihar. I may tell you, whatever importance it may have in the eyes of Bengal and Bihar, it has no importance in the eyes of the rest of India. I just do not understand why people get excited about it. Whatever it may be, it should be considered and settled peacefully. Do you think that this Commission has been appointed because of

the problems in Bihar and Bengal? Well, you are very much mistaken. See the narrowness of our approach, of our thought. When we consider these problems, we immediately think that we are concerned, it affects us, and we forget the whole problem of India. People talk loudly of the unity of India, thinking that their own little village patch is India. Well, we have to think more broadly and with more vision. Let us at least not talk so much about unity of India without having some idea of what unity of India means....

FORMATION OF ANDHRA STATE

1. Union of Hearts and Minds¹

After long waiting and much argument, at last the Andhra State has come into being.² Let us now forget that argument and send all our good wishes to this new member of the family of States in India. Not only that, but let us help this new State to the best of our ability to make good.

It has been unfortunate that, during these last stages, there has been some lack of goodwill between Tamils and Telugus over the partition of what used to be known as the Presidency of Madras. Every parting is an upset both physically and mentally, and I can well understand the regret that this brings. But once we have decided upon something, we should do it handsomely and with all the grace we can. There can be no doubt that, for long years past, the Andhras had wanted a separate State and that wish of theirs had been recognized. But all manner of difficulties came in the way and the realization of it was delayed. Now it has come and it deserves all our goodwill.

I am no lover of provincialism or anything that comes in the way of the building up of the conception and the fact of a united India. That does not mean a dead uniformity or too much centralization. I believe in local autonomy and as large a measure of decentralization as possible. But we have also to remember that there is no progress today without that essential unity and a considerable measure of centralization. Not only do we weaken politically if we think too much of the parts and less of the whole, but it becomes difficult to plan for economic progress. One of the primary tasks for us today is the real emotional integration of India.

I hope that the formation of new States and the reorganization of the present structure of India will not weaken in any way this process of integration of hearts and minds.

To the residuary State of Madras, with its long history and its pre-eminence in many ways, I should also like to send my good wishes on this occasion.

1. Message as printed in *The Hindu*, in its supplement of 1 October 1953 when the new State of Andhra was formed. The message was drafted on 23 August 1953.
2. The new State of Andhra was to be the 29th unit of the Indian Union with a population of 2.1 crores and an area of 63,608 square miles.

2. The Birth of Andhra State¹

We have gathered here on the auspicious occasion of the birth of a new State of India. I congratulate the people of Andhra and all the people of India. The question of forming a separate State of Andhra had been before us for a long time and the long-cherished goal of the Andhra people has now been realized. I am happy to be here and participate in the celebration.

Immediately after sunrise, the Governor² of the new State took the oath of office in the presence of the Chief Justice³ of Madras and then he administered the oath to Sri T. Prakasam, the new Chief Minister of the State of Andhra, who will form the Government, as well as to the Deputy Chief Minister, Shri Sanjiva Reddy, and to three other Ministers.⁴ The entire Ministry has not yet been formed and I hear two or three more will be included. But from this morning the new Government of Andhra has begun to function. Sometime ago, a new law was passed in Parliament for the creation of the new State of Andhra and the constitutional procedure was completed and now Andhra State has been established under the Constitution.⁵ But in order to strengthen it, it would be proper that oaths are not taken in camera. Let all of us who are assembled have under these wide blue skies lay the firm foundations of the new State by taking an oath to shoulder the responsibilities of this new-born State and take it along the road to progress.

This day has witnessed the birth of a new State. But it is not really new. Andhradesa is an ancient name and it often finds mention in the history of India.⁶ The people of Andhra have been playing a great role in India's history

1. Speech while inaugurating the Andhra State. Kurnool, 1 October 1953. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. C.M. Trivedi, former Governor of Punjab, was sent to Madras with the status of a Special Officer to make the necessary arrangements for the formation of a separate Andhra State and be its first Governor.
3. P.V. Rajamannar.
4. The inauguration of Andhra State was preceded by the swearing in of a council of five Ministers. T. Prakasam was Chief Minister and the other members of the Cabinet were: N. Sanjeeva Reddy, K. Kota Reddi, T. Viswanatham and D. Sanjivayya. Two more Ministers were added to the Cabinet on 6 October.
5. On 10 August 1953, a Bill was introduced in the House of the People for the formation of the Andhra State. The State of Andhra, according to a statement in Parliament on 17 August 1953, was a province which approximated as much as possible to a linguistic province. The Andhra State Act, 1953, passed by Parliament received the assent of the President on 14 September 1953.
6. The new State was named after an ancient local Kingdom, which had flourished from about 250 B.C. to 250 A.D. after the disintegration of the Mauryan empire.

for hundreds and thousands of years. There have been great kingdoms and empires in Andhradesa which contributed a great deal to Indian civilization. So it is an ancient part of the country, and yet it has been re-born in a new country and a new age, with a new State of its own.

What does it mean? There are big States in India. You have as your neighbours Madras, Mysore, Orissa, Bombay, and Madhya Pradesh. We also have the States of Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Assam, Punjab, Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat, Saurashtra and Kashmir. All of them are States of India, and Andhra has now become their sister State. You should not think of Andhra as a separate or independent State. It is only one of the several States that go to make the Indian Union and form integral parts of India. You should not think in separate terms, such as Andhra, Bengal, Bihar, or Uttar Pradesh, but always think of India as one whole. You should remember that it is your duty to promote unity and solidarity, so that India may be strong. You must eschew whatever divides or weakens us.

Our country is known by various names—Bharat, Hindustan, India, etc. India takes on many forms too. If you go with me to the North, you will see the snow-clad Himalayas. From there to the South, as far as Kanyakumari, it is all India, I am from North India. My family came a long time ago from Kashmir. Now I live in Delhi. But I too have the same rights in your Andhra State as you do because the State of Andhra is as much mine as it is yours. Similarly, all of you in Andhra Pradesh have the same rights in all the provinces of India—UP, Punjab, Bengal, Himachal Pradesh—because India belongs to you and me and she cannot be broken up into various parts. This large country is our inheritance; from the Himalayas to Kanyakumari, India belongs to all of us. There is great unity in India in spite of the diversities and we must always remember this because if India is divided or if we think of her in segments, we shall become weak and cannot serve our country well. Therefore we must always remember that our first duty is to India as a whole, and not to our province or district or city or village.

If you go abroad, to Europe or the United States or some other foreign country, how will you introduce yourself? Will you say that you come from Andhra State or Madhya Pradesh or Bengal? If you say that, most people will not understand you. But if you say that you come from India or that you are a citizen of the Republic of India, you will be respected in any corner of the globe.

No doubt, there are various provinces and many religions and castes in India. All those who live in India are India's children, irrespective of their caste and religion and everyone has equal rights. Therefore, we must always remember that we are all equal, and if anyone thinks that he has more rights than others, he is mistaken. We have to bring about greater equality in the country as far as possible. There is a great disparity between the rich and the poor which we have to remove and endeavour to uplift everyone, and also to

put an end to the caste distinctions in the country. Casteism has ruined this country in the past by keeping people in separate compartments. The world has gone ahead while we have remained backward.

So Andhra is one room in the mansion that is India. The mansion belongs to everyone, with separate rooms for everyone. People of all religions, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsees, Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists and others, live in this big house and so everyone has to march in step. Andhra State will progress only as much as India progresses. Andhra State cannot go ahead while India remains backward. Nor can India progress without Andhra State progressing too, because each province is a part of the larger country. A body cannot remain strong if a part of it is weak or the other way round. If India progresses economically, all the provinces in the country will progress. Therefore, you must always put the country before everything else, and service to India means service to Andhra State also.

A debate went on for a long time about the creation of Andhra State. It generated great heat at times. There was often anger and tension among the people, but now that the debate has come to an end, we must forget the old disputes and controversies connected with the partition of the State. When a thing is broken up, it is bound to cause difficulties, as the division of Madras State did. Sometimes, such a division becomes unavoidable and then it should be done as painlessly as possible so that the divided parts are still bound together by ties of affection.

I hope that there will be complete cooperation and goodwill between the people of Andhra and Tamil Nadu, forgetting past differences. You continue to be neighbours and you have to work together and cooperate with one another. After all, all of us are citizens of India, and there is no room for all these disputes. There are large numbers of Andhras in Madras city and in Tamil Nadu, I hope, the same spirit of affection and mutual cooperation, will continue to prevail there also.

Now that you have got the State of Andhra, you should work with all your energy and strength in tackling the problems of poverty and unemployment which face the country. We have got freedom which is a very big thing, but our greatest task remains to be accomplished, namely, the eradication of poverty from India. This is a tremendous task. We have to lift up the millions of our countrymen who work on land and in factories, and make them better off. We have to generate new sources of employment so that the thirty-six crores of our population may benefit. A country or a people do not progress by magic or *mantras*. We can only progress through hard work and cooperation. Progress also requires that we maintain unity. Disunity and internal quarrels and slogan-mongering will achieve nothing. Therefore, if you wish to build Andhra State, you must work together in mutual cooperation and unity. This is how we can make our country one of the greatest in the world.

As you know, the zamindari and jagirdari laws have been changed to a large extent and some are in the process of being changed. These changes will help, but ultimately it is only through hard work that the country could be built.

You may have heard about the Bhoodan *Yagna* started by Acharya Vinoba Bhave a year or so ago. He has been touring all over the country on foot and has been collecting land, which will be distributed among the landless poor. I want to draw your attention to it specially because Vinobaji has now included *shramdan* also—donation of labour—and these two together could be excellent instruments of mutual cooperation. If we accept them we can take the country very far and the world will respect us for it.

On this day especially and even otherwise, we must bear in mind our principles and ideals and the path that we followed to become free under the leadership of a great leader. Do you remember, tomorrow is the 2nd of October, Mahatma Gandhi's birth anniversary? We have become free politically and in other ways, and the country has reawakened because of him. We learnt the lesson of unity from Mahatma Gandhi who was our guiding spirit. We must keep his teaching constantly before us and remember the ultimate sacrifice that he made for his principles.

Mahatma Gandhi taught us many lessons—of unity, peace and non-violence. We fought against British imperialism only by peaceful methods and the whole world looked on in admiration when we achieved freedom. If we forget his lessons, we shall be frittering away our energy and become weak, and may soon fall a prey to some foreign power. Our strength lies in peaceful cooperation. There is great strength and enthusiasm among the people of Andhra and, at the same time, they are also given to quarrelling among themselves. You will be frittering away your enormous strength if you persist in quarrelling and will achieve nothing. If you can consolidate that strength and harness it to good work, both Andhra and India will progress very fast. We must remember that the Indian path is a peaceful one. Even if the whole world is busy fighting, we shall not go to war. We have to concentrate our energies on economic reconstruction through peaceful means and mutual cooperation and not merely by hooliganism or by giving way to internal dissensions, which will ruin the country.

In the last few years, there have been a great deal of groupism and internal dissensions in the politics of Andhra which have been very harmful. But let us hope that all that is past history, and that in the new chapter that is before us we shall work together in harmony, putting an end to the old dissensions. There is a great burden on the Ministers and on the Chief Minister, Sri T. Prakasam. They can succeed in serving Andhra and India only if they get your cooperation and help. You must also exercise constant vigilance to keep them on the right path. What I have said applies to everyone, man, woman and child. Our country

can progress only if our women also cooperate with us. It is not right to keep them in their homes and away from politics. Women owe the same duty to their country as men. Please remember that only that country will go ahead where women are progressive. If women are backward, a nation cannot progress, whatever the men may do. Therefore, it is necessary that men, women and children must march together in our country in the service of the nation and discharge their duties, irrespective of caste and religion.

Now, I have said whatever I wanted to. When you go home today, it must be with the firm resolve to make Andhra strong and serve the people and through them serve India.

3. Magnitude of Tasks Ahead¹

I do not presume to advise the legislators, but merely want to draw their attention to the numerous problems confronting them. These are big problems obviously, and they are not easy ones. There is perhaps an advantage in beginning from scratch. There is in it to some extent an excitement which is, I feel, far better than falling into grooves.

Everything in India has two facets, the good and the bad, sometimes very bad ones. When I visited Banaras recently, I could not help being affected by the filth and dirt that meet one's eyes. But I was also affected deeply by the historical, cultural and spiritual traditions of Banaras and so I did not look so much at its dirt and filth. This shows the tremendous work that we have to do in India. This is a work of building, and a creative work. The essential task in India today is the need for a desire and firm determination to build and create through action and not mere talk.

India has achieved a great deal, undoubtedly. But having regard to our problems, we are not going sufficiently fast. Foundations have been laid for big development projects. The problems call for hard work. Nothing can take the place of hard and solid work. If we can have that, we can achieve quick progress. There is no point in thinking that we have been suffering from poverty

1. Address to Members of the Andhra State Assembly, Kurnool, 1 October 1953. From *The Hindu*, 2 October 1953.

for ages. If we all work to remove it, we can make vast progress indeed. We should not create any sense of dependence because it is bad psychologically.

We have now a new State. There is a growing demand for creating new States. We have promised that a high-power commission for the reorganization of States will go into the matter fully, as it has a right to do. When a part of the country makes demands which affect other parts, it may have reactions. So we want that the whole picture be considered dispassionately and objectively as far as possible. Because of the importance of the problem, we should not do anything which loosen the ties that bind us together. It is essential that we should think always of the unity of India and not imagine that one part can grow at the expense of the other.

The points of agreement are far greater than points of difference among the several component parts of India. In the past, we had factionalism and sectarianism. Now we have a big chance to build up a strong State. We all want to build a strong and vital democracy. But democracy means cooperation and working together and shouldering our responsibilities together. So it is an exciting job for all of us. I want you to bring yourselves to this attitude of cooperation. I do not want that you should give up anything which you consider to be of value or indispensable. But by merely insisting on principles and forgetting the common things of life, we may sometimes commit mistakes. Many of the things of life are not matters of principle but relate to common things. If you always talk, quarrel and criticize, it will not help anyone. I appeal to you all to pull together in the great tasks we have undertaken.

4. Greater Andhra¹

Question: What do you think of the resolution² of the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee demanding the formation of Visala Andhra with Hyderabad as the capital?

1. Talks with newsmen, Kurnool, 1 October 1953. From *The Hindu*, 2 October 1953.
2. On 1 October 1953, the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee resolved to request the Central Government to form Visala Andhra with Hyderabad as its capital and appointed a seven-man sub-committee to present the case before the States Reorganization Commission to be appointed by the Central Government.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know about the resolution. People have got into the habit of passing resolutions. I do not see what particular thing I can do about it. The resolution of the Congress Working Committee is quite clear on the matter. The question is related to the reorganization of the States. A high-power Commission will go into it soon with reference to cultural, social, economic, linguistic and other considerations.

Q: When do you expect the Commission to begin functioning?

JN: The Commission may commence its work before the end of the year. It is for the Commission to go into the matter in the way it considers best and then let the Government decide.

Q: Are you going to be coerced into conceding Visala Andhra?

JN: We are not interested in Visala Andhra³ or Visala this or that. I do not understand such questions in the present context. The demand has a taint of imperialism—imperialism is not the exact word—and of the expansive psychology behind imperialism. The scope of the Commission is quite wide and it may go into Visala Andhra or any other similar demand. I believe it will do so in the context of hundreds of other matters. I cannot answer the question. The Commission may recommend larger units or cutting up of existing units even. If you suppose what it will do you can also suppose my answer.

3. The Andhras in the new State, did not regard the arrangement as final. They had been passionately attached to the creation of Visala Andhra (larger Andhra), including Telengana, for a long time, which would bring into existence a State of 32 millions with a hinterland, with large water resources, adequate mineral wealth and valuable raw materials. This would also solve the difficult problem of finding a permanent capital for Andhra, for the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad were well suited to be the capital of Visala Andhra.

5. Need for Emotional Integration¹

We are in a happy atmosphere in Kurnool today, a vast number of people from

1. Speech at a meeting of Congress workers in Kurnool, 1 October 1953. From *The Hindu*, 2 October and the *National Herald* 4 October 1953. Extracts.

all over Andhra participating in the rejoicings. Such an atmosphere is important for any good work, and without such atmosphere, a government will be functioning in an isolated way. Any government must have the organized support of the people if we have to function efficiently. And it follows that organized support can be had only from organized parties like the Congress. I can say, without any fear of contradiction, that the Congress today is bigger and stronger than any other party and has still the capacity to deliver the goods.

It is true, the Congress is being criticized today, and rightly too, on the ground that it is not functioning according to its own ideals. Many of us in the top and middle rungs have not behaved well and have been inactive and quarrelling among ourselves. But I am amazed to find for instance, a vast number of solid workers at the village and town levels in Bihar indulging in this. In Andhradesa too, there are many Congress workers of that type, wasting their time and energy in internal factions and quarrels within the party. It is worse than pity because the efforts are being wasted. If some of us have reached high position, it is not so much due to our individual capacity, but essentially because of our being members of the Congress. In a great national movement, we cannot think in terms of individuals however eminent they might be, and this we should never forget. But, the misfortune in India has been that though our country has men of high intellect, they are peculiarly liable to faction, controversy and living in compartments.

The emotional integration of the people is one of the biggest tasks. I do not understand this business of linguistic provinces and, more particularly, the uncontrolled intensity to which these agitations go. The Congress has not fulfilled its purpose or its historic destiny of integrating the country emotionally, with a view to facing the economic and other problems, which no other group or party can do, as they do not have that historic background. Let us think of the consequences that the country will have to face without the Congress organization. The other parties and groups lack cohesion. I do not criticize them but I must say that virtues in the Congress considerably outbalance its failings. It is a tragedy if we have not used this tremendous weapon, the Congress, for the progress of the country. To throw away the Congress on account of some failures is sheer folly.

I advise the people of Andhradesa not to conduct the affairs of the Congress as they did two years ago, when with thousands of bogus members who did not exist, except on paper, they became a laughing stock in India. I appeal to you all to work honestly and in a sound manner. I am very happy that our colleagues inside the Congress and outside have agreed to Mr Prakasam being the Chief Minister of the Andhra Government. Mr Prakasam's presence in the Cabinet gives not only a party prestige but an Andhra prestige to the Government.

At the age of Mr Prakasam one should normally retire and not involve

himself in politics and government. But, the special and peculiar conditions under which the Andhra Government is coming into existence requires that every Andhra should consider it his duty to pull his weight and help build up the new-born State.

I have, therefore, told Mr Prakasam that I feel justified in asking him to undertake the task of forming a ministry in Andhra. I have also told him that I do not want him to involve himself in details but to help us, as Chief Minister, in the task of founding the Andhra State, not in the capacity of a party man but as a non-party independent person.² But this action has been unjustly criticized by the Praja Socialist Party. My action should not be taken as a manoeuvre against any party, not even the Praja Socialist Party.³ In persuading Mr Prakasam to head the first Andhra Government, my approach was one of seeking the cooperation of other parties and not of harming them.

When Mr Prakasam told me that some people wanted him to rejoin the Congress, I told him that I did not want to push him out of the PSP and push him into the Congress. I had told Mr Prakasam that he would have to function as the Chief Minister through an organized party or a group and the only organized group that could support his Government is mainly the Congress. There are other parties too and they are indeed welcome. But as Chief Minister, Mr Prakasam, should be associated with the Congress Legislature Party, and Mr Prakasam agreed....

2. Nehru suggested to Prakasam when he met him at New Delhi in September 1953 that although there was no compulsion, it would be proper if he left the PSP and conducted himself in his own individual capacity as the sole leader of all Andhras without any narrow party label. Prakasam resigned from the PSP on 25 September 1953 and joined the Congress as an associate member to form a coalition Government for the Andhra State.
3. While the State Executive of the PSP, on 14 September 1953, freed Prakasam from party obligations to form a coalition Government in Andhra, the National Executive of the Party, on 16 September, declined to free him from his responsibilities and allow him to become an associate member of the Andhra Congress Legislative Party. Twelve out of sixteen members in the State Praja Socialist Legislature Party supported Prakasam's stand and any coalition ministry he would form. Meanwhile, P.V.G. Raju, General Secretary of the Andhra PSP, issued a statement on 26 September 1953 calling upon Prakasam to resign his seat in the Legislative Assembly, which was won on its ticket.

6. To K. Raghuramaiah¹

New Delhi

November 23, 1953

My dear Raghuramaiah,²

I have learnt with great surprise that you have been carrying on an agitation, in association with certain Communists in Andhra, in regard to the question of the capital of the Andhra State.³ In doing so you have stated that personalities or parties are not important and have indicated that any decision arrived at by the party will not bind you or those who may associate themselves with you. This is an extraordinary position, wholly opposed to the discipline of the Congress.

When the question of the capital arose, it was decided to leave this matter to the Andhra Members of the Legislature.⁴ Neither the Government of India nor the Congress was interested in any particular decision. That was entirely left to the Andhra Members of the Madras Legislature. In June, Kurnool was the unanimous choice of the Congress, the PSP and the KLP. Later, when the matter came up before the Madras Legislative Assembly, the KLP backed out of this position.⁵ Nevertheless, the Congress and the PSP plus a number of Independents voted for Kurnool and the decision was in favour of Kurnool by a small majority.

1. JN Collection. Copies were sent to N. Sanjeeva Reddy, Deputy Chief Minister of Andhra and Balvantray Mehta, General Secretary of the AICC. Extracts.
2. K. Raghuramaiah (1912-1979); Member, AICC, 1955-59; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-57; Deputy Minister of Defence, and later Minister of State for Defence, 1957-64; for Industry and Supply, 1964-67, for Petroleum and Chemicals and Social Welfare, 1967-69; for Parliamentary Affairs and Shipping and Transport, 1969-70; Cabinet Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Shipping and Transport, 1970-73 and Minister of Works and Housing and Parliamentary Affairs, 1974-77.
3. Raghuramaiah and four Congress Members of the Andhra State Assembly in a statement on 14 November 1953 appealed to the President of the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee, N. Sanjeeva Reddy, to give freedom of vote to the members of the Andhra Congress Legislature Party when the capital issue came before the Assembly. In another statement on 18 November 1953 they reiterated that the Andhra capital issue affected the entire Andhra public and should therefore be treated above party level. They once again appealed for a free vote based on conscience and constituency opinion.
4. On 5 June 1953, with Prakasam as presiding officer, Andhra members of the Madras Legislature chose Kurnool as the temporary capital of the Andhra State and the decision was approved by the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee on 30 September 1953.
5. While all non-Communist political parties and groups decided on 5 June 1953 to have the temporary capital at Kurnool, the Krishikar Lok Party on 5 October 1953 went back on that decision and favoured the location of the capital in Vijayawada-Guntur region.

As I have stated above, this is a matter entirely for the Andhra people to decide. We are interested only in the discipline of the party being maintained and in the members of the party functioning together. The Congress Legislature Party, as I have said above, decided in favour of Kurnool unanimously. Later, the Andhra PCC at its general body meeting unanimously ratified the decision of the Legislature Party. I gather that you were present at both the meetings. Even after these decisions, you are reported to have been carrying on a good deal of propaganda against Kurnool together with the Communists.⁶ It is a well known fact that Communists are endeavouring to destroy the present Andhra Government as well as injure the Congress in Andhra. If an important Congress member and MP like you joins the Communists, obviously all discipline goes among the Congress ranks. You are reported to have said at a meeting at Vijayawada on the 8th of November that the Congress decision about Kurnool was based on temporary profit and political intrigue...

All this is completely opposed to organizational discipline and political solidarity and seems to me improper.

You and four Members of the Congress Legislature Party have asked for freedom of voting on this issue. Whatever might have been the position at an earlier stage, it seems to me that any such request being acceded to can only lead to grave consequences for the Congress Party as well as the Government. It would play into the hands of our opponents completely. The Andhra Government is basically a Congress Government, but we have associated with it some leading personalities who are not Congress members. We have, therefore, to proceed in this matter with caution and wisdom. In any event, the discipline of the party has to be maintained and any agitation in the public press is to be deprecated. You should know that it is our rule that such matters should be decided in the party and that there should not be any controversy in the public press among the Congressmen involving important matters.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. The location of the temporary capital of the Andhra State at Kurnool was opposed by the Andhra Communist Party, both at the meeting of the Andhra Legislators held in June 1953 at Madras and subsequently when the Andhra State Bill came up for discussion. On 20 September 1953, the State unit of the party demanded the shifting of the capital from Kurnool to Vijayawada.

7. To C.M. Trivedi¹

New Delhi
25th November, 1953

My dear Trivedi,

Your telegram about the election of the Deputy Speaker.² The news of this election was certainly somewhat disquieting, and indicates the fluid nature of the position in Andhra. I suppose the real trial of strength will come on the question of the capital. I am inclined to think that the Ministry will win.

However, one has to keep in view all possibilities. If the Ministry loses on a vote of confidence, what are we to do about it? Whatever we might decide to do, there is no reason why we should hustle ourselves into a decision. In Travancore-Cochin, there was needless hurry shown when the Government lost in the Assembly.³ Overnight steps were taken. That did not seem to me quite proper. What was done was right enough, but the manner of doing it might have been improved upon.

I am writing to you so that you might keep this aspect in mind.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Though the Congress nominee was elected Speaker by a margin of 38 votes in the Andhra State Assembly on 23 November 1953, the Congress lost deputy speakership on the next day as some of the Congress members voted for the opposition.
3. Following the defeat of the motion of confidence moved by the Congress Ministry in Travancore-Cochin on 23 September 1953, the Rajpramukh dissolved the State Legislature and ordered fresh elections. The ministry was asked to continue in office till the elections were held.

8. To T. Prakasam¹

New Delhi
November 30, 1953

My dear Prakasam,

I have followed with deep interest and some anxiety the course of developments in Andhra during the last week or two. Neither you nor Sanjeeva Reddy has

1. JN Collection. A copy was sent to N. Sanjeeva Reddy.

written to me lately about these matters and so I have had to rely upon the public press. I realize that both of you must have been terribly occupied and worried over these developments. Apparently the immediate crisis has been tided over.²

But I suppose you will have to face it some time later when you allot the day for the discussion of the capital issue. In this matter, I have no personal views or preferences. Right from the beginning, we have left it to the Andhra MLAs. What I feel, however, is that nothing should be done which will make people believe that we have no fixed principles left and that we function in an opportunist way. It is a misfortune that right at the beginning of the career of the new Andhra State, controversies of this type should arise and should shake it. If the Andhra people cannot rise above such things and pull together, then the future is not very bright.

Ever since I left you at Kurnool, I have had an uncomfortable feeling that things do not fashion themselves as we intended and decided after our talks. I feel unhappy about this.

The burden is upon you and Sanjeeva Reddy and I cannot advise you from this distance as to what should be done. But whatever is done, should be done with dignity and discipline.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. During the debate on the motion of thanks to the Governor's address on 29 November 1953, a non-official resolution was moved by a Congress Member for the continuance of Kurnool as the temporary capital of Andhra State, while Communist Members tabled eight amendments urging the shifting of the capital to the Vijayawade-Guntur area before 1 April 1954. Prakasam assured the Members of the Andhra Assembly that if there was no prospect of the formation of Visal Andhra in three years, the State Government would take steps to establish the permanent capital at Guntur or Vijayawada or Waltair. The motion of thanks was passed after this appeal.

9. To K. Raghuramaiah¹

New Delhi
December 9, 1953

My dear Raghuramaiah,

I have your letter of the 8th December about the Andhra capital.

1. JN Collection. Copy of this letter was sent to Balvantray Mehta.

I know the past history of this question from the Sri Bagh Pact² onwards. I have personally no interest as to where the capital should be, except that it should be at a suitable place agreeable to the Andhras. We have to think about the future and not so much about certain vested interests at present. You will remember that in the Punjab, after long discussions, it was decided to have the capital in an entirely new area where there was no building at all. This is developing into one of the model cities of India. I think it was a wise decision...

The main thing I am concerned with is that any question should not break up the unity and discipline of the Congress organization in Andhra. The position in Andhra is a very delicate one, and a false move may completely upset everything. Therefore, every step that we take should be very carefully considered from the point of view of this unity of organization. If that breaks up, then Andhra goes into a turmoil and there is no progress of any kind.

For this reason, it is desirable to consider this matter within the party with calmness, and not be influenced by the vested interests. The location of a capital leads to a heavy increment in land values and so vested interests are interested in it...

It seemed to me that your activities in this matter did tend to break up this unity just as, as you point out, the Kurnool District Congress Committee acted also in a wrong way in this matter.³

The future of Andhra depends to some extent on the Rayalaseema districts feeling happy in the new State. If there is a sense of grievance, then you will always have a disruptive tendency working. They have some reason for their feeling and the other and more developed districts of Andhra should try to win over the Rayalaseema people to the unity of Andhra State.

In any event, this question can be considered later in a calmer atmosphere.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. The Sri Bagh Pact, drafted by Pattabhi Sitaramayya, was signed in November 1937, between the leaders of Coastal districts and the Rayalaseema districts of Andhra, and ratified by the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee in December 1937. It stated that either the capital or the High Court of the proposed Andhra State should be located in one of the Rayalaseema towns.
3. N.G. Ranga, leader of the Krishikar Lok Party, stated that Tirupati, a town in Rayalaseema, should be the capital of the Andhra State. The Communists of the Andhra State were pleading in favour of Vijayawada, a town in the coastal district. Eighteen prominent citizens of Kurnool, who included Congress members of Kurnool District Congress Committee, met Prakasam on 13 November 1953 and urged the continuance of Andhra capital in Kurnool. They emphasized that shifting the capital from Kurnool would "culminate in the secession of Rayalaseema from the Andhra State."

(i) UP

1. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
November 10, 1953

My dear Pantji,

I am writing to you again about the student troubles in Lucknow and Allahabad.² I am torn between two urges — one is not to interfere till I am wanted to or till a special need arises when I can help. The other is a feeling that all is not well at all and in fact nothing much is being done to improve matters. I am not referring to the law and order situation which no doubt will improve and has improved, but rather to the basic situation.

As I said in my last letter³ to you, I am clear that the students are very much in wrong. Having said that, the question still remains, what is to be done. I met Radhakrishnan this evening and he was worried also.

I want to write to you quite frankly on this subject and so this is meant for your eyes and ear alone. I am afraid that both Munshi and C.B. Gupta⁴ are the last persons to deal with this situation. Apart from being very unpopular with the students, their outlook seems to me to be quite wrong. Munshi considers himself the strong man who can produce order by taking strong police steps to that end. He has an idea always of teaching people a lesson. His outlook is wholly authoritarian. That kind of thing does not easily go down with people, more especially with young people.

Sri Prakasa writes to me that he had been invited by the Vice-Chancellor of Allahabad University⁵ to deliver the Convocation Address there. He presumed that the Chancellor, that is Munshi, must have been consulted. He referred the matter to the President here and also wrote to Munshi. The President agreed. But then Munshi got annoyed because Sri Prakasa had agreed without consulting him first. Sri Prakasa assured him that he meant no such thing, but he felt quite sure that Munshi had been previously consulted by the Vice-Chancellor. Anyhow, Munshi was unrelenting and so Sri Prakasa's visit was cancelled.

This seems to me rather typical of Munshi's approach which was wrong

1. JN Collection.
2. Students of Allahabad and Lucknow Universities went on hunger-strike in August 1953 demanding changes in the university constitution regarding compulsory membership of students' union. Students of Agra, Kanpur and Banaras among others joined the strike in October 1953.
3. Not printed.
4. K.M. Munshi was the Governor of UP and Gupta, Minister for Health and Civil Supplies, UP.
5. Amiya Charan Banerjee (1891-1968); Professor of Mathematics, Allahabad University since 1923 and its Vice-Chancellor, 1952-55.

from every point of view. Normal courtesy required that he should not put Sri Prakasa in an embarrassing position. Prudence required that he should not make it public that he and the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate were at loggerheads, although in this matter there was nothing to argue about. The students of Allahabad must have got to know about all this and their resentment against Munshi must necessarily have increased.

If this is Munshi's approach to the universities and students, only trouble can result from it. A Chancellor is not supposed to interfere in university affairs in this way. If I had been Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University and had been over-ruled in this way, I would have resigned. I fear, therefore, that Munshi's way of throwing his weight about will not help matters at all.

C.B. Gupta has many virtues but is singularly devoid of the tactful and friendly approach and thus gives frequent opportunities to his opponents to put him in the wrong. His being the Treasurer of the University is also rather odd. I think it is improper for a Minister to be Treasurer of the University. Some official might be Treasurer. This kind of mixing up of the Minister with the University is a bad precedent.

As for Jugal Kishore,⁶ he may be a nice man, but there is little capacity in him to control any situation, or to influence the students much. He is passive and inert.

These are the people dealing with this very difficult situation which resulted in turning many people, who should have been wiser, against both the Government and the University authorities. We can deal with the students in a rough and ready way and sit on them. We can close the University and say that there will be no examinations next year. That is a possible approach. But this will produce deep frustration among many and it would be unfair to the large body of students who do not wish to give trouble and who wish to continue their studies. We would only succeed in diverting mischief into other channels, not controlling it.

I wrote to you some little time ago and asked you if you would like me to send Bhatnagar⁷ in a normal routine way. As Education Secretary, he could have gone there without any fuss or attracting attention. Not that I think that he could produce any remarkable result. But sometimes a slight change in approach helps and an outsider brings that about without in any way interfering. As I have said above, I had a talk with Radhakrishnan this evening. He made a suggestion to me which seems to me good, but which, I suppose, Munshi will not approve of. He said that he might be invited by the Chancellor to deliver a Convocation Address in Lucknow towards the end of this month. He speaks frankly and strongly to the students. But because his approach is essentially friendly, what he says goes down. I understand that you have invited

6. Vice-Chancellor, Lucknow University.

7. S.S. Bhatnagar.

Radhakrishnan for some function in Lucknow on the 28th and 29th of this month, something connected with the Hindi script.⁹ If it is possible to have a convocation then, on either of these days, he could easily attend it.

I am putting this to you because I agree with Radhakrishnan that his visit would be good. Of course, he can only go if Munshi invites him and I doubt much if Munshi will do so or will even approve of Radhakrishnan's intrusion in this way.

You will deal with this matter as you think best and let me know what your views are.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India, presided over the conference on Hindi script reform in Lucknow.

2. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi
November 11, 1953

My dear Bidhan,

The Pakistan press has been giving long accounts of a convention of Muslims that took place in Aligarh recently presided over by Badrudduja² whom you know in Calcutta. The Indian press hardly mentioned this convention. We thought that perhaps the report in the Pakistan press was exaggerated.³ Badrudduja was contacted by the PTI correspondent and confronted with the Pakistan version. Badrudduja actually said that that version was a watered down report of what he had said and he read from a typescript of his speech.⁴

1. JN Collectin. Copy to K.N. Katju.
2. Syed Badrudduja (1900-1974); prominent Muslim League leader; Councillor, Calcutta Corporation, 1940-43, Mayor, 1943-44; Member, Bengal Legislative Assembly, 1940-46; Member, West Bengal Legislative Assembly, 1948-52, 1957-62; Member, Lok Sabha, 1962-67, 1967-70.
3. At the All India Muslim Conference fantastic charges were made of widespread massacre of Muslims in India, devastation of their property and desecration of their mosques.
4. Badrudduja had said that the Muslim community had its special problems with regard to its culture, language and religion and that no political party after Partition had done anything to protect their interests. He proposed setting up of a body, Jamait-ul-Musalmin, to protect the interests of Indian Muslims and join hands with the Anglo-Indians, Christians and tribal communities for collectively safeguarding minority interests.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I take a serious view of this convention and of the speeches made there. We are enquiring into this matter. I am enclosing for your information a note I have received from the PTI about the talk with Badrudduja. I think that Badrudduja should be sent for and sat upon. What action we might take against him is a matter to be considered. But there need be no delay in his being sent for and told what exactly we think of him. He is a bad hat completely and he has misbehaved in the past. His speech is a gross exaggeration and is most objectionable. I just do not see why we should tolerate such men or such speeches.⁵

Yours
Jawahar

5. Writing to G.B. Pant on the same date (not printed) about the convention, Nehru observed: "I think it is a very objectionable move and we should know exactly who attended it. The leading persons should be sent for, and it should be made clear to them that we are not going to tolerate this kind of thing."

3. To K.N. Katju¹

New Delhi
November 17, 1953

My dear Kailas Nath,

Your letter of the 14th November about conditions in the UP. Much that you say is correct, though my own analysis would be somewhat different. I do not think that any Hindu or Muslim leader can do much difference to the UP. It is the policy of the UP Government that has created this situation in the UP and unless that policy changes, no considerable effect can be produced by merely talking vaguely about goodwill etc. When I say the policy of the UP Government, I do not refer to Pantji particularly. Pantji's influence in such matters is not marked. It is others who count, more especially Gupta and Sampurnanand.² Most of the Ministers of the UP

1. JN Collection.

2. Commenting on the Aligarh convention, Sampurnanand stated that the "two most sinister features of the convention were that its sessions were convened at night to enable AMU students to participate in the proceedings, and the close liaison maintained by the organizers with certain elements of the Pakistani press."

Government are definitely communally inclined. The attack on Urdu³ has had a very bad effect on the Muslims. The evacuee property law has attacked the very basis of their security. But the real thing is an atmosphere that has been created in the UP, which even I find painful. I dislike going to the UP because of this. I do not want to fall out with our own Government and what it does.

If any Muslim group or individual misbehaves, we should not hesitate to take action. But I am convinced that it is the duty of the majority to behave in such manner as to create a feeling of security in the minority. From this point of view, the Hindus in the UP as a whole are to blame, more especially the communal parties. To some extent, Congressmen also. There are at present two provinces in India where the Muslims feel most frustrated. These are the UP and Madhya Pradesh. What real Hinduism may be is a matter for each individual Hindu to decide. We can only take it as it is practised. In practice, the Hindu is certainly not tolerant and is more narrow-minded than almost any person in any other country except the Jew. It does not help much to talk of Hindu philosophy, which is magnificent. The fate of India is largely tied up with the Hindu outlook. If the present Hindu outlook does not change radically, I am quite sure that India is doomed. The Muslim outlook may be and, I think, is often worse. But it does not make very much difference to the future of India.

I think that wherever the challenge of Hindu communalism has been met squarely — not by me but by ordinary Congress workers—it has been defeated. It is only where we ourselves are in doubt and try to compromise, that difficulties arise.

Pantji has invited me to go to Lucknow on the 28th and 29th of this month for some conference about Hindi script. I have told him I am unable to go and the real reason for it is that I just am not prepared to go to Lucknow after these student troubles merely to deliver homilies and make appeals. I am completely shaken up by what has happened in Lucknow and the utter incompetence of the University authorities and, to some extent, of the Government. I do not propose to get tied up with all this unless some clear way is found and acted upon.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

3. The political atmosphere of UP had been vitiated earlier over the controversy regarding the official language of the State. The supporters of Hindi and Urdu were more or less divided on communal lines.

(ii) Madras

1. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

Camp: Madurai
October 3, 1953

My dear Rajaji,

I have had a tremendous welcome in Madurai. In the course of the welcome, however, there was some black flag-waving and throwing by a group of persons, no doubt belonging to the Dravida Kazhagam. It seems to me that far too much latitude is allowed to these people. In fact, on enquiry from the police officials here, we were informed that they were told not to interfere. I hope that they will be dealt with much more firmly in future.

Any persons belonging to an organization which openly takes up an attitude against the whole Indian Union and its Constitution have no place in the public service. I think that should be made perfectly clear and such persons should be removed without the least compunction.

I spoke to you briefly about the so-called Muslim Nationalists in Madras. I think this matter deserves some consideration. A few days back, I sent a letter to all Chief Ministers about the position of minorities in general² especially Muslims. I am greatly disturbed at the way things are being done all over India which make the Muslims feel more and more frustrated and left out. That is of course one important aspect of this question. The other is that those Muslims who have supported us generally in the past in our independence struggle should be particularly ignored and old Muslim Leaguers should be preferred to them. I do not see why we should not prefer always, other things being equal, those who took a more correct attitude in the past.

Muslims are gradually being weeded out from the Public Services, both civil and military. This is bad.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.

2. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 23, pp. 142-146.

2. Telegram to C. Rajagopalachari¹

Your telegram.² It is for you to choose your colleagues, but I would earnestly suggest that this should be done so as not to produce a feeling in Congress circles that they have been bypassed. Such a feeling would create unnecessary difficulties in future. Many people from Madras, including several MPs here, while expressing admiration for your leadership, have said that there is friction between Congress organization and you and feeling that you ignore organization.³ They have also said that some members of your present team do not pull any weight at all although otherwise they may be good. There is also question of minority representation and suitable Harijan.

A month's delay is certainly not desirable, but there appears no harm in few days delay. Perhaps Bhaktavatsalam⁴ might be taken first and others later.

1. New Delhi, 7 October 1953. JN Collection.
2. On 6 October, Rajaji telegraphed that he had decided to invite M. Bhaktavatsalam, Rajaram Naidu and M. Ruthanaswamy to join the Cabinet and that any delay in the induction would lead to speculations about intra-party rivalry.
3. Approving of the need for Cabinet expansion in Madras, Nehru wrote to Rajaji on 6 October (not printed), "I would venture to suggest to you to keep in close touch with the Pradesh Congress Committee. Organizations count and have to be humoured, like other people."
4. M. Bhakthavatsalam (b. 1897); prominent Congress leader of Tamil Nadu; Minister for Public Works, Madras, 1946-52; Minister for Agriculture and Community Projects, 1953-57; for Home Affairs, 1957-62, for Finance and Education, 1962-63, and Chief Minister, 1963-67.

3. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
October 8, 1953

My dear Rajaji,

I have received two brief telegrams from Sri Prakasa and a letter.²

... It is clear that my officiousness has created a misunderstanding. I am

1. JN Collection. Extracts
2. On 7 October, Sri Prakasa had written that Rajaji was upset because of Kamaraj's disapproval of his choices for Cabinet expansion. Rajaji felt that his position was untenable and he should resign.

dreadfully sorry for it. I thought that you would not misunderstand what I had written. There was not the slightest intention on my part to fetter your discretion, and it would be quite absurd for me to suggest anything which would give Kamaraj a special position in such matters.³ As a matter of fact, we have expressly stated repeatedly that the Chief Ministers have discretion in the formation of their Ministry and the Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committees should not interfere. That is a general rule, even applying to our small and inexperienced States. Of course, informally, it is always open to the Chief Minister to discuss any important matter with friends and colleagues.

In regard to the larger States, the position goes even further for the simple reason that the Chief Ministers are experienced and old colleagues. I would not dream of suggesting to Pantji or to Morarji Desai that they should consult their Presidents of PCCs in regard to their Ministries. In your case, if I may say so, the position is even clearer. Is it conceivable that I would like to put Kamaraj in any position of interfering with your discretion? You know what I think of Kamaraj and what I think of you.

I am surprised therefore that you should have imagined, even for an instant, that I had suggested any such thing. What I had suggested, and that was for your consideration, was how best to create an impression. You will forgive me for saying what I might have done in the circumstances. I would not even have mentioned to Kamaraj any names which were in my mind. That would have been my prerogative. But I would have tried to find out, rather informally, what other important colleagues were thinking. Afterwards I would have come to my own decisions. In fact, you went farther than I would have gone in actually mentioning some names to Kamaraj.

I want to make it perfectly clear that in this matter it is your discretion, and your discretion alone, that counts finally both in regard to persons and timing. It is quite conceivable that any suggestions that I might make to you are based on imperfect knowledge of the situation. It is only a suggestion for you to consider, having regard to all the circumstances. We all have some experience of how best to deal with the public mind and I wanted to place my own experience at your disposal. Afterwards it was for you to decide. All that I was aiming at was that you should not have any petty trouble in future.

I have not had your telegram or letter in answer to mine. Perhaps, this is on the way. But from Sri Prakasa's letter I gather that you were much upset at my messages. This was the last thing that I wished to do and I am exceedingly

3. On 8 October, Sri Prakasa had clarified that the previous letter was sent as "dictated by Rajaji", who felt that Nehru's suggestions meant "subordination to Kamaraj". He advised Nehru to support Rajaji's decision, in which case he might even forget about expanding the Cabinet, with his "*Amour Propre* satisfied".

sorry and apologise. All of us have to work under some pressure and telegrams are usually brief and do not always convey full intention.

Anyhow, please do not worry at all about this matter and take such steps as you think best in the circumstances.⁴

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

4. On 8 October Sri Prakasa replied that Rajaji had strongly forbidden him from seeing Kamaraj and was certain that "we were selling Congress to Dravida Kazhagam." Finally on 9 October, Bhaktavatsalam, Rajaram Naidu and Jothi Venkatachalam were inducted into the Madras Cabinet.

4. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
November 6, 1953

My dear Rajaji,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received this evening.² I know practically nothing about the subject or about your new educational measure.³ From what little, I know, I rather like it. But the question that the letter has raised does seem to me deserving of consideration.⁴ If the Assembly has definitely passed a resolution, normally Government would act up to it, more especially, in a matter of this kind, that is, referring something to a Committee. Constitutionally Government is not bound by a resolution.⁵ But the Members of the Assembly

1. JN Collection. Copy of the letter was sent to Sri Prakasa.
2. The letter was from Swayam Prakasam, MLA, a senior opposition leader from Madras.
3. The Madras elementary education scheme envisaged increase in the number of students by cutting down the hours of schooling without any additional burden to the exchequer. The most prominent feature of the scheme was training of students in some creative skills after school hours.
4. Objections were raised to the scheme on the ground that children were supposed to learn such skills from their parents. This was seen as an attempt at perpetuating caste based crafts.
5. On 29 July, a motion that the bill be dropped was defeated by one vote, but another motion seeking that the bill be referred to an expert committee was passed by 139 to 137 votes.

are bound to feel a little hurt if their wishes expressed formally in Assembly are not respected.

I have no doubt that you have all these matters before you and decide as you think best.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
November 6, 1953

My dear Rajaji,

I have just this evening received your letter of November 5 about Varadarajulu Naidu's² letter³ and my reply to him.⁴ I have sent you a telegram in reply.

While appreciating the point you have made, my difficulty is two-fold. It is not usual for personal letters to be published without the permission of the writer. I would, therefore, require Varadarajulu's permission for publication. Secondly, we have passed resolutions in the AICC and the Working Committee repeatedly emphasizing that no controversy or dispute between Congressmen should be carried on in public or even referred to in public. In particular, this has been applied to Members of the Congress Legislature Parties. You know that it is no easy matter to keep these parties functioning together in many parts of India. We have had continuous difficulties in Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat,

1. JN Collection. Copy of this letter was sent to Sri Prakasa, the Governor of Madras.
2. P.V. Varadarajulu Naidu (1887-1957); President, Tamil Nadu Congress Committee, 1925-26; became a member of CWC in the same year; Member, Madras Legislative Assembly, 1952-57; in later years joined Hindu Mahasabha and became Vice President and then President of Tamil Nad branch of Hindu Mahasabha.
3. On 20 October, forty legislators, led by Naidu, sent a memorandum to Nehru objecting to (i) the manner in which Rajaji became a Member of the Upper House and then Chief Minister, without getting duly elected; (ii) his continuing in office even after the political crisis had blown over in the State; (iii) the manner in which he expanded the Cabinet, especially the inclusion of Jothi Venkatachalam, who was not even a Congress member; (iv) his insistence on the education scheme despite widespread opposition; and (v) his inability to pull along with other party leaders and taking vindictive steps such as cancellation of land granted to the political sufferers etc.
4. In his reply Nehru strongly chastised the legislators for their "ingratitude" and asked them to behave themselves and stay away from such "disruptionist tactics".

Mysore, Hyderabad, Bhopal, Ajmer and even in Bihar. In some other places too, there has been continuing friction. It has only been through the exercise of tact and firmness that we have held them together. We have always been reminding them of this rule in the Congress and, on the whole, they have accepted it. The disruptive tendencies everywhere are great. In the Congress Party, you will appreciate that a mere majority does not always help. In Bombay, Morarji Desai has succeeded in holding his party together. But the question of Maharashtra versus Gujarat is constantly cropping up and threatening to break up the party.

If, therefore, in a leading State like Madras, we break our own rule, then this might well lead to the opening of the floodgates everywhere else.

I have suggested that a brief statement might be issued on your behalf mentioning that the press accounts are wrong and exaggerated, that certain MLAs had written to me and I had sent a reply to them. Further the matter will be considered normally at the party meeting. This would put this matter at the normal level and not give it more importance than is necessary. Otherwise there will be a continuing controversy in the press and elsewhere, which will be unfortunate.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

6. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi
10th November, 1953

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter explaining to me what had happened about the Education Bill.² I did not know all these facts and it is clear that some of your opponents are deliberately trying to create trouble for you. In any event, the

1. File No.40(1070)/50-PMS.

2. In reply to Nehru's letter of 6 November, Rajaji wrote on 9 November that the controversy surrounding the education bill had been seized upon by those who wished to get rid of him. He described how through political intrigues legislators were taken over to the other side and the motion to refer the bill to an expert committee was passed.

committee you have appointed which is a high class committee, will be reporting in a few days' time.³

Personally I am entirely in favour of your Bill and I wish other Governments would do likewise.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

3. The four-man committee, headed by R.V. Parulekar, Director, Indian Institute of Education, Bombay, submitted its report on 23 November 1953. The Committee approved of Rajaji's scheme and recommended its implementation with minor changes.

7. To Sri Prakasa¹

New Delhi
November 18, 1953

My dear Prakasa,

I received your letter of November 8th some days ago. As you were travelling about, I did not quite know where to write.

I was a little surprised to read your account of how you were invited to deliver the convocation address at Allahabad and then had to give this up. I do not think that Munshi acted rightly in this matter.

I am greatly troubled about the student situation in the UP, and I fear that nobody has come out well out of it. There is something very basically wrong about our universities at present. We can make rules and laws of course, but ultimately it is the human factor that counts, and the responsibility must lie with the vice-chancellors, professors, etc.

About Rajaji, I do not quite know how to soothe him. I have tried my best not to say or do anything which might rub him up the wrong way. But he has grown so terribly sensitive that he takes offence where none is meant.

As for my sending him a letter which I received from one of the leading members of the Opposition in Madras,² I am surprised at his reaction. It is perfectly true that I make myself accessible to every disgruntled element in India. That is my consistent practice. In fact, I go out of my way. That does not mean that I encourage them; but it does mean that I am accessible to everyone, time permitting. I propose to continue this, because that is the way I control these people, and, if I may say so, to some extent, India. If Rajaji does not want

1. JN Collection.

2. Swayam Prakasam.

me to send these letters to him, I shall not do so, but that will be a wrong policy both for me and him.

It is difficult enough to hold this country together. If I followed Rajaji's policy, I would fall out with most people. It may be a logical policy, but it will result in failure.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

8. Confidence in the Leadership of Rajagopalachari¹

I have seen a statement in some newspapers to the effect that Dr P. Varadarajulu Naidu had sent me, through Shri Kamaraj Nadar, President of the Tamil Nad Pradesh Congress Committee, a document containing the signatures of a number of members of the Madras Legislature Congress Party. This document, it is stated, expresses want of confidence in the leader, Shri C. Rajagopalachari.

I was surprised to read this item of news, because I knew nothing about it and no such document has been given to me or sent to the AICC office. Any attempt to carry on a campaign of this kind and in particular, sending such news for publication to the press, are highly improper.

I have inquired from Shri Kamaraj Nadar about this. He has informed me that he had received some such paper (though not from Dr Varadarajulu Naidu), but he did not think it desirable or necessary to send it to me. He considered the publication of this item of news in the press improper.

Any move to express no confidence in the leader of the Congress Party in the legislature, Shri C. Rajagopalachari, is to be deprecated as this could only result in harm to the party, to the Congress and to the State of Madras.

The Central Parliamentary Board considered this matter and were of opinion that Dr Varadarajulu Naidu's action in this respect, was highly improper.² No

1. Statement to the press, New Delhi, 7 December 1953. From the *National Herald*, 9 December 1953.
2. Varadarajulu Naidu had issued a statement on 3 December 1953 that he had handed over to Kamaraj Nadar "a document expressing want of confidence in Mr C. Rajagopalachari's leadership and signed by a large majority (forty) of the elected members of the Congress Legislature Party" for transmission to the Congress President. Referring to Rajaji's pledge to fight the "spoils system in democracy", Naidu said that "again Rajaji has thrown a challenge to his partymen and taunted them" and that they accept the challenge.

member of the party should attempt to create dissensions in the party. If any complaint is to be made, it should be done according to rules. The Parliamentary Board was of opinion that Shri C. Rajagopalachari, who had undertaken the burden of his high office at the unanimous request of all those concerned nearly two years ago, should be asked to continue in that office in the interest of the State of Madras.

The President of the Pradesh Congress Committee stated that he would offer his full cooperation.

I trust that all members of the Madras Legislature Congress Party will cooperate together and maintain discipline and not encourage any fissiparous tendencies.

9. To C. Rajagopalachari¹

New Delhi

December 15, 1953

My dear Rajaji,

On return to Delhi from Calcutta today, I received three letters from you, one dated December 12, about cholera in Malabar.

In another letter,² you refer to the possibility of the transfer of some Communist prisoners. I am referring this matter to the Home Minister immediately.

Your third letter³ deals with the Dravida Kazhagam people who propose to call their party in the Assembly as the "Dravidian Parliamentary Party". I dislike

1. JN Collection.

2. Rajaji in his letter of 13 December requested Nehru to find out if Madhya Pradesh or any other big Part C State would agree to take over seven Communist prisoners, who had gone on hunger-strike in Madras jails demanding release. Transfer of these prisoners, sentenced for life, to some State was necessary "where their stunt can have no effect on the public", he added.

3. Rajaji referring to the decision of the Dravida Kazhagam leaders to call their Parliamentary Party, Dravidian Parliamentary Party, wrote that the proposed name, rooted in communal and caste conflict, was constitutionally objectionable. Since the Speaker of the Madras Legislative Assembly had doubts, Rajaji requested Nehru to have the matter examined by the Law Ministry, Home Ministry and by the Attorney General.

this communal nomenclature very much. But I do not see how you can prevent it. We have got the Hindu Mahasabha in Parliament here. I am, however, sending it to our Ministries for their opinion.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(iii) Bombay

1. To Morarji Desai¹

New Delhi
October 12, 1953

My dear Morarji,

Jayaprakash Narayan has written a letter to me sending me a press cutting which I enclose.² He says: "I cannot describe to you the feeling of anger and distress that this news has aroused in my heart. If all values have not changed, just because British rule has been substituted by Congress rule, you too should share my feelings." I remember that, when we went to prison, most of us refused to give our finger prints. Certainly I refused to do so. Finger prints are meant for a particular purpose of identifying criminals. I think it is wrong to impose a dead rule like this on political and like prisoners. In any event, this creates great resentment and is bad from that point of view also. I hope you will have this practice ended.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 7(276)/53-PMS.

2. Jayaprakash Narayan wrote to Nehru on 10 October, enclosing a clipping from the *Indian Nation* (Patna), reporting the refusal of PSP leaders, who were arrested in connection with Pardi satyagraha to give finger prints to the prison authorities.

3. On 19 October, the Government of Bombay applied for the withdrawal of their application pending before the First Class Magistrate, Pardi, asking for finger impressions of Asoka Mehta, Amul Desai and others accused in the Pardi-khedut satyagraha.

2. To Morarji Desai¹

New Delhi
November 19, 1953

My dear Morarji,

I do not know what you intend doing with Asoka Mehta. I believe he has been sentenced to an year's imprisonment, of which he must have spent a month or so already. Now that your Government has taken a strong line and gone through with it, I imagine that it would be a better course to release these people. Otherwise a trail of bitterness bringing conflicts will continue.

I am suggesting this for your consideration. You know the circumstances better and will decide as you think best.²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No.7(276)/53-PMS.
2. On 21 November, Morarji Desai replied that he had been thinking of premature release of those convicted in connection with Pardi satyagraha. But the PSP had, in the meantime, launched a boycott of local landlords, mostly peasant proprietors, and it was necessary "to wait for an appropriate opportunity when a gesture of this kind could advantageously be made." In fact, on 13 December, the State Government unconditionally released the convicts and undertrials in the Pardi case.

(iv) Punjab

1. To K.N. Katju¹

New Delhi
October 12, 1953

My dear Kailas Nath,

Master Tara Singh is now, according to him, marching slowly towards Delhi with his *jatha* with the intention of what is called a *morcha*.² He talks vaguely of starting a hunger-strike with his *jatha* in front of my house in Delhi. Meanwhile, he is visiting various parts of Punjab and trying his best to build

1. JN Collection.
2. On 30 September 1953, the Shiromani Akali Dal at a convention at Anandpur Sahib passed a resolution demanding "equal treatment to Sikh counterparts of scheduled castes" by amending the Presidential Order of 1950. It decided to start a *morcha* led by Tara Singh to Delhi to press for its demand.

up a Sikh agitation. One of the major objectives must be to influence the Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee's election this month. Also the Pepsu general elections later. His stock has gone down recently and he is trying to build it up.

The point is how to deal with this. I had a brief talk with C.P.N. Singh³ and Bhimsen Sachar⁴ about this when they came here last. They told me that they did not attach too much importance to this.

The question is at what stage we interfere and in what way. The Punjab Government can do something in this matter, or the Delhi Government, to stop his entry into Delhi, or something else can be done later. I think all this requires consideration at this stage so that we may not have to face a developing situation later. It might be better for the Punjab Government to issue some order on him not to enter some place, and, if he does so, to take action. Or the Delhi Government can prevent his entry into Delhi. I do not want things to advance so far as to have Master Tara Singh sitting at my gate.

I should like you to consider all this and confer with the Punjab and Delhi Governments on the subject.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Governor of Punjab.

4. Chief Minister of Punjab.

2. To C.P.N. Singh¹

New Delhi
October 18, 1953

My dear Chandreswar,

...We are clearly of opinion that no steps should be taken against Master Tara Singh in Pepsu or in the Punjab now. It is too late to do that, and, as far as we have understood, the reaction in Pepsu to Master Tara Singh's *marcha* has been little.²

We are equally clearly of opinion that master Tara Singh should not be allowed to enter Delhi State. Therefore, if and when he enters the State, an

1. Bhimsen Sachar Papers, NMML. Extracts.

2. In Pepsu the Riyasti Akali Dal of Sampuran Singh Raman. They considered Tara Singh's agitation for Sikh scheduled castes as a political stunt and started a counter *marcha* for a Punjabi speaking State.

order prohibiting his entry will be served to him with such consequences as may follow. This must be kept quite secret.

The other question arises about the so-called Sikh Scheduled Castes. The position in the Punjab, as you know, is that all these Sikh Scheduled Castes have been given all such privileges as have been given to other scheduled castes, with one exception. This exception relates to elections. That is, a member of these particular castes may, if we so decide, be permitted to stand for the Reserved Seat. That is the only difference left. It is something which can apply only to a very few persons and only when an election takes place. Probably the question will not arise till the next general elections.

It is rather absurd that over this very trivial matter there should be so much fuss. So far as we are concerned, we have long made it clear that we have no objection to this being permitted. We left it to the Punjab Government to decide. The Punjab Government has gone a long way but did not decide this particular point.³ We feel that no harm will be done if this is decided favourably to these Sikh Scheduled Castes. The demand has little meaning and the opposition to it has equally little meaning.⁴

When I spoke to Sachar about this, the only doubt he appeared to have in his mind was that saying anything at this stage of this kind might be construed as a triumph for Master Tara Singh. Perhaps to a small extent this might be so though I do not think it can mean much. As a matter of fact, even Bhimsen Sachar announced some time ago that this matter was being given favourable consideration by the Central Government.

Therefore, we would suggest that the Central Government might issue a note to the effect that we were considering this matter as well as some demands from other parts of India of certain castes (non-Sikh) for inclusion in the list of Scheduled Castes favourably and that action will be taken when our information is complete. Something can be said that this applies only to persons standing for election and the question does not arise till probably a general election.

3. The Government of Punjab had raised the percentage of reservation for Scheduled Castes in services to 19 per cent, but the issue of including more classes of Sikhs in the schedule was pending in view of an all-party conference, called by Sachar, for 1 November 1953.
4. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh in Punjab opposed the Akalis and demanded that the existing President's Order on Scheduled Castes be replaced by a new one giving special rights and privileges to people, not on the basis of their religion or caste, but on the basis of their socio-economic backwardness. The other front of opposition was led by the Punjab Scheduled Caste Federation, Mazhabi Sikh Sudhar Mandal, Mazhabi Sikh Purusharthi Sabha and Baba Jiwan Singh Dal, who claimed that it was a "political stunt" by the Akali leadership consisting of big landlords, who wanted to divert attention from the fundamental issue of land reforms.

I am writing this to know what your reaction is to this.⁵ I understand that your Chief Minister is going to Kulu. I am not writing to him directly there, but I am sending a copy of this letter anyhow to him as I would like his and his colleagues' reactions. This does not mean that he should consult his Cabinet as well, but two or three prominent members like Pratap Singh.

Whatever has to be done must be done fairly soon. On Dr. Katju's and my return from Allahabad, we will consider this matter afresh and come to decisions. I hope to hear from Sachar and from you by then.

Dr. Katju will be writing to you about this matter separately on the same lines as I have done.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. C.P.N. Singh in his reply of 22 October agreed with Nehru and sent a draft statement on the lines of Nehru's suggestion. He felt that the Punjab Cabinet was very sensitive about letting any credit go to Master Tara Singh in this matter and advised that the Government of India might invite some senior leaders for consultation and announce its decision for a change in the Constitution to include some Sikh scheduled castes and introduce a bill in the Parliament session in March 1954.

3. To K.N. Katju¹

New Delhi
October 18, 1953

My dear Kailas Nath,

Your letter of the 17th October about Tara Singh.²

I think that this question should be treated as purely a Punjab and Central Government issue and other Provinces should not be brought into the picture.³

1. JN Collection.
2. Katju stated that he had written to State Governments on 29 September regarding the Sikh scheduled castes issue and was expecting their replies soon. He felt that even the Punjab Congress leaders seemed to be divided on the issue. While Bhimsen Sachar and Pratap Singh Kairon felt that conceding the Akali demands would be deemed as a victory for Tara Singh, Sunder Singh, the Harijan member of the Punjab Cabinet, held that it was a mistake to have applied the principle of Scheduled Castes to the Sikh community and it should be reversed.
3. There were 34 classes of Scheduled Castes included in the President's Order, including four classes from among the Sikhs, which was done in deference to the wishes of the Sikh leaders in 1950. These classes were entitled to the reservation benefits in legislatures and services. The Akali Dal was demanding an amendment to the Order to include 14 more classes from among the Sikhs in the Schedule.

There are two questions to be dealt with by us; one that of Sikh scheduled castes and the other what to do with Master Tara Singh.

Long ago, we made it clear to the Punjab Government that we would accept their advice in the matter of Sikh scheduled castes. Personally, I was even then of opinion that this should not be an all-India question but confined to the Punjab. There is no doubt that there is a difference of opinion which is largely on Hindu-Sikh lines.⁴ I think we must, in this matter, abide by the Punjab Government's decision but apply it only to the Punjab.

When I met Sachar,⁵ he seemed to be of opinion that, on the merits, it was desirable to accept the claim of the Sikh Scheduled Castes in the Punjab. What he was worried about was that, now that Tara Singh had started his so-called *morchha*, we should not do it at this particular stage as this would be an encouragement to Tara Singh. Again, I said that this was for the Punjab Government to consider.

The more important question that arises is what to do with Tara Singh. I am clear that he should not be allowed to enter the Delhi State, that is to say, some order must be served on him to prevent his entry into Delhi State and he should be arrested if he tries to enter it. Again, the question is whether such an order should be served at this stage or even earlier. It might have been done in the Punjab. That was not done. Later it might have been done before he entered Pepsu. I suppose he has just entered Pepsu. The third stage is when he leaves Pepsu and enters Punjab again from Pepsu. He will pass Ambala, Karnal etc. on his way to Delhi. There appears no adequate reason for serving that order when he enters the Punjab again from Pepsu. It is perhaps too late to do so in Pepsu now. But this matter should be enquired into from our Administrator, Rau⁶ at Patiala immediately. The night before last, there was a meeting of Pepsu and Punjab police officers to consider the question. I do not know what the result was.

I suggest, therefore, that you might immediately get in touch on the telephone with Rau and, if necessary, with the Punjab Government to find out what they think about this matter — I mean the issue of an order against Tara Singh.

4. While the Hindu Scheduled Castes felt that the inclusion of more classes of Sikhs would decrease their opportunities, the Sikhs felt that mere recognition as Scheduled Castes would not solve their problems, as most of them were landless peasants.
5. Sachar met Nehru on 15 October 1953.
6. Pendyala Satyanarayana Rau (1894); entered ICS, 1918; Commissioner, Nagpur Division, 1943-45; Chief Secretary and Adviser to the Governor of Madhya Pradesh, 1946-48; Regional Commissioner and Adviser to the Rajpramukh of Rajasthan and Dewan of Jodhpur, 1948-49; Regional Commissioner and Adviser to the Rajpramukh and Government of Madhya Bharat, 1949-52; Adviser, Pepsu, 1953-54; Chairman, Damodar Valley Corporation, 1954-56; Adviser to the Rajpramukh, Travancore-Cochin, March-December, 1956.

As far as I can make out, it is too late to do so in Pepsu unless he does something special in Pepsu.

In any event, the Delhi Administration should be instructed immediately that they must not allow Tara Singh to enter here and should take all steps to that end by issuing a proper order to him. As you will be going away to Allahabad tomorrow, it will be desirable to make this clear before you go.

As regards the other matter about the Sikh scheduled castes, obviously we cannot take a sudden step in the course of the next two or three days. We have to consider this matter a little further in consultation with the Punjab Government.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(v) Pepsu

1. To Raghbir Singh¹

New Delhi
22nd October, 1953

My dear Raghbir Singh,²
Your letter of the 19th October.³

I am surprised to learn that there is any proposal for a settlement with the Akali Party. There is no such proposal or suggestion before us.

As for Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala,⁴ ever since I came in contact with

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to K.N. Katju.
2. President, Pepsu Pradesh Congress Committee.
3. Raghbir Singh had written that he had been informed by Gian Singh Rarewala, President, National Front, Pepsu, that Master Tara Singh was going to lead a *jatha* to Delhi and before he could reach Delhi, his demands were likely to be met by the Government because the Congress High Command wanted to reach a settlement with National Front leaders in Pepsu before elections. He warned that any such proposal for settlement might be used as a fulcrum for pressing their demands again and again.
4. (b.1901); First Class Magistrate, Patiala, 1928; Revenue Commissioner, 1942; Revenue Minister, 1947; Premier, Pepsu, 1949-52; Chief Minister, Pepsu, 1952-53; Leader of the Opposition, 1954-56; Minister for Irrigation, Power and Community Development, Punjab, 1957-59, for Agriculture and Forests, 1959-61, for Irrigation and Power, 1961-62.

him, he has produced the most unfavourable impression upon me. I have come to the conclusion that he is wholly unreliable. Of course, if he wishes to dissociate himself publicly from the Akalis, he is welcome to do so. But we should be careful about entangling ourselves in such matters.

There is no question of political settlement with Master Tara Singh. At the present moment he has raised a very minor point. That point has been under consideration by us for some time past and we shall come to some decision, quite apart from what Master Tara Singh may or may not desire. In any event, we do not propose to go out of our way to please Master Tara Singh.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To P.S. Rau¹

New Delhi
November 28, 1953

My dear Rau,

Your letter of the 28th November about Jathedar Sampuran Singh Raman.² What you suggest should be done has been done more than once. That is to say, some common friends have gone to him and told him exactly what you suggest. But he was obstinate then. Whether he will still be obstinate, I do not know. Anyhow, I am perfectly willing for someone, preferably on behalf of the State Government, to tell him so as you suggest. There is no question of prestige involved about this so far as we are concerned.

The way to deal with these matters is generally not to treat them seriously and not allow them to become serious, as they would when a fast continues. I had suggested both in Tara Singh's case and Sampuran Singh's that they should be arrested when they enter Delhi State, put in a car and taken back home and released there.³ If they come again, the same procedure should be repeated.

1. JN Collection. Extracts. A copy was sent to Kailas Nath Katju.
2. Sampuran Singh Raman had announced his intention of leading a *jatha* to Delhi and undertake fast unto death in front of the Prime Minister's house demanding formation of a Punjabi-speaking State.
3. Sampuran Singh Raman was arrested at Narela Railway Station on his way to Delhi on 1 November and released on 24 November 1953. He persisted with his demands despite the Akali Dal's withdrawal from the scene, and was rearrested at Kishanganj near Delhi on 30 November.

This makes their repeated attempts rather ridiculous. This was not followed in Sampuran Singh's case as Tara Singh was coming a few days later...

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To the Maharani of Patiala¹

New Delhi
29th December, 1953

My dear Maharani Saheba,²

Thank you for your letter of 8th December.³

The scene created at Fatehgarh Sahib⁴ was, undoubtedly, most unfortunate and did no credit to those who were responsible for it. If this kind of thing occurs, it lowers the tone of our public affairs. You say in your letter that this was engineered by Gian Singh Rarewala. I had no high opinion of Gian Singh previously, as I told you, but after this incident he sinks still low in my estimation. It is sad that people of his type and Master Tara Singh's utter irresponsibility should play an important role in public affairs.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Mohinder Kaur, Maharani of Patiala (b. 1922); Chairman, Women's Savings Campaign, Pepsu and Punjab, 1953-57; Chairman, State Social Welfare Advisory Board, 1954-55 and of Punjab, 1957-60; Vice-President, Bharat Krishak Samaj, 1962-67; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1964-67 and 1978-84; Member, Lok Sabha, 1967-71; General Secretary, Congress (O), 1974-77.
3. Mohinder Kaur had written that she knew that Akali Dal leaders and Gian Singh Rarewala were planning a demonstration at Fatehgarh Sahib during Nehru's visit. She had sent her father to convince Tara Singh that the Prime Minister's visit was "purely official". Tara Singh had replied that his leadership was at stake and he could not withdraw his move. But he gave his word that "nothing would be done inside the Gurdwara." The Maharani expressed her profound regret at the incident and contended that "this ugly scene was created at the instigation of Gian Singh."
4. On 27 December, during Nehru's visit to the Fatehgarh Sahib Gurdwara, Akali workers led by Tara Singh disrupted a meeting by throwing brickbats and shouting that they would not let Nehru speak. This incident was condemned allround and 300 members of the Akali Dal resigned protesting against the incident which they claimed, had "lowered the dignity of the Sikhs" and was a "slur on the Panth."

4. To K.N. Katju¹

New Delhi
December 29, 1953

My dear Kailas Nath,

You must have read in the newspapers about the happenings at Fatehgarh Sahib, where I went on Sunday last. I expected some trouble there and in fact we had been warned previously. I had, therefore, made up my mind not to lose my temper whatever happened. I carried out my decision and in fact was rather amused at the folly of other people, notably that clown, Tara Singh. Most decent people have reacted against Tara Singh and company.²

But there are some aspects of this matter which deserve further consideration. I am told that Tara Singh and his Akalis go about saying that they will make it impossible for any Congress meeting to be held. Also this kind of thing naturally puts a premium on violence.

I went to Fatehgarh Sahib at the express invitation of the Maharaja of Patiala as conveyed to me personally by his wife. Colonel Raghbir Singh and others joined in this invitation and I decided to go. Intelligence reported to us repeatedly that Tara Singh wanted to create trouble. The night before I went, at midnight, Rau telephoned to me from Fatehgarh Sahib to tell me that the Akalis were bent on trouble. I must say that with all this previous information, the arrangements might have been more intelligently organized. The persons who were responsible for these did not come out with too much credit. I do not know who was actually responsible. Most people of importance in Pepsu were there—the Rajpramukh, the Administrator,³ the Assistant Administrator⁴ (Tandon), the Inspector-General of Police⁵ and many others.⁶ Perhaps too many cooks rather spoiled the broth. While intelligent people have been disgusted with Tara Singh, it is quite possible that the hooligan elements might have been encouraged. Here is the Prime Minister, the Rajpramukh, the Administrator, all the senior Police officials and others challenged face to face by Tara Singh

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Tara Singh's behaviour was condemned all round and was variously described as "an election stunt" and as a "most irreligious, undignified and unjustified demonstration."

3. P.S. Rau.

4. B.R. Tandon.

5. Sant Prakash Singh.

6. Those present also included Ranbir Singh, Chief Secretary, Pepsu, C.L. Malhotra, Superintendent, CID, Pepsu and Gurdial Singh Hareka, President, Dharmarth Board, in-charge of Fatehgarh Sahib Gurdwara.

and Tara Singh succeeds in preventing what had been arranged. Of course it was difficult inside a Gurdwara to take any step which might have led to trouble. That is why I had decided not to intervene.

The Maharani of Patiala wrote to me that all this had been organized by Gian Singh Rarewala, who then left for Delhi. Both the Maharaja and the Maharani have said or written to me that this kind of thing cannot be tolerated in the future and must be ended. That is all very well. But what exactly is going to be done? C.P.N. Singh, the Governor of the Punjab, also spoke to me today and said that action must be taken immediately and if the Pepsu Government did not do so, the Punjab Government will take some steps against Tara Singh.

I am inclined to agree that it is about time that Master Tara Singh's pretensions were ended. He has had too long a rope. Also Gian Singh Rarewala's who appears to me to be a bounder of the worst type.

Tara Singh delivered a speech in Bombay recently in which, I am told, he openly advocated violence.⁷ I think that the Bombay Government should be asked what they propose to do about that speech.

The Pepsu Government should be asked what action they propose to take in regard to the happenings at Fatehgarh Sahib and the Punjab Government should also be consulted about possible future action by them. We should also think how to deal with Gian Singh Rarewala.

I propose to mention this matter in Cabinet tomorrow. It has a certain importance and we should share our thoughts with our colleagues...

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Tara Singh was reported to have said that if "the Central Government does not accede to Akali demand for a Punjabi-speaking state then they would get it through "the force of their arm."

(vi) Hyderabad

1. To B. Ramakrishna Rao¹

New Delhi
October 8, 1953

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,²

The issues that have been raised in regard to Hyderabad are important and have to be settled at an early date.³ I think that it would be desirable for you, Bindu⁴ and Ramananda Tirtha⁵ to come to Delhi for this purpose....

So far as the question of the Tenancy Bill⁶ is concerned, this can be discussed perhaps some time later with the Planning Commission. For that purpose the movers of amendments should be here. As far as I can see, the differences are neither vital nor far-reaching. If you like, when you come here, you can have a talk with the Planning Commission but, as I have said above, this matter had better be dealt with a little later, but much before your special session of the Assembly meets to consider the Tenancy Bill.⁷

The real question that I wish to discuss with you relates to the Government set-up. It is this political question that has assumed considerable importance and has to be considered fully and decisions taken.⁸

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Chief Minister of Hyderabad.
3. The Hyderabad Assembly session was to continue till 20 October. But due to difference of opinion in the Congress Legislative Party over the Tenancy Bill and an open threat by some Congress legislator that they would support the Government only till 12 October, the House was prorogued prematurely on 7 October 1953.
4. Digambar Rao Bindu, Home Minister, Hyderabad.
5. President, Hyderabad Pradesh Congress Committee.
6. Differences over the Bill centred around the quantum of family holding. The dissident Congressmen refused to accept the recommendations of the Select Committee.
7. The main points regarding the Bill pertained to (i) size of the family holding, (ii) resumption of land by land holders for personal cultivation, (iii) taking over of surplus land by the Government. The Opposition and Congress rebels' proposal that the family holding be fixed on the basis of revenue was turned down by the Select Committee. On 15 December, the Opposition move to raise the proportion of basic holdings to family holdings from one third to one half was defeated by 87 to 71 votes. The Government argued that these amendments if accepted would adversely affect landlords wishing to resume land for personal cultivation.
8. The fight in Hyderabad was between the Congress organizational and Parliamentary wings. The former was led by the PCC Chief, Ramananda Tirtha and the latter by Ramakrishna Rao.

As you know, I was greatly irritated by the action taken by some Members of your Assembly in threatening to withdraw their support from the party. They were completely wrong in this, but so far as other matters are concerned, they have to be dealt with fully and finally. We have gone into them fairly thoroughly and are in a position to discuss them with you and others concerned. We have even considered the question at an emergent meeting of the Working Committee held yesterday.

I hope, therefore, that you would be able to come here on one of the dates mentioned above with the two others referred to. Please inform Bindu and Swamiji.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To Ramananda Tirtha¹

New Delhi
October 8, 1953

My dear Swamiji,

I have your letter of the 7th October. I am glad you have written to me frankly because there must be utmost frankness between us.

As you know, I was greatly irritated at the joint letter sent by some Members of the Assembly stating that they would withdraw their support to the Party. That is a kind of thing which is totally inexcusable, whatever the justification for it might be. One must not mix up two things. One wrong is not righted by another wrong.

It is clear that we have to come to early and final decisions about all these matters and, in fact, about the future set-up of the Hyderabad Government itself. For this purpose it is necessary that, as early as possible, we should have full talks here in Delhi with Ramakrishna Rao, you and Bindu...

You will, no doubt, realise that we have to deal not merely with personal matters, which may be important, but with far-reaching problems relating to

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Ramakrishna Rao, Digambar Rao Bindu, Ramananda Tirtha appeared before the Congress Working Committee on 23 October. The CWC, under Nehru gave the Ministry a 'clean chit.'

the whole set up in Hyderabad. We have to give these our earnest consideration keeping in view all the possible consequences of the action we take.

You have referred to the future of Hyderabad meaning, presumably, the demand for the disintegration of the State. That is a question which, to my thinking, does not arise at all at the present stage. When it arises, it will be dealt with.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To the Nizam of Hyderabad¹

New Delhi
October 12, 1953

My dear friend,²

Thank you for your letter of the 7th October.

The letter I addressed to you was also addressed to a large number of Princes in India.³ It was an attempt to consider recent developments in India on the political and economic plane, with special reference to the position of the Princes and their Privy Purses, etc. I raised the general question without going into individual cases. It is perfectly true, as you have pointed out yourself, that I made no concrete suggestion. I did so deliberately as I wanted the Princes to think about this new position and then for us to confer.

You have mentioned many matters in the course of your letter. I do not think it will serve any purpose for me to discuss these matters here or to go into any individual case. This may be desirable later.

To some extent I find that your approach is different from mine. Indeed, that is natural and is not surprising because of our different experience of the world and of India and, to some extent, our national objectives being also dissimilar. Nevertheless, it has been our earnest attempt to find common ways

1. JN Collection.
2. He was the Rajpramukh of Hyderabad State.
3. Nehru had circulated a personal appeal to every ruler receiving a privy purse of over one lakh of rupees to accept a voluntary and substantial cut. The suggestion had been based on the plea that the step was needed if the Princes were to move in accordance with the spirit of the time which was against the display of undue opulence. See *Selected Works*, (second series) Vol.23, pp.213-220.

of working in India. We have succeeded in this to a large measure, much to the surprise of a large part of the world where, in similar circumstances, there has been a great conflict, often resulting in complete upsets.

At a later stage I hope to address you further on this subject.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(vii) NEFA

1. Details of the NEFA Incident¹

Before I read the statement,² Sir, may I suggest that we need not take too exaggerated a view of this incident, serious and tragic as it was, and we need not imagine that any large upheaval anywhere has taken place? The facts I shall state presently when I read the statement.

The scene of this tragedy lies near the Subansiri river in the Subansiri district of the North East Frontier Agency. The facts in brief are that on the 22nd of October, 1953, a composite column of NEFA officials, Assam Rifles and a number of village headmen, accompanied by porters, arrived at Achingmori in the afternoon. The party consisted of Major R.D. Singh, accompanied by 22 other ranks of the Assam Rifles, one Area Superintendent, two Jamadars, two interpreters, 17 village headmen and 100 porters. The object of the party was to investigate into certain tribal feuds in this area and to distribute medicines, salt and other necessities among the tribesmen. The party found a campside cleared by the local tribesmen in this area with temporary *bashas* i.e., thatched huts constructed by them for the camp in an area of approximately 100x150 yards. All round this camp was a thick virgin forest. The Patrol Commander, Major

1. Statement in the House of the People, 21 November 1953. *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People)*, Official Report, Vol.V, Pt.I, 16 November to 18 December 1953, cols.249-256. Extracts.
2. This statement was made in response to a point of order raised by Debeswar Sarmah, a Congress Member from Jorhat.

R.D. Singh, interpreted this as a sign of friendliness on the part of the local tribesmen and did not consider it necessary to adopt the normal protective measures. The Area Superintendent's party started opening the medicine chests and issuing medicines, while one of the Jamadars started collecting the salt bags for issue to bribesmen. Just then about 10 Daflas—that is the name of that particular tribe—came to the camp and asked the sentry's permission to go inside the camp. The sentry in turn asked Major R.D. Singh who allowed their men to enter without taking the necessary precautions and disarming them. They were armed with *dahs* or swords, and as soon as they entered the camp, they killed the sentry. This was a signal for 400 or 500 Daflas, who had been hiding all round the camp in the jungle, armed with *dahs*, spears, bows and arrows. They rushed into the camp and killed the Area Superintendent and two other officials. Just then Major R.D. Singh rushed around to get the escort party together but in the process he himself was attacked and killed. According to reports received up to date, about 5 Assam Rifles men, 30 other tribesmen have been killed, making a total of about 40. The remaining 60 to 70 are reported to be held in detention by the Daflas. About half a dozen of them have since been released.

The first information regarding this incident reached Officer Commanding, Gusar Outpost, which is about four to five days' march from this place, on the 25th of October. He sent the information to Shillong and rushed half a platoon to try to rescue the others. They could not, however, proceed beyond the first stage because the cane bridge connecting the place had been destroyed by the Daflas.

On receipt of this information at Shillong, immediate steps were taken to reinforce the various outposts in the Subansiri and the Abor Hills districts and additional Assam Rifles platoons were flown to various places. Indian Air Force were flown practically every day over the area to reconnoitre.

The reason for the crime appears to be the traditional hostility between the Dafla tribes of the Tagin Area and the Abor tribes of the Abor Hills district. Formerly, the Daflas used to extort tributes and take slaves from the Abors. Since the extension of the administration to the Abor Hills district, these exactions were stopped. It is also possible that the Daflas of Tagin area may have resented the large number of Abor porters accompanying the party. The incident might have been averted if Major Singh had taken the necessary precautions, which are normally taken on such occasions. During the visits of two previous parties to this area there had been no such incident, because the necessary precautions had been taken.

It is difficult to get exact details of the incident and the real motive for this crime until peace and order have been restored in this area and the guilty have been brought to book. This will, naturally, take some time in view of the difficult terrain, the absence of any tracks, etc. It would have been easy enough for us to

take punitive action against these simple, proud and virile people. We could have bombed their villages and killed a large number of their people. No great skill was needed for that, but we are treating the incident normally as we would treat a dacoity or a riot, the only difference being that it took place in somewhat unusual surroundings. The policy of our Government is not to strike terror or kill and destroy indiscriminately. We shall certainly restore peace and order in this area, bring to book the real offenders and ring leaders, but we do not wish to punish the innocent and the misguided. We are confident that we can have the friendship and respect of these simple folks by adopting a firm, clear and sympathetic policy towards them. By adopting a strong, dignified and imaginative policy we can win their esteem and affection. We have, therefore, warned them that if they do not surrender the hostages, arms and ammunition captured by them by a certain date, action will be taken against them. Details are not yet available but information has been received that headmen of the Daflas living in the upper Tagin area have offered their services and cooperation to our outposts north of Achingmori. We expect our land forces to enter the affected area in the last week of this month and shall be in a position to give greater details after they have restored peace and order in the affected locality.

May I further explain that this area is a completely unadministered area? There had been no kind of administration there previously—in fact not only there, but in the adjoining districts as well. Our administration has gradually spread to the adjoining districts, though even they are hard and difficult of access, owing to lack of communications, and it takes some weeks to march there. In one or two places, some airstrips have been made, and so one can go there quickly—i.e., a few persons by air—but, normally, of course, people have to march long distances. In this particular distant area, surrounded by forests, there has been no experience thus far, for the people there, of an administration, and it is not very surprising that when they act in a manner which may not be easily understandable or very reasonable, one would not take it quite so seriously in their case, as one would in any other case. It is our intention, as soon as these persons have been adequately dealt with, and we have spread some simple form of administration there, to send some doctors, agricultural advisers etc.³ to these areas also⁴....

I would gladly give as much information as I have. The honourable Member opposite refers to long terms measures. Long term measures are the measures

3. Major Kathing, a Naga officer, was deputed to the Tuensang area in December 1953 for tightening control. He undertook a tour in the area and recommended development programmes in Sema, Sangtam and Yimchunger areas. Accordingly in early 1954, the Government opened schools and dispensaries and upgraded the administrative post.
4. H.N. Mukerjee asked Nehru whether he would state what measures had been proposed for the relief of economic distress in the area.

we are taking in other districts of the North East Frontier Agency. The very first thing necessary is the building of roads and communications; otherwise, one cannot reach there or do anything. The second thing that we have done is giving some kind of medical help and also making available agricultural advisers, and this is yielding results in these places. This particular incident has nothing to do with the measures we take or do not take. From the point of view of administrative purposes, it is a completely virgin area. As perhaps the House knows, I am a considerable admirer of these tribes of the North East Frontier. They are a fine lot of people. These Daflas, whom I have seen, are perhaps the most primitive of the people I have seen round about there. We treat them as one's children; we treat them firmly, if you like, but also gently and give them as much help as we can—medical, agricultural and other. Normally speaking, of course, nothing from outside has gone there; I mean to say, there they do not import or export; they live their own life in that restricted area and one does not want suddenly to change their way of life. That upsets them completely, but we must gradually help them to help themselves...

The fact that that place is not an administered area does not mean that it is outside—I am not talking about law, but of practice—the territory of the Indian Union. As a matter of fact, we are administering area beyond it, the border area that is administered. We have outposts and checkposts beyond that. These are virgin forests in between and the question does not arise of their considering in a constitutional sense what their position is. I do not think they are acquainted with any Constitution.

2. To Bisnuram Medhi¹

New Delhi
December 3, 1953

My dear Medhi,

Sometime ago, the President of the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee, Shri Bimalaprasad Chaliha, sent me a report of his visit to the Naga Hills.² I suppose

1. JN Collection. Copy was also sent to Jairamadas Doulatram.
2. Chaliha undertook the tour on 18 September 1953 to study the Naga areas. He reported to Nehru: "you will agree with me that the situation in the Naga Hills is not only unhappy but quite stiff. It may need repeated efforts and months or may be years to improve the situation if it could be improved at all."

you have seen a copy of this report. I have found it very interesting. In this report he mentions that he was going to return to the Naga Hills.³ Did he go there again and, if so, did he give you any additional report?

I should like to have your comments on Chaliha's report. I should also like to know what, in your view, the position is in the Naga Hills. According to Chaliha's report, the administration hardly functions there, and the Nagas hold together completely.

Since you have changed your Deputy Commissioner there,⁴ what other developments, are taking place? Has the new Deputy Commissioner made good in any way or created a better impression? Have there been any aggressive or violent activities of the Nagas or any incidents?

Whatever might happen there, our policy will have to be a friendly one, though also a firm one. The friendly aspect should not be forgotten. At the same time, we must not appear to surrender. As we have stated previously, we are prepared to consider a large measure of autonomy for that area and non-interference with their local affairs. But we are not prepared to talk even on the basis of independence.⁵ These questions, however, do not arise at present. I think the best course will be to let them lie low and carry on the administration there quietly with as little interference as possible.

We must remember that in fact the Nagas outside the Naga District, and more especially in Manipur, are, on the whole, cooperating with the Government there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Chaliha undertook a second visit on 21 October 1953. He reported that the demand for independence was sincere and popular, though based more on sentiments rather than reason; that the civil administration in the area was weak and that creation of an alternative leadership was possible only if a scheme respecting the Naga sentiments could be evolved.
4. S.N. Barkataki was replaced by S.J.D. Carvalho.
5. Amrit Kaur during her tour of the area met the Naga leaders on 30 November 1953. She agreed to most of their demands except the demand relating to the question of independence. Bisnuram Medhi, too, declared on 2 December that he could not justify the demand for an independent Naga State, which he thought was being raised by a few misguided leaders.

3. Policy Towards Tribal People¹

The letter from the Government of Assam to the Joint Secretary dated December 6, 1953, is interesting and poses a number of questions for our consideration.

2. I might state to begin with that, however much we may deplore the tragedy at Achingmori, there is nothing in it for us to blame the administration. The Governor has rightly pointed out that, during the last five or six years, we have extended our administration over a large area quite peacefully and without a single incident. This is a very creditable record, considering the primitive people who live there and the terrain. It seems fairly clear that the person to blame for this incident was the unfortunate Major Singh, who himself became a casualty.

3. This confirms our opinion that it is most important for our officers there, both civil and military, to have special training for work in these areas. We are taking some steps to choose our civil officers carefully. The Military officers should also, as far as possible, participate in this training. I should like some arrangement for this to be made. It may not be possible for all of them to gather together for it, but they could take it in turns by attending the lectures etc. which are being arranged for the new civil officers.

4. It should be clearly understood that the views of the civil officer must prevail when any situation of difficulty arises.

5. It is also necessary that the Assam Rifles should be more closely associated in any work they do with the Civil Administration. How this should be done is a matter for consideration.

6. The whole problem of dealing with these tribal areas has to be thought out again by us. Generally speaking, I think we should interfere as little as possible with the tribal ways of life. The British Government pursued a wise policy in this respect, from a governmental point of view. Our outlook is completely different. But, if other considerations did not prevail, I would have advised our going slowly in establishing our administration in these areas. I do not think we need talk about extending the benefits of Welfare State. I have grave doubts myself as to how far we benefit these people by the apparatus of administration that we may set up there, and opinions may well differ as to what a Welfare State is. These people presumably are more or less happy, and it is quite possible that our attempts to improve their lot might lead to greater unhappiness for them.

7. However, these conditions are rather beside the point because we have inevitably to look after our frontier and we cannot leave the intervening areas

1. Note to the Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and Joint Secretary, MEA. 9 December 1953. JN Collection. Copy of the note was also sent to Jairamdas Daulatram.

without some kind of an administration, communications etc. The compulsion of events forces us to go ahead. In doing so, however, we should pay particular attention to a policy of non-interference with tribal habits and ways of living. Our first step should be roads; second, dispensaries and the like and third, simple schooling. We should allow these to exercise their influence on the people without any compulsion. Once we go there, the process of change starts anyhow. We need not try to force the pace and thus probably break up the tribal structure, without giving anything else in its place.

8. The tribal people vary greatly and it is not wise to lump them together and to imagine that one policy will be suitable for all of them. We have, therefore, to study each tribe separately. But the general principles might well be the same.

9. We have had a good deal of trouble with the Nagas in the Naga hills. To call the Nagas primitive may be true to some extent, but it is not the entire truth, and, in a way it does not help. They are a tough and fine lot of people and we may carry on for a generation without solving the problem. We cannot and we must not adopt the old British method of armed suppression. That leaves us really the sole alternative of peacefully winning over in all friendliness, with punishment of the guilty. Even that punishment has to be judged by standards other than those that apply to the rest of India. If a Naga head-hunter removes the scalp of a few persons, it is not much good treating him or his like as we would a murderer here.

10. One thing I should like to make perfectly clear again and that is there must on no account be forced labour.² There can be no excuse for this except on some occasion of grave emergency.

11. Generally speaking, our police or civil personnel should not spread out too much over these areas. They should remain at their specific posts and be specially told not to interfere except when absolutely necessary.

12. This incident at Achingmori and the steps we have taken subsequently might well be made into a course of study for our officers. This will give them some idea of the nature of the problems we have sometimes to face, the type of people we have to deal with, the consequences of lack of precautions and of over-confidence, and above all, the general attitude that we should take up towards the tribal people. It has always to be remembered that we have to win them over and not make them into bitter enemies. Also that they have a way of life of their own, which is (apart from some objectionable practices) a wholesome way and a different way from ours. We have no business to impose our ways or ourselves upon them.

13. I am sending a copy of this note direct to the Governor.

2. The Government of Assam had promulgated a regulation in the Naga Hills to requisition the services of porters in case of official need or emergency. The Nagas complained that under this pretext young Nagas were often forced to carry loads of military personnel and others.

(viii) Delhi

1. To Brahm Perkash¹

New Delhi
November 30, 1953

My dear Brahm Perkash,

Your letter of the 28th November. It does not serve much useful purpose to go into the details of our conversations during the last few days. There has been some misunderstanding all round and I fear I am partly responsible for it by not making myself clearer than I did. I was definitely under the impression that the matter would be discussed further, especially because Dr Katju did not approve of the step proposed to be taken.

It is true that I agreed with you about the appointment of the third Minister in principle, but that was an opinion given by itself and in rather a hurry.² The fact is that I have been greatly distressed at the way the Delhi Government has been functioning. It is patent that you and Sushila Nayar³ pull in different directions. In fact, your Government has no Cabinet at all, and the normal cooperation and consultation between Members of the Cabinet was lacking. Even in a large Cabinet, one has to take care to have this consultation and cooperation. Otherwise, there is no joint responsibility which is the crux of the Cabinet system. A Government and a Cabinet is an organic whole and not odd people working in separate departments.

If this is true of a large Cabinet, it is far more true of a small Cabinet of two or three. They must function as a single whole, otherwise they do not function at all properly. I have found a total lack of this kind of functioning in Delhi. The responsibility inevitably must lie on the Prime Minister or the Chief Minister of the Cabinet. A Minister may be at fault, but it is the Chief Minister's business to see that that does not occur.

It was rather odd and not according to constitutional practice for you to give a number of portfolios to your Deputy Ministers.⁴ I understand also that the Deputy Ministers attend your Cabinet meetings. Normally this is not done.

1. JN Collection. Copies were sent to Kailas Nath Katju and Balwantray Mehta.
2. On 26 November, Gopi Nath Aman was inducted as a Cabinet Minister with the portfolios of Industry and Labour, Civil Supplies, Law and Judiciary, Press and Publicity.
3. Minister for Health and Transport, Government of Delhi.
4. There were two Deputy Ministers in the Delhi Government, Shanta Vashist and Shiv Charan Das. The former held the portfolios of Education, Appointments and Jail, and the latter, Taxation, Stamps and Registration, and PWD.

It is the responsibility of the Chief Minister to allot portfolios. But it did appear to me that the way you did this was not fair to your colleague in the Ministry, Sushila Nayar, and naturally produced some feeling of dissatisfaction in her. She felt that you bypassed her and did not trust her and, in fact, trusted your Deputy Ministers more. She may be occasionally a difficult person to get on with, but she is able and full of energy and has the desire to get things done. These are unusual qualities in any Minister. It should not be difficult to cooperate with her.

I was told that sometimes your colleague did not even know of important happenings and only read about them in the newspapers. That is a curious state of affairs.

Delhi may be a small State, but it is a highly important State. The city of Delhi is not only a very ancient city with all the traditions of old cities but is also now a peculiar mixture of the old and new. It is developing into a cosmopolitan centre. The eyes of the world are more upon it than upon any other city in India. Parliament meets here and large numbers of press correspondents continually function here coming from all parts of the world. The large influx of refugees has upset the old balance of Delhi.

All these factors make the governance of Delhi a difficult and delicate operation requiring not only ability, which of course is essential, but infinite tact and the capacity to win over people. If even in the small group in the Assembly or in the Cabinet, there is lack of cohesion, then how can the spirit of cooperation spread to the city or the State?

The old city of Delhi has certain pride in its past and in its traditions. If it feels that it is ignored in the Government, naturally it reacts to it adversely. It is rather unfortunate that in your Cabinet there are no old citizens of Delhi. Unfortunately, there is always tension in various groups and there is an impression that efforts are made to increase the strength of this group or that group.⁵ Leadership should consist of winning over all groups and the people at large. If we face big tasks, we have to be big enough for them and not create an impression of pettiness and personal favour.

I have given you some of my impressions.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. The two factions in Delhi Congress were led by Brahm Perkash and Sushila Nayar. Before the Cabinet expansion, H.K.L. Bhagat, a Nayar protege, was looking after the key departments of Civil Supplies, Law and Judiciary, Industry and Labour, and Information, as a Parliamentary Secretary. After Gopi Nath Aman's induction, Bhagat was made to resign on 5 December and was appointed, Chairman Delhi Transport Board under Nayar.

2. To Brahm Perkash¹

New Delhi
9th December 1953

My dear Brahm Perkash,

I had a delegation to see me today from the Delhi INTUC. They represented the Textile Labour Union of the Delhi State.

They complained that the Delhi Government was taking up a hostile attitude to them and was supporting the Communist unions here. They mentioned two cases pertaining to the Birla Mills which were before the Industrial Tribunal. They said that they had complained about the Judge's partiality to the mill-owners, but this complaint was rejected by the Delhi Government when they asked for transfer. This rejection was made without any reference to them and by referring only to B.D. Joshi, who represented the Communist viewpoint.

That Judge subsequently dismissed the claim of the workers and an appeal is pending before the Appellate Tribunal at Lucknow.

They referred to a second dispute against the Birla Mills which had also been sent to the same Judge in spite of their previous protest against him.

They further spoke to me about the Delhi Housing Cooperative Society which they had started expecting help or a subsidised housing scheme. But no such help had been given.

They informed me also of considerable retrenchment in the Birla Mills.

They mentioned that the Ayodhya Textile Mills had been closed on the 5th of October and the workers were retrenched. No steps had been taken in regard to this.

They told me that they had spoken to Khandubhai Desai about these labour matters and he had expressed his regret at the attitude of the Delhi Government.

I should like you to look into this matter. A Government, as such, should not show partiality to any particular labour union. At the same time, it is our general policy to help the INTUC and to cooperate with them. In any event, workers should not have a feeling of injustice being done in cases referred to a tribunal.

There was one other matter referred to. This was about the 500 or so Madrasi workers who had been pushed out of Mori Gate and whose

1. JN Collection.

huts there had been destroyed. This came up before me two months ago and I referred it, I believe, to you or to someone in your Government. If these people had to be removed, this had to be done. But some place should be found for these poor people from afar. I am told that since their removal, nine of their children have died from cold and exposure. Whatever the legal rights and wrongs may be, we cannot ignore these people and we must do something to provide for them somewhere.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES

1. To K.N. Katju¹

New Delhi
October 13, 1953

My dear Kailas Nath,

I have a number of papers with me relating to missionaries in India. Some of these have been sent to me directly, some forwarded by Amrit Kaur.² You objected to Amrit Kaur becoming a kind of advocate of the missionaries. I think she is taken in rather easily. But as a Minister she has a right to bring any complaint to our notice. As the one Christian Minister, naturally she gets these complaints.

What I am much more concerned with, however, is the letter which I received some time ago from the Primate of Sweden,³ who is a man of very high reputation. I referred this to your Ministry⁴ and they sent me a note some time ago about the cases mentioned. There were seven such cases. I was informed that in the case of three, visas had been authorised and a fourth was likely to be accepted also. One was under consideration and in two cases visas had been refused. All these related to Madras and reference was made to the views of the Madras Government. I happened to speak to Rajaji about these cases and he took a different view. He said that he had not only no objection to a competent doctor going there but that he would welcome it, unless there was some Intelligence Report against the individual concerned. He said that the way a question was put to his Government by our Home Ministry inevitably elicited the answer that the person concerned was not absolutely necessary. But for his part, he had no objection at all.

This particular hospital in South India is a very famous one and in fact one which had a reputation of helping the national movement.⁵ It would be to our advantage to have an eminent Swedish doctor.⁶ Normally I would accept Swedes without much enquiry.

I think that we should carefully consider our whole policy towards these missionaries. I have no doubt that we should take a strong line in regard to

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Health.

3. Yngve T. Brilioth. He wrote to Nehru on 10 August 1953. See *Selected Works* (second series) Vol.23, pp. 248 -250.

4. On 14 September 1953.

5. The hospital at Tirupattur, in Tamil Nadu, established in 1874, came to limelight when Ernest F. Paton, a British doctor was punished by the British Government for participating in the Indian freedom struggle.

6. Herald Wallden. He was advised by the Home Ministry to apply again in 1954 on the ground that his coming should not overlap with the case of an existing doctor.

certain types. But we must not do anything to create a widespread feeling among Christians that they are discriminated against. Some such feeling has been created in the South and we must guard against that.

I have not seen the actual instructions you have issued to State Governments in regard to missionaries. Could you kindly have a copy sent to me?

I propose to write a note on this subject for your consideration. The matter is big enough for us to consult some of our colleagues too.

You will remember giving me copies of some letters about a Jesuit in Bombay. Obviously in such cases we should take strong action. In fact I would refuse visas to any Spanish missionary. I would also be very careful about American missionaries. But it would be unfair and unwise to make a general rule which applies to good and bad alike.

I think laying stress on proselytisation is also unwise. We may distinguish such activities in tribal areas. General proselytisation has hardly had any effect in the past and is likely to have even less in the future.

I hope to write to you further on this subject later if you would kindly have your instructions to State Governments on this subject sent to me.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Policy towards Foreign Missionaries¹

These papers are very revealing. Unfortunately the information I ask for is not yet fully available. I should like the Home Ministry to continue its efforts to collect full information about all missionaries in India. In fact this should be a kind of census. This must include missionaries from Commonwealth countries. Apparently it is not easy to get particulars about them because they can come in without visas etc.

2. In any policy that we lay down about missionaries, Commonwealth missionaries must be included. There should be no differentiation on that score. It is true that the question of visas does not arise there and, therefore, they can

1. Note to the Ministry of Home Affairs, 25 October 1953. File No. 5(103)-Pt. II/53. PMS.

come in without let or hindrance. Nevertheless, Home Ministry might examine the question of registration of even Commonwealth missionaries. This cannot be done under the Foreigners Registration Act. But we do not require legislation for this kind of thing. If Government decide that all missionaries should be registered, the Commonwealth missionaries should fall into line.

3. The list of recognized Protestant and Catholic Societies is formidable. I presume that all these recognitions took place during the British period. Presumably the Catholic societies are more or less under the jurisdiction of the Catholic hierarchy. Some of the Protestant missions are, however, often completely independent of any other jurisdiction. Thus the Seventh Day Adventists and the Assemblies of God Mission and probably the Memerite Missions and the National Holiness Missionary Society are relatively small sects.

4. I suppose that since we have recognized all these Protestant and Catholic societies, we have to put up with them, unless some Society misbehaves and then we can take action. Anyhow, for the moment, we shall leave them as recognized societies. No further recognitions to new societies should be given.

5. Our approach to Christianity and Christian Missions should be governed by the fact that Christianity is a major religion of India. Indeed it is the third in point of numbers. Therefore, Christianity and Christians have as much right to function in India and even to evangelise as any votaries of any other religion.

6. Foreign entrants have to be looked upon not from the point of view of evangelism but from political and social points of view. I do not think we should say that we discourage foreign evangelists because they are coming for that purpose. On principle, that creates a difficulty.

7. But we should discourage foreign missionaries from coming to India because we do not want to add in this way to the foreign population of India, unless there are special reasons in individual cases. The fact that the numbers of Christian Missions have almost doubled since Independence is evidence that there has been leniency and generosity in their admission. That of course does not mean that mistakes have not been made in regard to individual cases, where visas might not have been allowed. It does mean that we might well have been stricter in the issue of visas in the past.

8. Apart from other reasons, the influx of foreign missionaries somewhat comes in the way of employment of our own people, whether they are teachers, doctors, technicians, etc. We should normally welcome any first grade person simply because a first class man is always welcome, whatever his technical job might be. But there is no reason for us to encourage second-rate people or such as are available in India for technical work. This is from the employment point of view, apart from others.

9. The growth of foreign missionaries in India undoubtedly creates a certain problem which may lead to difficulties in the future. Hence our policy to restrict their numbers. This is apart from their being Christians or even evangelists.

10. Politically, the question is important. We know that trouble has been caused in the past in the frontier regions. We have also had to face trouble in certain backward tribal regions, apart from the frontier. We have, therefore, to consider these areas specially from this point of view.

11. The nationality of the foreign missionary is also important. I find that nearly half of the total number of missionaries here are Americans. The figure is 2,304. I do not like this at all, especially in the present political situation in the world. American missionaries inevitably become agents for American ideas and policies. In effect they are under the influence, if not control, of the American embassy. We thus have these large numbers of agents of Americanism in India. I know that many of them are good people and I would certainly not like to push them out. But I can hardly presume that all these 2,304 are of essential use to this country.

12. Spanish missionaries, who are likely to be Jesuits, are also politically not desirable. We have had cases of Jesuits who have misbehaved politically. It is true that we should not judge all of them by a few cases. It is also true that Jesuits are able persons who have done educational work in India. For the moment, however, I am considering Spanish missionaries. I think that we should stop completely any issue of new visas to Spanish missionaries.

13. In regard to Americans, it might be said that there are a large number of Americans in India now who want spiritual solace from their own kind. This cannot be said of Spaniards because there are very few Spanish people in India.

14. In the categories given, teachers form the largest number. There are 1570, apart from Commonwealth people. The next biggest number is social workers, 849. Good teachers should be welcome, but I doubt very much if all these 1570 are such as could not be found in India. So also about social workers. Some coming from abroad are very good.

15. I would be inclined to be a little more lenient to nurses, because we lack them.

16. In the rules that have been framed, the only major remark that I would like to make is that we should not make any reference to evangelism as such, that is, that we do not permit it. We should leave that out. Otherwise, broadly speaking, I agree with the rules.

17. Normally the State Governments' views must prevail. There may be rare exceptions. But sometimes the questions put to them are not properly framed. Thus, Shri Rajagopalachari told me that he would welcome the doctors who were coming for the Vellore Institute. But the way the question has been put to his Government can only be answered in one way. In this connection, I might point out that some special attention should be paid to particular and

famous institutions like the Vellore Institute, which have done very good service in the past.

18. It should be clearly understood that no further mission centres will be allowed to be opened anywhere. I do not know what the exact rules are about this or the law. But we do not require law for this purpose. Executive instructions are enough. This applies of course to foreign missions.

19. Thus we have only to deal with existing missions and their staff. There is no reason to increase their staff by fresh entrants from foreign countries, unless again a special reason is given or a person of high competence is coming.

20. In particular, missions anywhere near the border areas should be discouraged. The border areas the frontier of India with Nepal. I understand that during the last few years quite a number of missions have been opened on this frontier, chiefly in the UP. We must discourage all these and make it clear that we do not approve of missions anywhere near the frontier. We might even discourage replacements there. Existing missions should not open new branches.

21. Spanish missionaries should normally not be given visas. The case of American missionaries should also be strictly examined and unless there is very special reason, visas should not be given on the ground that there are large numbers of them in India.

22. I have said something about the border regions above. It should be remembered, however, that some of these border regions, like the Lushai Hills, are largely Christian in population and we should not do anything there which offends the majority of the people there.

23. This note is not very concise, but it gives some general ideas. I suggest that the principles governing foreign missionaries might be redrafted. In effect, that redraft will be a stricter one than the present one, but it must leave out reference to evangelical work. It would state clearly that no new foreign mission establishments will be permitted in future.

24. Some of the odd sects mentioned in the list should not be encouraged at all.

25. A new draft of the principles governing the admission of Christian missionaries from abroad might be sent to me before it is finalised. It should be remembered that we should treat Commonwealth missionaries on the same level as the others.

26. I find that while our general policy has been definitely lenient, we have unfortunately created an opposite impression and there is no doubt that many Christians in India think that we are adopting a very strict policy. We shall have, therefore, to express ourselves in a way not to create this impression. We have also to apply our rules strictly in sense, but at the same time somewhat flexibly and not merely in a routine way. What has happened is that a large number of undesirables have come in and a few desirable persons have sometimes been kept out.

3. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi
October 25, 1953

My dear Amrit,

You have often written to me about Christian Missionaries in India and the difficulties they experience in India or in getting visas to enter India. There has also been some agitation on this subject among these Mission establishments in India. There was some kind of feeling growing that Dr Katju was very strict about this matter and viewed these Missions with dislike.²

I was naturally anxious to put an end to any misunderstanding because Christianity is one of the major religions of India, in fact it is the third in the number of its votaries.³ It is as much an Indian religion as any other and it will be most unfortunate if any idea spread that there was any discrimination against it. I also wanted to find out if any directions or rules framed by us for this purpose were in any sense improper.

I have, therefore, been investigating this matter. I have not been able to get all the facts and figures yet, but I have received plenty of material. Unfortunately, it is difficult to get figures in regard to British or rather Commonwealth missionaries in India. They have not to take visas as they are not placed in the same category as other foreigners and there is no easy means of getting full information about them. We shall, however, try to get this.

Apart from the Commonwealth missionaries in India, I find that there are at present 5,539 foreign missionaries in India. Of these, 2,304 are Americans.

An interesting and revealing fact is that, since Independence, the number of foreign missionaries in India has nearly doubled. I was surprised to find this, but there it is. This itself indicates the liberality with which visas have been issued. I have no doubt that there may have been cases where some visas were not issued although the person concerned might have been allowed to

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to K.N. Katju.

2. This was due to a statement by Katju in the House of the People in April 1953, where he stated that if the missionaries indulged in proselytization, inter-communal strife or anti-national activities, they would not be tolerated by the Government. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol.22, pp.238-239. A resolution of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians, adopted on 17 October 1953 in Delhi, urged the Government to allay the fears "caused by the remarks of K.N. Katju in Parliament suggesting the imposition of restriction on the fundamental rights of the Christians to propagate their faith."

3. The 1951 Census, fixed the Christian population at 8,157, 765.

come in. But I have equally no doubt that large numbers of people have been allowed to come in who were not particularly useful from any point of view and who might well, for political and economic reasons, have been kept out.

In judging of visas of foreigners (non-missionaries) we apply certain criteria. If we apply that criteria to missionaries, the number of those coming in would probably have been much less. In fact missionaries have been treated generally with far greater liberality in this matter.

I look upon this question entirely from the political, social and economic point of view. There is no doubt that many missionaries have done and are doing good work. Nevertheless, I know of a fair number of cases where foreign missionaries have worked on the political plane against Government. Some particularly bad cases came to my notice from Bombay recently. Some of the Spanish Jesuits carry on secret and intensive work against our policy in regard to Goa.

It is rather extraordinary that quite a number of new Missions have been opened within the last few years in our border regions including the border with Nepal. They do very little medical or any other work and they hardly do any evangelical work. I can only conclude that they are there chiefly for political reasons.

Of the vast number of American missionaries in India, again many do good work. But all of them or nearly all, quietly or aggressively represent the American viewpoint in politics, in foreign affairs as in other matters. I do not think it is conducive to the political health of the country to have so many people intimately associating themselves with our students and others and giving them wrong political bent.

Then there is the economic question. We welcome first-rate men whoever they are. But second-rate teachers or technical men or so-called social service workers take the place of persons who could be engaged in India. We have large numbers of fairly competent unemployed.

Since an almost phenomenal increase in the foreign Christian missionary population has taken place in India during the last five or six years, I think that we should discourage any further growth. Otherwise, they will become an increasingly difficult problem in the future. We should welcome good men or women always. But there seems to be no reason why we should open the doors to second-rate people who might replace others in India who could do that work as well if not better.

I think also foreign missionaries from Commonwealth countries should be treated in the same level as others. There is no reason why we should discriminate.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Religious Conversions¹

The complaint made in the letter to the *Hindustan Times* is probably true.² The Arya Samaj has always functioned in this way. This is no new development. I remember many years ago that this was brought to our notice in the UP. In fact the Arya Samaj is a proselytising body. The Jan Sangh and like organizations no doubt encourage this tendency.

2. In the UP and in the Punjab, there are constant attempts being made for Hindus to be made Sikhs and for converted Sikhs to be brought back to Hinduism. In fact quite a large number of Hindus who had been converted to Sikhism in the western districts of the UP have reverted to Hinduism, and this is one of the reasons for certain excitement among the Sikhs about the Scheduled Castes.

3. Nothing excites people so much in India as religious conversion. A Hindu becoming a Muslim publicly would probably create a riot in Delhi.

4. I really do not know why Rajkumari³ imagines that something new has happened. Of course, this kind of social pressure is objectionable, and the State Government is trying to deal with it.

5. What this has got to do with the question of foreign missionaries coming to India is not clear to me. Only two or three days ago I wrote to Rajkumari that the number of foreign missionaries in India had almost doubled since Independence. She seems to have paid little attention to what I wrote.

6. If Hindus or any others misbehave in this matter not only the State Governments but the Indian Christian community should stand up against them. To ask for foreign protection is not only unbecoming but will make their position weaker vis-a-vis others.

1. Note to M.O. Mathai, 28 October 1953. File No.2(238)/48-PMS.

2. The letter complained of a campaign by certain Hindu communal organizations to bring back Christians into the Hindu fold, through reconversion, in Mathura district of UP. This campaign along with threats of demolition of churches and other social atrocities had general approbation, as it was construed to be patriotic and a move to usher in the "Indian renaissance". The writer of the letter pleaded that "such misconceptions need to be discerned through the smoke-screen of pseudo-religious frenzy."

3. Amrit Kaur.

5. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi

October 30, 1953

My dear Amrit,

Thank you for your letter of the 29th October about missionaries.

As I have told you, I am interested chiefly in the political aspect of this question and partly social. It is a matter of no consequence to me as to whether conversions take place. Therefore, I have no personal objection to an evangelist coming, but I do not wish to encourage the foreign element in India generally because I fear that, with increasing numbers, there will be reactions against them as happens in other countries, apart from religion. People in big cities are not noticed but in villages and rural areas, as they spread out, they are noticed and reactions follow.

I take particular exception, of course, to political activities by a foreigner whoever he might be. These political activities are of various kinds. Some are obviously objectionable and verge on espionage. Others are just to collect information and send it. Yet again there are those who, without any evil intent, work in a way which has a certain political effect. Thus many Americans are good in themselves, but are so imbued with what they consider Americanism that they spread it. Americanism is not only a particular way of life but a particular way of thinking in politics. In the present context of the world this becomes politics directly.

I am therefore not at all happy about the large number of Americans who are coming here more or less to stay for long periods.

About Spanish Jesuits again, apart from religion, they have a certain definite political outlook. All Jesuits have, more so the Spanish, because of Franco's regime.

I think that you had better not write to Cardinal Gracias.² There is no point in writing generally because immediately he will ask for specific instances. I have some instances and when the time comes I might myself speak to him about them or somebody else might. A general letter of this kind will not do much good.

I doubt if it will do any good for me to meet the Heads of the various Churches. One can meet them separately of course. Any such combined attempt itself draws attention to a problem which can easily be exploited by communal elements in this country. Unfortunately we have these communal elements and it is very easy for them to excite the populace. This is no new development in

1. JN Collection.

2. Cardinal Valerian Gracias, Archbishop of Bombay.

India, except that, with the coming of Independence, they function more aggressively. Always there is a furore when there is any conversion from Hindu to Muslim or Muslim to Hindu or Christian. That is the make up of our people generally. This has got tied up with political consequences because of the Muslim League in the old days and separate representation and the like.

In the Punjab we have the Sikh-Hindu tangle. Especially it is based on the desire to convert the Scheduled Castes and thus add to one's political strength.

Some little time ago I read long reports on some of the old Indian States in Madhya Pradesh. This was during British times. The reports were by the English Resident. He wrote strongly against missionary activities in those States among the tribal areas and in fact, at his instance, the Durbar prohibited and stopped missionaries from functioning.

So you see the problem is an old one but in the old days not much was said of it because of British paramountcy. I do not think there is much in it now but there will be much in it if a considerable number of foreigners continue to come and spread out.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. To the Archbishop of Bangalore¹

Dear Archbishop,²

I am desired by the Prime Minister to acknowledge your letter of the 11th November, together with the statement³ you have issued on the subject of

1. The Principal Private Secretary's letter to the Archbishop of Bangalore drafted by Nehru, 17 November 1953. JN Collection. A copy of the letter was sent to K.N. Katju.
2. Thomas Pothacamurthy. He was also the Secretary of the Catholic Bishops Conference of India at this time.
3. On 10 November, the Archbishop stated that the repetition of the charge of anti-national activities of some missionaries by K.N. Katju in a press conference in Ernakulum was "unfortunate". He sought substantiation of these charges by the Government because as a fallout innocent missionaries were looked upon with suspicion.

National Churches⁴ and Foreign Missionaries. The Prime Minister has considered the statement.

In your statement, you have raised certain matters on which there is not likely to be general agreement. The Prime Minister or the Government of India are not concerned with the purely religious or spiritual aspects of any church or creed. That is a matter for the individuals concerned and, under the Constitution of India, each person is entirely free to profess any religion or creed he or she likes. It is only in relation to the State and in regard to social and economic matters that the State or the Government is concerned. They are also naturally concerned in preserving harmony between the adherents of different religions and creeds. If, as a result of some belief, disharmony is created, the State is concerned with it. Further, in regard to social or economic measure for the good of the community as a whole, the State is intimately concerned. If the interpretation comes in the way of the State's activities in regard to social and economic matters, or leads to disaffection and a shifting of loyalty, which is due to the State, to some external authority, then the State's view must prevail.⁵ The State in a democratic country is represented by Parliament functioning in terms of the Constitution. Our Constitution has made it clear that there should be perfect religious freedom and, more particularly, that minorities should be protected.

The Prime Minister has noted with some surprise your references to the Home Minister, Dr. Katju.⁶ He did not expect any person, least of all a dignitary of the Church, to refer to a Minister of the Central Government in this way. It is a fact that the Government of India has received reports from some parts of India about anti-national and otherwise objectionable activities of some missionaries. It is not the function of the Government to place the information at its disposal before any individual or organization, unless it thinks it desirable

4. At the All India Conference of Christians (Protestants) a call was given for setting up a strong national church. This was also endorsed by K.N. Katju in a press conference on 1 November at Ernakulum. Pothacamurthy pointed out that the idea of a national church was essentially a Protestant concept. "The Catholic Church, because it is catholic, can never be national in the sense that its creed, worship and Government are confined to a particular country and its adherents owe no allegiance to anyone but the Pope."
5. Pothacamurthy had stated that if by national Church one meant that the head of the Church be nationals of the country, then for political considerations he would agree. But if the word 'national' implied "freedom from extra-territorial loyalties and control" as implied by the All India Conference of Christians (Protestant), then he would beg to disagree.
6. Referring to Katju's statement, the Bishop had said that such statements from responsible persons was "obnoxious".

to do so. Government receives information about a variety of activities of all kinds—political, economic, religious, communal, etc.—and it takes such action as it thinks proper.

There is no question of suspecting missionaries as such, or any other group. But any individual, whether he is a missionary of the Christian or any other faith, or whether he is a non-missionary, who indulges in anti-national and objectionable activities, lays himself open to action being taken by Government, or that action, may be, depends upon the circumstances. The matter has to be judged by Government and not by the authorities of the Church, though it may sometimes be desirable to refer the matter to those authorities.

In regard to foreigners in India, the same principle is applied, whether they are missionaries or non-missionaries. Every foreigner has to possess a passport and a visa before he comes here. Thus the admission of foreigners is controlled and restricted. Any large influx of foreigners into India is likely to create fresh problems, as it is created in other countries. In the course of the last six years, ever since India became independent, the number of foreign missionaries in India has nearly doubled. This itself indicates that the policy of the Government of India has been by no means restrictive in this matter.

The Government of India wishes to treat every religion and faith in India on an equal basis. But, where the question of any foreigners coming into India is concerned, this has little to do with the question of faith. Other factors have to be considered.

7. To Bishop S.K. Mondol¹

New Delhi

21st November, 1953

Dear Bishop,²

... The question of foreign Christian missionaries in India is not considered by us from the point of view of Christianity, but from the point of view of foreigners coming to India. As you know, all foreigners have to be in possession of passports and have to get visas. Their entry is thus regulated from various

1. JN Collection. A copy was sent to Kailas Nath Katju. Extracts.
2. Shot Kumar Mondol (b. 1896) Bishop, Methodist Church in South Asia since 1941; President, National Missionary Society of India, 1946-48; Acting President, National Christian Council of Asia, 1947-50 and President, 1950-56; President, World Council of Christian Education, 1958.

points of view. Any unrestricted entry of foreigners creates political problems which may give us trouble in the future. This question is, therefore, viewed not from the religious point of view, but from the political and social points of view. Difficulties have arisen in other countries because of the presence of a considerable body of foreigners who are not easily absorbed. Christianity, probably, suffers somewhat in India by its association in the public mind with foreigners. As a matter of fact, the Christian missionary population in India has largely increased, and in fact nearly doubled, since Independence. That itself shows the open policy that Government has pursued in this matter.

When some criticism is made of objectionable activities of some missionaries, that is an individual matter which might apply to anybody, and not to Christianity or Christian missionaries as a whole. I have no doubt that there has been wrong behaviour on the part of some individuals and difficulties have arisen sometimes, more especially in the tribal areas and the like. These difficulties existed long prior to Independence and, in fact, even the British Government of the day sometimes had to take some action.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

1. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi

October 23, 1953

My dear Amrit,

...I am writing to you now specially about a report which has somewhat disturbed me. Dr Meyer,² the German Ambassador, has said that you spoke to him and gave him the impression that the Hindu Mahasabha and the Jan Sangh, as also Socialists, were gaining ground in the country, and you were not sure how the Congress would fare at the next elections. I do not know whether you said this to him or what you spoke to him. But if you said anything like this, it was unwise. We have to be careful about our talks with foreign diplomats, more especially if we are Ministers. Whether this is a correct appraisal of the situation in India or not is another matter. I do not think it is a correct appraisal. But, apart from that, it is hardly fitting that we should run ourselves down before foreigners and especially diplomats.³

Yours,

Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Ernst Wilhelm Meyer (1892-1969); joined German Foreign Office, 1921; served in Athens, Belgrade, and Berlin, 1923-30, in Washington D.C., 1931-37; resigned from service in protest against the national socialist regime in 1937 and stayed on in the USA as a Professor; Professor in Universities of Frankfurt and Marburg, 1947-52; joined the German Foreign Service and became Ambassador to India in July 1952; Member of Parliament for the German Social Democratic Party, 1957-65.

3. Replying on 25 October Amrit Kaur termed the report as "a complete and pure fabrication" and said: "I had no conversation on any political subject with him... I do not as a rule indulge in political talks with Ambassadors... nor would it ever enter into my head to discuss Congress politics with them... you can safely rely on me never to give away India to foreigners."

2. Appleby Report and Administrative Reforms¹

In the course of the last month or so, I have had occasion to refer publicly to our administrative system. In this connection, I have mentioned Mr. Paul H. Appleby's² Report³ of a survey he conducted in India from September 1952 to January 1953. My remarks attracted public attention and have been commented upon in the press.

2. An obvious question has been asked: why does the Prime Minister criticize his own administration? If he is dissatisfied with any part of it, it is his duty to change it or improve it. This is a pertinent question.

3. As a matter of fact, the Cabinet has been considering this matter for some time past. Some decisions have already been taken, and I hope that others will follow. Yet the problem is intricate and beset with difficulty, and decisions at the top will not take us far unless there is appreciation of the necessity for such changes and a large measure of cooperation throughout the Services.

4. My criticisms of the administrative system, as it is worked in India at present, were not meant to apply to individual officers or others but rather to the system. Indeed, Mr. Appleby gave high praise to the administrative apparatus of India and considered it one of the best in the world. He spoke with a large experience of many countries and with expert knowledge. That praise is worthwhile. But he also pointed out that the system that was built up in British days, efficient and adequate for the purpose as it was then, does not quite fit in with the changed circumstances of India today. These changes are, in the main, twofold. We have a democratic system of government now and necessarily the structure of government must fit in with this. Secondly, we are faced with enormous problems of development and reconstruction and they have to be tackled with speed as well as efficiency. The old British system had no such problems to face and therefore was meant to deal with static and more or less unchanging state of affairs. Today we are faced with a dynamic situation which

1. Note for officers of Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, 5 November 1953. File No. 34/98/S.53-MHA. Also available in PMS and Planning Commission. Nehru had asked the Cabinet Secretary to send this note for information to the other Ministries and Departments of the Government of India.
2. Appleby was Dean, Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, from 1952 to 1961.
3. In his report, Appleby suggested the reorganization of Government services on a more flexible and less rigid basis. He criticized the structure of administration "which subordinated the national Government to State, district and municipal control making implementation of programmes of national importance difficult."

requires a rapid pace of development and continuous adaptation to changing conditions. We have thus to bring our administrative structure in line with these, or we fail.

5. I should like to say that, by and large, our officers have tried to adapt themselves to new conditions and have often succeeded in a large measure. I have little complaint against them as a whole and should like to express my appreciation of them. But they as well as all of us are tied up in a structure of administration which is slow-moving and has too many brakes and which encourages mediocrity rather than exceptional talents.

6. I would suggest to all our officers to read Mr. Appleby's Report and, more especially, certain parts dealing with the structure of the administration and personnel administration. He criticizes our procedures, our rules of business, the Secretariat instructions and Office Manuals, and calls them "too didactic and confining too detailed and unimaginative." He says: "They might be expected to contribute to the extreme insistence on following formal channels too literally and invariably. They seem to assume and to encourage that liberal-mindedness which dampens the spirit, imagination and judgment which are important to good administration. Their basic pattern undoubtedly originated in colonial administration."

7. He refers to the diffusion of responsibility from the top to the lower levels and the lack of facilities for administrative delegation. Because of this diffusion of responsibility, there is no accountability. There are, according to him, too much scrutiny and too many impediments to action before the fact, and too little systematic review and scrutiny of action after the fact.

8. It is often said that Government employees are objective and politically neutral. They are expert advisers. Mr. Appleby points out that "in the name of impartiality, objectivity and political neutrality, the subjective judgments of persons who will have no responsibility for what happens on the job are preferred."

9. He refers to the "class character of our Services, arbitrary and petrified vertical separations of administrative personnel into 'classes' and into a very few grades within classes, again rank differences in a fashion having an excessively caste character." According to him, "there are too many forms of class, rank and prerogative consciousness, too much insistence on too uniform concentration of communication in formal channels, too much cross-reference including too many reviews of administrative papers by legal officers, too much control of detail, too much pre-occupation with saving rupees and too little with large effectiveness." "The result", he says, "is an excessively and probably modernly unprecedented federal or collective kind of administrative system, cumbersome in manner, requiring too many inter-hierarchical conferences and utilizing paper in an unnecessarily burdensome way. Clearance is slow and laborious. Responsibility is diffused and concealed rather than concentrated and

clearly identified. Action is retarded before the fact, and insufficiently evaluated in course and after the fact."

10. These are just a few quotations from Mr. Appleby's survey. He refers to the way in which personnel are selected by the Public Service Commission and considers this as out of date and far from modern. "Selection tends to be by one type of person, which naturally perpetuates its own type. Selection is too much in terms of academic records and appraisals by experienced academic examiners, too little in terms of many other considerations highly important in public administration." "Too little attention is given to the important matter of developing the potentialities of subordinate employees already in service of Government." "Assignments of personnel to particular jobs are made too impersonally, too remotely from the point of responsibility for what is done on the job, and with too little regard for the emotional pulls of individuals towards certain kinds of assignments. At almost all levels of the public service it seems to be too much assumed that one person of a certain 'class' is equal to another person of that class." Mr. Appleby, as will be seen, is constantly referring to this 'rank consciousness' in the Services which he considers bad: "Rank has no proper significance except as it identifies responsibilities; here responsibility tends to become diluted and diffused, rank exaggerated."

11. "The very system", Mr. Appleby says, "that justifies classifying the Indian Government among the few that are most advanced was conceived in pre-revolutionary terms. What has been strength will have its own peculiar weaknesses in the face of new dimensions and needs." There should be democracy within administration to have any valid and effective democracy in citizen-government relationships.

12. Referring to the tremendous problems we face, he says, "Average persons, working in an average way cannot bring a wholly new day to India. Very extraordinary people, bulwarked by many other extraordinary people, must carry the hope of India into the management of tasks enormously difficult and complicated."

13. I have given a number of extracts from the Appleby Report, because I want to draw particular attention to certain criticisms that he has made. But it is desirable for the full Report to be read. It strikes at the very roots of our present administrative systems and, if we are to consider this problem with any understanding and related to present conditions, we must take a view of the full picture. When I say "we", I mean all ranks in our Services. We have to get out of a certain rut of thinking and action.

14. As I have said above, the Cabinet has been considering these matters and has come to some general decisions. They will, I hope, be translated into specific conclusions and directions before long.

15. As I am particularly responsible for the Ministry of External Affairs, it seems to me that we of this Ministry should pay immediate and special attention

to these problems and begin making such changes in our method of working as we consider necessary.

16. Some of the general directions which the Cabinet has given are as follows:

- (i) The question of recruitment, more particularly to specialized Services, has to be examined afresh and entrusted to special boards. In selecting candidates, special attention should be paid to a proper attitude and appreciation of social aims and not merely to academic distinction.
- (ii) Greater emphasis should be placed on merit as a criterion for promotion in order to encourage really competent persons on lower levels, and seniority should only be a secondary consideration.
- (iii) A periodical survey should be carried out with a view to drawing up a list of persons of outstanding merit in Government employ.
- (iv) The question of compulsory retirement or demotion of inefficient persons should be examined.
- (v) Noting on files within a Ministry or between Ministries should be reduced to the minimum.
- (vi) Too much time should not be spent on small matters which, at present, often results in some of the more important matters being given little attention. There should be greater delegation of authority and methods should be devised to eliminate or reduce delays.

17. These are some indications of the changes that should be made. Others will follow.

18. We should try to give effect to these general directions in our Ministry as far as possible.

19. It seems to me that our younger officers and those in lower grades have little opportunities of training being given to them. They sit in their office rooms dealing with some particular matter and have little chance of widening their horizon or of training themselves for higher responsibilities. Methods should be evolved to give this training and there should be far greater contacts between officers of various grades. The class and rank character of Services must be done away with.

20. I do not know how far our younger officers, or for the matter of that, the more senior ones also, keep pace with modern thinking by reading books. A person who does not read worthwhile books fairly regularly, has ceased to grow and become static in a changing world. In the External Affairs Ministry, we have to deal with this dynamic world and it is even more essential than elsewhere that we should keep pace not only with events but with the basic causes that lead to events. This requires a deeper understanding of the forces at play, which can only be obtained by a wider knowledge and constant application. I suggest,

therefore, that all our officers should read important books which might help them to gain this wider knowledge. Our Historical Division should suggest names of such books.

21. I have just been reading a new book by K.M. Panikkar, our Ambassador in Cairo. This is called, *Asia and Western Dominance*⁴ and is a survey of the last 500 years of Asian history. Necessarily it is a brief survey. But, so far as I know, it is the only book that deals with this broad canvas and gives a picture of this great continent during these five hundred years. For us in India, this period of Asian history is most important. We know something of our own country's history and something about Europe. Few of us know much about the other Asian countries. And yet, these Asian countries are, in the final analysis, far more important for us than most countries in the rest of the world. We have got into the habit of attaching greater importance to European capitals and chanceries and, even now, our senior and more experienced men are sent there. This approach has to be changed. Apart from the four great countries of the world, namely, the USA, the USSR, the United Kingdom, and China, which are anyhow important, so far as we are concerned, the Asian countries are more important to us than European or American countries. In these Asian countries I would include some of the African countries, which are rapidly growing in consciousness, and which have a special importance for India. In choosing our Heads of Missions in future, this fact has to be borne in mind.

22. In the old days in British times, every entrant in the Indian Civil Service had to begin his training in the districts. This gave him, or was meant to give him, some personal knowledge of the people and of local problems. It was a good training, in so far as it went, although it was directed to a particular limited purpose. In a democratic India, this knowledge of the grassroots of our people is far more important. And yet, our recruits to the Indian Foreign Service, as well as many others, have no chance of getting any such training. I think that some method should be devised to give this training. A foreign service officer, however clever he might be, cannot function adequately either in the Ministry or in a foreign country, without some intimate knowledge of the Indian scene as well as the background of our history and culture.

23. We are too apt to think and act in separate compartments. To some extent, that is inevitable. But we must always have a sense of the organic unity of the whole, whether this is the world of India or the Government of India or a particular Ministry. Life grows more complicated and so does administration.

4. On 24 November, Nehru, while congratulating Panikkar on his book, wrote (not printed) that he had been "recommending it to everybody," but as it was not easily available, asked him to urgently send a number of copies of the book for use in the Ministry of External Affairs.

In industry and elsewhere huge organizations grow up and there is more specialization. The result often is that a specialized part is cut off from the rest and functions almost independently. Specialists and experts, very good at their own subjects, know very little about other important matters and might even be bad citizens. The Government of India is a huge organization. I have often said that I feel rather lost in it. It has to be because it deals with a vast variety of problems, and Ministries and Departments have to be created. They tend to function independently of each other, although there is of course coordination at the top. It must be remembered that the sum of a number of small group parts does not necessarily mean an organic whole. This applies to a Ministry like the External Affairs Ministry, where work is done in numerous small rooms by numerous people, each pegging away at his particular job. Do these persons have any sensation of the Ministry being an organic whole, with all its parts fitting into each other, well oiled and running like an efficient machine?

24. I have put a few of my ideas in this note in order to make our colleagues in the External Affairs Ministry to think about these subjects. If they have any particular ideas, I would welcome them. Indeed I would like them to discuss these matters among themselves and put forward suggestions. I hope, at a later stage, to have some talks not only with our officers but with others also.

3. Conference on Cultural Freedom¹

This matter is not free from difficulty.² My initial reaction was to refuse visas to any person coming for a meeting which is apparently political and propagandist. Our general policy is not to encourage foreigners to come to India in order to carry on any type of political propaganda. So far as the Committee for a Free Asia is concerned, this has a bad record. At any rate, I have seen some of its publications which do no credit to anyone.

I do not think there is much in the argument that between the two contending political ideologies, namely, communism and anti-communism, we should give greater latitude to the latter, so far as foreigners are concerned. It is true that

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, 13 November 1953. File No.5(174)-P.V.II/53-MEA.
2. The issue related to whether visas should be granted to two Chinese and one Indonesian invited to attend a meeting of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, in Bombay from 16 to 18 November 1953.

anti-communism is vague and negative and one cannot be very precise about it. But the type of anti-communism represented by the Free Asia Committee and some American organizations is neither vague nor negative.

In the correspondence attached, I have noted a somewhat significant fact that Dr. Chang³ does not approve of Dr. Hu Shih⁴ and Dr. Lin Yu-tang⁵ being invited to this meeting, although those two persons are eminent anti-communists.⁶ Obviously they are not approved because they are not extreme enough.

The matter is urgent and a decision has to be made immediately, otherwise I should have liked to enquire further into it.

I see that a Minister⁷ of the Bombay Government is presiding over this meeting and Shri Sampurnanand, a Minister of the UP Government, is apparently going to attend it. I am sorry for Ministers to associate themselves in this way. But the fact of their association does make a difference and for us to prevent two or three persons from coming now to the conference would become a public issue and would attract a good deal of attention.

In the balance, therefore, I think we might allow these two or three to come.

An interesting fact to be noted is that Mr. Chang and his wife spent five months in 1942-43 at Abbottabad in the North West Frontier Province, later in Calcutta. It is odd that they should be in Abbottabad just then.

Visas may, therefore, be issued. But a letter should be sent to Mr. Masani pointing out to him that it is not our policy to encourage foreigners to come to India for the purpose of carrying on any type of political propaganda. We are issuing these visas on the understanding that any foreigners invited will not indulge in such political propaganda.

3. Chang Kuo-sin, head of the Asia Press, a publishing house in Hongkong.
4. (1891-1962); liberal scholar and reformer; Professor of Philosophy, Peking National University, 1917-26, and of Kuang Hua University, Shanghai, 1927-31; research fellow, China Foundation, 1931-37; Ambassador to the US, 1938-42; author of *Outline of Chinese Philosophy*, 1919, *Ancient History of China*, *Chinese Renaissance*, 1934.
5. (1895-1976); Chinese author and philologist, research fellow in philology and English editor, *Academia Sinica*, 1929-33; inventor of Chinese indexing system and collaborator in official romanization plan; author of *My Country and My People*, 1936; *The Importance of Living*, 1937, *With Love and Irony*, 1940; *A Leaf in the Storm*, 1941 and *The Wisdom of China and India*, anthology, editor, 1942.
6. In a letter of 5 October to M.R. Masani, Executive Member of the Indian and International Committee, Chang Kuo-sin wrote that "they have been and are still divorced from the on the spot fight for the preservation of cultural freedom from Communist subjugation. I think we need some new blood and people who are now risking their necks for our cause."
7. Dinkarrao N. Desai, Minister of Education and Law, 1952-56.

4. To Chief Ministers¹

New Delhi
November 20, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,

In the course of my fortnightly letters, I have drawn your special attention to the question of minority communities in the Services. This matter has been causing me grave concern, because, from such partial data as reaches me, I get the impression that, for all practical purposes, the doors of recruitment to minorities for our all-India or State Services, are largely closed. They are of course not closed by any rule or order of Government. But in effect that appears to be the case, whether it is the Army, the Administrative Services, the Police, or the many lower Services right down to the villages and such persons as Inspectors and the like.

I am sure that neither you nor your Government wants this to happen, but certain circumstances have led to this unfortunate development. I think that this is not in keeping with the letter or spirit of our Constitution, and certainly it is bad from any practical point of view. It creates a sensation of frustration and lack of hope for the future in large numbers of people. This has far-reaching political and social consequences. I am, therefore, anxious that this question should be tackled firmly as soon as possible.

I have no desire to add to your burdens. I think, however, that it would be desirable to collect some data. I am not suggesting that you should put up any special organization for the purpose or take too much trouble over this matter. It might be possible, without much difficulty, to collect certain broad data which will give us the picture of the last six years since Independence. We cannot tackle the problem unless we know what the problem is. The next step would be to understand the causes and to remove them.

It might be possible of course for me to ask our Statistical Department to collect this information. But that might mean too elaborate a procedure and I do not wish any fuss to be made about this at this stage at any rate.

May I, therefore, invite your attention and your cooperation in this matter?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

5. To Mishrilal Gangwal¹

New Delhi
28th November, 1953

My dear Gangwalji,²

Reports have reached me of extraordinary activities of Hindu communal organizations in Madhya Bharat. Recently, I am told, I think it was in Gwalior but I am not sure, a procession was taken out and slogans were shouted out—"Bhagwan Godse ki Jai". There are frequent statements made that others will be treated as Gandhiji was treated.

All this kind of thing must not be allowed to continue and strong action must be taken against these organizations or the individuals who indulge in these slogans. It is intolerable that any man should dare say such a thing. If any organization is associated with this slogan, I would not hesitate to take action against it or against its principal workers.

What reports have you had about recent activities of these organizations in Madhya Bharat?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. (1902-1981); Member of the Central India States Peoples' Conference and of the AICC for several years; imprisoned thrice; Food Minister, Indore; Civil Supplies Minister, Madhya Bharat, Commerce and Industries Minister, 1949-50, Finance Minister, 1950-52; Chief Minister, Madhya Bharat, 1952-April 1955; Minister of Finance, Madhya Pradesh, 1960-62, of Finance and Social Welfare, 1962-63, of Planning, Development, Economics and Statistics, October 1963-65.

6. Evolution of a Formal Dress¹

About a month ago, I met the officers of the External Affairs Ministry and had

1. Note circulated among members of the staff, Ministry of External Affairs, 11 December 1953. File No.2(154)/48-PMS.

a talk with them on various subjects. In the course of this talk, I referred to the question of dress, more especially, the dress that should be worn for office work.

2. I made some suggestions then and I left them to think about them. I hope that thought has borne fruit.

3. Dress is obviously important from many points of view. Probably climate has led more than anything else to the development of various styles and modes of dress. Occupations have also influenced it. I am not referring to fancy fashions but rather to the basic dress of a people. It represents also, to some extent, certain cultural traits of a people.

4. As changes take place in the lives and occupations of people, dress also undergoes a gradual change. Where no basic changes have taken place, the style of dress has remained much the same. In Europe, where great changes had been brought about in the course of the last thousand years or so, dress has changed frequently and radically. The dress of the Elizabethan age was completely different from that of the 18th century. The 20th century has again brought about fundamental changes. In Asia, where conditions of life have been more or less static for a long period, dress has also remained rather static. The Industrial Revolution and its vast development in Europe and America, has been instrumental in bringing about many of these changes. It is obvious that the speed and intricacy of modern life, concerned as it is with all kinds of machines, necessitates a different kind of dress than that required for agricultural work. Flowing robes are a danger where machines are concerned.

5. A cold climate obviously requires a different dress. In a very cold climate like that of Ladakh, everyone, rich or poor, has to put on felt-lined boots. No one can go about bare foot, however poor he might be, because that would mean frost bite and the loss of the feet. In the warmer climates of the greater part of India, *chappals* and slippers are good enough. In the south of India, even these are not very necessary and people can go about easily bare foot.

6. A people given to horse riding, like the Mongols of old, necessarily require bifurcated garments like trousers. I remember being intrigued once by the question as to when trousers were first worn in India. Trousers and shirts and the like, of course, mean the development of the art of sewing, that is the tailor's profession. A *dhota* or sari requires no tailor or sewing. My superficial enquiries did not lead to satisfactory result. I think that in the Mathura Museum, there is a statue of Kanishka wearing trousers and top-boots. That must date back somewhere to the 2nd century A.D. Obviously, the persons who wore these trousers and top-boots came, or rather their ancestors came, from the plains of Central Asia.

7. In India, there is a great variety of dress, which is natural considering the

variety of climate. The one more or less static feature, both from the point of time and extent, has been the women's sari with some variations in different parts of India. Evidently the sari was not only a graceful dress but on the whole fulfilled the functions required of it; otherwise it would not have lasted so long.

8. Sports and athletics require special dresses, sometimes each sport or game has a special dress of its own which is the most appropriate and suitable for it.

9. The question arises as to whether we should encourage some uniformity of dress in India, and some people advocate it. I rather doubt if it is desirable to have absolute uniformity. There is no reason why we should not continue to have the variety we have in various parts. This has relation to the habits of the people. There is no point in trying to change it basically. But these various dresses are not suited always to modern occupations and, in fact, come in the way and make a person inefficient for his work. Dress has a powerful influence on a person's mind and even habits. A uniform immediately makes a person not only look but feel a little more disciplined.

10. We have already fixed a certain dress for official occasions. This is a black *sherwani* and *chudidar pyjamas*. It is proposed for officers of our Diplomatic Service to add a bit of braid to the cuffs and collar for special formal occasions; also a turban.

11. When trying to interfere with the normal dress of our people, I think that we should have some uniformity in our office dress. That dress should be smart-looking, simple and suited to the work a person has to do. In Europe and the Americas, as well as many other parts of the world, what is called the European dress has been largely adopted. Partly this is due to the desire to imitate the more sophisticated and developed countries, partly to a certain utility to be found in that dress. In several countries of Asia, a small variation of this dress has been introduced. This is a coat and trousers, the coat being buttoned up at the top and there being no collar and tie. This is useful, relatively simple and can be smart.

12. It seems to me that we should adopt this for our office dress, that is a buttoned up short coat and trousers. This will mean our adopting a dress which experience has shown to be suited to modern activities and yet which is not just a copy of European dress and is, to some extent, distinctive. It would be desirable for such dress to be worn generally for office work by all grades of people working in the office. This uniformity among all grades would itself be a good feature and would bring about a lessening of what has been called the caste system in our Services.

13. The simple khadi dress that Gandhiji introduced into the national movement was a powerful psychological factor in minimising differences of social position and, therefore, in bringing various kinds of people nearer to one

another. We have to encourage this tendency as we have to discourage obvious differences and casteism in Services. A similarity of dress brings people nearer to each other and even removes social disparities. A simple dress, generally worn, lessens the burden on people trying to live up to certain standards which some might be unable to afford easily.

14. Some years back, I suggested that a dress for official functions, both morning and evening, should be a black buttoned-up coat and white trousers, or both being white in summer. To some extent, this has been adopted. This should be worn and, as far as possible, European evening dress for such functions should be discarded. Even in Europe, this evening dress has become far less common than it used to be and has become slightly a sign of snobbery. As a people, we are somewhat given to snobbery, that is among the well-to-do classes. This should not be encouraged.

15. Thus I would recommend that for office work and ordinary attire, the dress should be a buttoned-up short coat and trousers. For evening attire (where normally according to European custom evening dress might have to be worn) a buttoned-up short coat and trousers, which may be black or white. In summer both might be white. For evening attire, especially for more formal occasions, a black *sherwani* can be worn. A short coat would also be appropriate. For diplomatic functions, where special dress is supposed to be worn, the black *sherwani*, as laid down already should be worn. I should like these dresses to be made of Swadeshi material, preferably hand-spun and hand-woven material. It may be cotton or silk or wool.

16. I am recommending this and I hope that gradually these changes will be brought in. This is not an order but a recommendation for the present. It is not suggested that old clothes should be thrown away. But it should be desirable to bring about this change which would give a certain distinctiveness to our gatherings, and, at the same time, maintain certain smartness of attire and utility.

17. The other day I visited the Convocation of the Delhi University. I was surprised and somewhat distressed to find the great majority of students who had come up for their degrees wearing some kind of apology for European attire, collar and tie and all that. They looked neither smart nor distinctive. They were just poor imitations and not good at that for a European audience. I have no objection to imitating where such imitation is desirable. But it does add to one's self respect not to imitate too much and to have certain distinctive features of our own. I see no reason why this kind of dress such as I have suggested, should not be worn also in foreign countries.

18. The dress I have suggested is for men only. For women, the sari should continue both for office work and elsewhere. Of course, for sports etc. special dresses may have to be worn.

7. Delay in Implementing Projects¹

At a recent meeting of the Planning Commission at which you were present, it was pointed out that only a small part of the funds allotted for various projects had been used. Even in the Community Projects, to which we attach so much importance, a relatively small part of the funds were utilised. During the first year of the Community Projects, rupees eight crores were budgetted for them. Out of this only one crore and ninety five lakhs were spent during that year. This too was probably spent largely on overhead administration and not so much in actual work. Next year, that is this year, the allotment is rupees twenty two crores.

2. It is exceedingly doubtful if this will be fully utilised. This kind of thing is happening in most of the States as well as in the Central Ministries. This is a serious matter because it affects our entire plan. It must, therefore, be thoroughly examined as to where delays occur. It was stated in the Planning Commission that delays occurred, partly at least, because of the administrative set-up and the system of financial control both at the Centre and in the States. Also because, occasionally, of lack of properly trained personnel.

3. In some of the schemes, such as those relating to education, the State has to find some money before the Centre gives its share. If States cannot find that money, the Centre also does not give its share and no progress is made.

4. It seems to me that we should give the very first priority to getting out of this tangle and to examine all procedures which lead to these obstructions and delays. This really means examining the whole administrative set-up dealing with such matters, both at the Centre and in the States. I think that a clear analysis should be made of the reasons for delay in certain specific projects or schemes, so that we may be in a better position to rectify them.

5. We have laid the greatest stress on Community Projects and National Extension Services. We have had as good a public response as we could have expected. The fault, therefore, lies with the governmental apparatus or with the administrative set-up. It would be a tragedy if because of what is called red-tape, we fail in our endeavour.

6. This administrative set-up largely concerns itself with sanctions and the like, both at the Centre and in the States. That is, it has to do with the Finance Ministry of the Centre and the States. The method of giving sanctions is therefore to be fully examined.

1. Note to Cabinet Secretary, 15 January 1954. JN Collection. Copies were sent to Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, and Secretary General, MEA.

7. The Civil Service Regulations, Fundamental Rules, Supplementary Rules, etc, also require a thorough examination and overhaul to make them fit in with existing conditions and the kind of work we wish to do. In fact this question was vaguely considered when we were considering the Appleby Report. It is true that we have decided to set up a Special Department for this purpose. There has been delay even in starting this work. That again is an example how we get tied up with small difficulties which delay most important work. But even before the Department starts functioning, it seems to me desirable that some overall consideration should be given to this matter as a whole so that that department may start off in a proper way, otherwise that department itself will function in the same old way which deadens initiative and leads to delays. The present rules and regulations were obviously designed for an entirely different kind of work. When Government has acquired another type of set-up that is no longer suitable now.

8. I find that senior officers of the Finance Ministry are connected with numerous Boards and Committees and are sometimes Directors of Corporations. They are also on governing bodies of Government-owned schools. The result is that they have to spend a lot of time in touring. Their main work and responsibility necessarily suffer. This matter must be looked into and it will be desirable for Secretaries and Joint Secretaries of the Finance Ministry to concentrate on the work of their own Ministry instead of constantly touring about as Director or Member of Committees.

9. Another matter that has come to my notice recently is that it is a growing practice for some junior officers in the Finance Ministry to write notes on the file criticizing or opposing recommendations or suggestions forwarded by Ministers of some other Ministry. It is highly improper for any Secretary, senior or junior, to deal in this way with the Cabinet Minister's note. Only a Minister should reply to a Minister. There may be internal notings within a Ministry. I believe, this was the practice previously. I do not know why it has been changed.

10. In the External Affairs Ministry, I find that many of our proposals are held up indefinitely over most trivial reasons because the Finance Ministry does not agree. Our work has suffered considerably. Some way out must be found to get these matters settled much more rapidly than now. If necessary they should be put before the Cabinet or Cabinet Committee, which should give a final decision. Normally, unless there are special financial considerations involved, the opinion of the Ministry concerned should carry weight.

11. The question of pre-audit should, I think, be also examined as this is often a very serious cause of delay. So far as I know, this system does not prevail in other countries. We are constantly spending vast sums of money in trying to save a small sum. This surely is not good politics or good business. Government, having to deal with vast schemes, must be carried on with vision and not from the point of view of petty accounting.

12. These are some of the ideas that have been troubling me for some time past and have struck with redoubled force recently. All these matters must be considered by the Cabinet at an early date. The Planning Commission should also consider them as also the Ministries concerned.

8. To R.P. Bhargava¹

Camp: Kalyani
January 20, 1954

My dear Bhargava,²

Your letter of the 15th January.

I think it is desirable to discourage teachers from taking active part in party politics. The matter is not, however, free from difficulty. What is active part? Obviously, strikes etc. are active part and worse. A theoretical adherence would not be an active part.

Again, a slightly different approach has to be made in a backward area.

I think you are certainly entitled to say that no teacher should take active part in politics, but how this would be interpreted would be for your Government to decide. It would, I think, not be quite right to take action against a person who is merely associated with any political group but without taking any active part in it.

I think one of the Manipur Congressmen is likely to be here at Kalyani. If I see him, I shall speak to him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Rameshwar Prasad Bhargava (b. 1906); joined the Indian Civil Service, 1931; worked in various capacities in the United Provinces, 1931-52; Chief Commissioner, Manipur 1952-55; Commissioner, Meerut Division, 1955-58; Member, Board of Revenue, UP, 1958-62; Chief Secretary, UP, 1962-64.

9. Award of Padma Vibhushan¹

I think we should take some steps to collect suitable names for the award of the new Order of the Lotus, Padma Vibushan. We have begun by giving it to the Maharaja of Bhutan and he is the sole possessor of it....

2. ... Normally I think we should give these awards at the time of Republic Day. But I feel we cannot wait till the next Republic Day and we might issue a small selected list at an early date this year. The Home Ministry should write to the State Governments for recommendations. Full details of the Order should be sent and it should be mentioned that there are three classes of it.

3. Recently a case came to my notice of some engineer working in the Sindri factory who had made an invention which has saved the Sindri factory many lakhs of rupees. Such a case is eminently worthy of recognition by an award apart from any other way of recognising it.

4. I should imagine that Sukumar Sen's work in the Sudan is worthy of recognition by us.

5. I am mentioning just two names that come to my mind. The point is that the award should be given for special services and not merely for long service. It is desirable that, even in the initial state, there should be not only Government servants but others. These others can be people doing something in the nature of social service or developmental work, eminent scientists, doctors, engineers, social service workers, persons who have done particularly well in our Community Projects and the like. We might make a similar enquiry from our Central Ministries.

6. I repeat that the initial list should be small and well selected.

7. Will you please get the Home Ministry to take this up. I am sending a copy of this note to them.

1. Note to Cabinet Secretary, 31 January 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.

CONGRESS PRESIDENCYSHIP

(i) The Kalyani Session

1. Epitome of Freedom and Progress¹

We are meeting after many years in Bengal. We are meeting under an atmosphere of stress and strain, but, as you might have seen from the clouds and rains here, after shadow there is light. Similarly our story is one of shadows and sunrise. That is the history of the Congress and that is the history of the country. The Congress has become a part and parcel of our life and to some of us, it is our very nerves and bones.

When I was quite young I attended the first session of the Congress in Bombay in 1904, not as a delegate but just as a visitor. Since then I have attended almost all the annual sessions, excepting two: once when I was in jail and the second time when I was out of India. As such it is quite natural that the Congress organization is dear to me, and to many others who have long been associated with it. But above all the Congress is so dear to all of us, because it is the symbol of national freedom and progress. It is the very epitome of independence and progress of the country. But we have to take stock of the situation afresh and correct our mistakes as best as we can. Our shortcomings of the past should not, however, wash out our good deeds. The Congress has written a portion of the history of our country.

We have reached a landmark after which we can neither rest nor retrace our steps. Our onward march has been a pilgrimage, and with the end of one we would embark on another. Some of our fellowmen are tired but that is not surprising. We cannot give up, we have to gird up our loins and go further.

Whatever took place in India during the last several years, the responsibility for it rests with the Congress. We cannot disown our mistakes and we also have to take note of the success we achieved.

We faced the tribulations of Partition which the people in Bengal and the Punjab know well, and the division which the British rulers of the land had encouraged. In spite of that all India has been advancing rapidly in the sphere of reconstruction.

The river valley projects, the Sindri Fertilizer Factory, the Chittaranjan Workshops, the ship-building yard at Vishakhapatnam and the aircraft factory at Bangalore are by no means minor achievements.

In the scheme of development, rural reconstruction has occupied a prominent

1. Speech while inaugurating the AICC Session at Kalyani, 21 January 1954. From *The Hindu* and *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 22 January 1954.

place in the nation-building programme. The Congress has started the Community Projects and the National Extension Service. In the course of five to ten years from now, the villages and the people's lives would undergo a radical change. That is revolution not by violent means or uprisings as people of immature minds would understand it. It is a revolution by peaceful methods throughout the country.

At the other end, we find things which cause us pain. Unemployment is the first and foremost among them; people out from schools and colleges are unable to get employment. This is a scourge and a disease. We have before us plans to improve the situation but it is not possible to end unemployment overnight. We have to show our countrymen whether we are proceeding correctly.

We have to guard against gloating over temporary achievements, which may be applauded by a few who get advantage from immediate gains. We must build our country on sound foundations and must not forget that success is never achieved through big noise or slogans. If we go further on a sound footing, we can show the world how a nation advances by peaceful means.

The Congress is faced with many problems, one of them being its organizational question. We have to think and ponder over its strength, and weaknesses as well. There are problems, regional or otherwise. We have to consider whether the Congress in the States and the Centre is united, as both must work together or else our progress will be retarded. The members of the State Assemblies and Parliament are connecting links between the Congress and the Government. If the links are not strong enough, the representatives of the people in the Legislatures, who are the liaison between the people and the Government, will not properly function and will weaken the political framework.

We have to ponder over India's ills, specially that of religion entering into political activities, and to guard against narrow ideas. Otherwise, the country's progress will be retarded. The economic level of the country should be raised, and we have to investigate into several other weaknesses, for example, the problem of the downtrodden which Mahatma Gandhi tried to solve.

The Congress is not merely a political organization to win elections but it has to take up social uplift as well. It was strong in the past because it tried to solve other problems along with the political emancipation of the country.

India is faced with the problems which may be dangerous in themselves. We are not afraid of them. Indeed, we are happy that the country is agog and there is a great awakening. We have ideas for tackling the situation in our own way. These have been embodied in a resolution to be placed before the AICC and the Subjects Committee.

Some of our friends have chosen to be away from us, but the Congress has not closed its doors for them. We cannot afford to do it. But every organization has to run according to certain rules. We have to make the Congress a strong

platform so that it may be able to deal with the various problems facing the country.

2. The Party and the Government¹

... The relationship between the Government and the Congress organization raises a question of great importance; and already we have given indications regarding the advisability of setting up a regular machinery for maintenance of proper contact between them. But no rigid rules can be prescribed. The Government must have its own responsibility and cannot be divested of its charge. Complaints are there and a procedure has to be followed which takes some time to reach the final decision. In a democratic set-up responsibility cannot be laid on the shoulders of anyone. In the British days, the authorities functioned in their own way. The same cannot hold good today. Naturally, the process has lengthened because of appeals and counter appeals before the disputes are settled. It is a peculiar practice with some partymen that they approach the Governments with recommendations forgetting that these attempts to influence the Governments would affect their efficiency adversely. May I refer to my own experience as the President of Allahabad Municipality.² I made it a point to look with disfavour any attempt made to influence administrative work through recommendations.

Of course, there should be regular contact between the Congress organization and the Government for mutual consultation and exchange of ideas and opinions. It depends upon a practice and technique and not on prescribed rules. The actual problem lies elsewhere. We must recognize the facts that the world is changing and we must adapt ourselves to the changing technique evolved out of a proper evaluation of things. Otherwise we turn ourselves into so many critics with no constructive suggestions to offer, as for example, the opposition parties, like the PSP, who indulge in baseless criticism and raise

1. Speech at a conference of Presidents and Secretaries of the Pradesh Congress Committees and District Congress Committees, Kalyani, 22 January 1954. From *Congress Bulletin*, February-March, 1954. Extracts.
2. When Nehru was the Chairman of Allahabad Municipality from 1923 to January 1925, he had laid down a policy that no patronage or favours should be sought by individual Congressmen.

false slogans. Office-bearers of the Congress Committees also fail to recognize the fact that times have changed.

The idea of carrying on agitation and criticizing the Government helps neither the cause they work for, nor the organization nor the people whom they claim to represent. It is strange that success of the Congress in the last General Elections has put us in a difficult position. It has crippled our strength and stamina for work. It is essential that Congressmen should fully realize that in the changed circumstances, they have to play a new role. Instead of frittering away their energies in vague criticism against the Government, they should take to the constructive way of thinking and try to enliven the organization. In the last General Elections, the Congress could succeed only because a network of organizations, active and lively, grew up in all parts of the country which took upon themselves the election propaganda and organizational work.

I suggest that persons with understanding and sympathy might be employed for this purpose and a scheme, on the lines suggested by Shri Atulya Ghosh, could, with profit, be worked out.³

Women must play a very important role in social services. In the last General Elections, it had been noticed that they worked more effectively than men by going from door to door asking for support from the electorate. This practice of approaching people in their houses brings about better results than addressing people in large meetings. Youth have also to be brought closer to the organization. They are not in a happy mood. It seems they feel it difficult to grasp things in their true perspective. It is by persistent efforts that the Congress organization can persuade them to understand their responsibility. Instead of indulging in tall talks, they should take up the problems constructively and help the national development. With earnest efforts this process may be accelerated. The idea of taking some resolve to regulate our own activities turns the mind inward and immediately the constructive phase comes into operation....

Publicity is important. The Communist Party has a special knack of taking to the technique of propaganda through songs, dances, appeals to the village folks through cinemas and other forms of publicity. The Five Year Plan has started publicity work and the message of the Plan has to be carried to the farthest villages, and the Congress organization can possibly help in the matter⁴...

3. Atulya Ghosh, President, West Bengal PCC, felt that auditing of Congress funds by chartered accountants "was not helpful to the Congress organization" and suggested that PCCs be allowed to audit their accounts "internally".
4. A Congressman from Orissa here pointed out that the Congress Party was becoming weaker as the gulf between Congressmen and those who accepted office was getting wider; and Ministers got more publicity while the Congress chiefs were ignored.

For removing illiteracy attempts should be made to educate people through pamphlets, published in languages intelligible to the common man. In other countries, circulation of papers is very wide because the common people find it easy to understand the language in which it had been written. There is a growing apprehension that the Hindi organizers by their overenthusiasm will nullify the purpose for which the propaganda is made. We should be careful about it, and make the language as easy as possible.

The problem of land distribution is a prominent question. Bhoodan aims at solving the problem in a peaceful way. Congressmen have already been advised to associate themselves with this movement and it is desirable that they should do so with sincere earnestness....

3. Women and Nation-building¹

Women of India must play an adequate role in the building of the country. Without them the country cannot make a rapid progress. The state of progress of the country can be known by the condition of its women because they are the makers of the people of the country. Children, who are the citizens of tomorrow, cannot develop into full citizens unless they have the guidance of able mothers.

Women, therefore, should cast off their fear and hesitation and occupy the place that is assigned to them. They would not have to face bullets today, as their forerunners did, but they should devote themselves to the work for their own uplift and the society. Women workers should visit every home and talk to their women, educate them and remove the age old burden from their mind. The work must be done in an organized manner and the PCCs and DCCs should take up this work in all earnestness.

Women should be represented in Parliament in greater numbers. There are, no doubt, some women MPs and MLAs but they are not in adequate numbers. They should also come in great numbers for constructive work under the Five Year Plan, Community Projects and the National Extension Service. They should

1. Speech at a convention of women, Kalyani, 23 January 1954. From *Congress Bulletin*, February-March 1954. The convention Presided over by Vijayalakshmi Pandit, was attended by over five hundred Congress women including MPs, MLAs, AICC members and delegates, and women workers from various parts of India.

go to the villages and provide adequate facilities for the proper upbringing of the children.

It pains me to realize that children in the rural areas do not have adequate opportunities. The Government should, no doubt, do everything in its power for them, but the Government alone cannot accomplish the task without the full cooperation of the people and the women particularly.

4. The Role of Legislators¹

I do not agree with the suggestions offered by Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.² It is not possible for any government to contact the Members of Parliament and tell them what the Government is doing or going to do. No government can function like that. The critical note voiced by Shri Ayyangar is in the form of a generalised statement. He does not give any concrete suggestions. Of course, the idea that Congress MPs. should be ipso facto members of the State legislature parties is welcome. It is essential that the legislature parties should meet frequently and all proposals for legislative enactments and questions of policy should be placed before the party meeting. The question of taxation policy has to be treated on a different footing. In the very nature of things, it has to be kept confidential and cannot be intimated to anyone. Normally broad principles of administrative measures should be discussed in the party meetings. It is not possible to go into detailed discussion with regard to administrative proposals. But whenever a principle is involved, it should be discussed. After the bundle of documents are sifted, scrutinised and examined by the Cabinet, the party may discuss the proposal. Otherwise it brings about a great deal of complications. There should be closest contact among the members and the Ministers and frequent meetings should be held for proper discussion and understanding of the problems that have to be dealt with.

1. Speech at a meeting of Members of Parliament and State Legislatures, Kalyani, 23 January 1954. From *Congress Bulletin*, February-March 1954. Extracts.
2. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Deputy Speaker of the House of the People, said that when Members of Parliament visited their constituencies they were unable to speak of the development works. Therefore he suggested, that ministers: (i) give adequate information to the MPs about the policy and programmes of the State and invite suggestions from them; (ii) in the course of their tours, ministers might contact and tell the MPs about what was happening in the State; and (iii) MPs and MLAs might form a committee in their districts and give their suggestions to the local authorities.

The idea of starting the formulation of the Plan from below has been suggested by some members. State Governments are in charge of the implementation work. Naturally, chance has been given to the States to lay down policy and programme and fix up priorities according to their resources. Planning from below indicates collection of different ideas and suggestions. These have to be sorted out and it is the State Government which is competent to do the same. MLAs can consult village people and prepare a list of requirements and place the same before the State Governments. It is for the State Government to sort them out and include them in the plan. It is only when the State Governments have placed their demands with the Planning Commission, that the latter can adjust the same.

Planning indicates the approach to certain objectives and scientific methods have to be determined for achieving the same. Every State has its own problem to solve and it has to evolve a right attitude and approach to the solution of the problem in consideration of the special factors obtaining therein. An integrated all-round view is an essential factor which should determine the planning outlook of each State. The legislature party should consider the problem in all its aspects, financial, economic, agricultural and industrial.

In administrative matters, we have to see that unnecessary details should be avoided. The recent report on Public Administration in India submitted by Mr. P.H. Appleby, Consultant in Public Administration, demands careful perusal. Definite suggestions have been given in the report for improving on the present administrative system. The present administrative machinery suffers from inertia and something needs to be done to bring about a change. The Government of India has started the Organization and Methods Division in the Centre, and it is expected that a new form of doing things will be found out...

5. Presidential Address¹

We meet at a critical time. It is true that at no time now are we free from some crisis or other, and the world lives in a state of high tension, alternating between hope and fear. And yet, it may be said, that the issues that the world is facing, in the present and in the immediate future, are of peculiar difficulty and danger. As I stand here today, I do not know what the next few days might bring. Even

1. Address at the twenty-fifth session of the Indian National Congress, Kalyani, 23 January 1954. From *The Hindu*, 24 January 1954.

this day when we meet together, in this Congress session, is a critical day, for it marks a definite period in the tragic story of Korea.

Two days later, eminent representatives of the four great powers are due to meet in Berlin. On the outcome of that meeting may well depend which way the scales are going to be weighted. The next day, the 26th January, we celebrate the fourth anniversary of the foundation of our republic, a happy day for us, and an historic one for the last twenty four years, a day on which we pledge ourselves anew to the service of the great causes to which our country has dedicated itself. Soon after comes another anniversary, that of the martyrdom of the Father of the Nation, when we look deep into our hearts and try to find how far we have been true to his teachings.

This curious mixture of events and significant happenings is symbolic of the world today, where we are pulled in various directions, often by forces that we cannot control. We have the firm anchor of the principles that Gandhiji taught us to believe in, we have the hope and faith that nourish us and give us strength, and we have also the strong winds of fear and hatred and violence that blow in from all directions and seek to uproot us from our anchorage. We live in the dim twilight of the cold war, not knowing whether this will end in the black night of war or herald the dawn and sunlight of a fresh hope for humanity.

It is a difficult task to balance ourselves on the sharp edge of the present with these various and opposing forces that try to push us hither and thither. Fortunately for us, we carry still the inspiration that Gandhiji gave us and, even though we may occasionally forget his teaching, the light of it still illumines our minds and hearts.

In Korea, we undertook heavy responsibilities in accepting the chairmanship of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission and sending our army personnel. We did so as part of our contribution to bring the Korean war to an end and promote peace in that unhappy and war-torn land. Whatever may happen today or in the near future in regard to Korea, we may feel in all humility that we used our endeavours in helping to bring hostilities to an end. That was some service to the cause of peace and it is in this light that the real significance of our proposals before the United Nations, in regard to the issue of prisoners of war, should be judged.

We have had no easy or smooth task, and we have been attacked from all sides and have had to function in the context of the hostility, suspicion and bitterness that exist between the two sides. Our impartiality and objectivity have been assailed, and the President of the South Korean Government has hurled threats and insults at us. In spite of all this, we have continued to shoulder these responsibilities without giving way to pressure or departing from the purposes that have always guided us—the promotion of peaceful and just solutions. In our thoughts, in our proposals and our policies, we have

endeavoured to adhere to a non-violent approach and our basic policy of non-alignment and non-partisanship.

Korea has been a field test of our foreign policy and, we hope, in a small way, a lesson and example to us and to others. We shall have to face difficult problems and to make sometimes decisions which are not acclaimed or welcomed by many, but we shall persist in our endeavour and our duty. That is the only course that is consistent with our inheritance and, I believe, is in accordance with the desires of our people. The purposes for which the Repatriation Commission was formed have not been fully achieved. The great majority of the prisoners of war have had no chance of hearing explanations and the Political Conference, which was to decide many issues, has not taken shape. Normally, these processes should have been completed before the next step was taken. But a time-limit was imposed on us and we could not go beyond that without the consent of both parties. That agreement was lacking and so we had to take the only course left open to us. Any other course would have led to violence and anarchy.

In the circumstances, we could not release the prisoners or declare them of civilian status because the repatriation processes were not complete; we could not keep them in our custody because we had no authority to do so beyond the specified date. In our considered view, further action could only be taken by agreement between the two sides, and not unilaterally. We must always remember the main aim in Korea, that is, a settlement and the restoration of peace. For this purpose, the Armistice Agreement provided for the Political Conference. I hope that this Conference will meet soon to consider and decide on the issues that have been referred to it.

Our representatives on the Repatriation Commission and our forces in Korea have had to make difficult decisions. They have acquitted themselves with distinction. We wish them well and I want to tell them, on your behalf, that they can function in the knowledge that we, at home, have confidence in them and are proud of their record in Korea.

After the attainment of Independence, our urgent task has been to devote ourselves to the economic betterment of our people, to raise their standards of living, to remove the curse of poverty and to promote equality and social justice. The extent to which we succeed or fail in this great task will be the measure of our achievement. That remains therefore, and will remain, our first duty and concern. But the world presses upon us from all directions and we cannot remain unconcerned with what happens elsewhere, more especially in Asia. We stand on the threshold of the atomic age which knits together this world and makes it one integrated whole, for good or ill. The geographical position of India in South Asia has throughout history brought her in intimate contact with the other parts of Asia. We cannot ignore or change geography.

We have thus to develop some kind of an integrated view of the world, for we cannot live in isolation. That does not mean that we should interfere with others or that we should submit to the interference of others in our country. But it does mean greater cooperation among the countries and peoples of the world, for the only alternative left is conflict on a colossal scale and terrible destruction.

Instead of this spirit of cooperation, we find the very reverse of it, and great and powerful countries are ranged against each other, prepared for armed conflict and accusing each other of aggressive designs. The world is sick and weary of this conflict and of the fear that it has bred. No one wants war and yet, by some strange fate or uncontrollable destiny, it is the thought of war that dominates our lives.

Can war, if it comes, solve any of the problems that confront us? It is clear that it will bring no solution. All that it is likely to do is to bring uttermost destruction and even uproot the very basis of modern civilization and culture. It will degrade humanity and lead to far more problems than we face today. War, therefore, must be avoided, for, in the existing circumstances, there can be no greater evil. Any step that leads to war has also to be avoided and we must seek a solution of our problems by other methods. The first step is to ease the tensions that exist.

Two powerful blocs of nations confront each other, each trying to play a dominant role. One is called the Communist bloc and the other calls itself the democratic and anti-Communist group. Those who refuse to join either of these groups are criticized as sitting on the fence, as if there could be only two extreme positions to take up.

Our policy has been one of non-alignment and of development of friendly relations with all countries. We have done so not only because we are passionately devoted to peace but also because we cannot be untrue to our national background and the principles for which we have stood. We are convinced that the problems of today can be solved by peaceful methods and that each country can live its own life as it chooses without imposing itself on others. We are a democratic country and our objectives have been laid down in the Constitution that we have framed. We can never forget the great teaching of our Master that the ends do not justify the means. Perhaps most of the troubles in the world today are due to the fact that people have forgotten this basic doctrine and are prepared to justify any means in order to obtain their objectives. And so, in the defence of democracy or in the name of liberation, an atmosphere is created which suffocates democracy and stifles freedom, and may ultimately kill both.

We claim or desire no right of leadership anywhere. We wish to interfere with no country just as we will not tolerate interference with ours. We believe that friendly and cooperative relations are essential among the countries of the

world, even though they may disagree in many ways. We do not presume to think that by our policies or by any step that we might take, we can make any serious difference to the great world issues. But, perhaps, we might sometimes help to turn the scales in favour of peace and, if that is a possibility, every effort to that end is worthwhile.

Peace is not merely an absence of war. It is also a state of mind. That state of mind is almost completely absent from this world of cold war today. We have endeavoured not to succumb to this climate of war and fear and to consider our problems, as well as the problems of the world, as dispassionately as possible. We have felt that even if some terrible tragedy overtakes the world, it is worthwhile to keep some area of the world free from it to the extent possible. Therefore, we have declared that India would be no participant in a war and we have expressed the hope that other countries in Asia would likewise keep away from it, thus building up an area of peace. The larger this area is, the more the danger of war recedes. If the whole world is divided up into two major and hostile camps, then there is no hope for the world and war becomes inevitable.

It is not our way to live in or by fear. We should not live in fear of aggression from any country. If, by misfortune, there is any aggression, it will be resisted with all our strength.

It is in this context that we have viewed the proposals for military aid from the United States to Pakistan. That is not merely a question of a rich and powerful country aiding an undeveloped country, but something which goes to the root of the problem of peace, as well as the freedom of many countries in Asia. These countries, including India, have only recently attained independence. They will only retain it so long as they are worthy of it and are capable of defending it. The moment they rely upon others to do so, they have already lost part of that independence and the rest may also slip away later. For the countries of Asia, which have suffered so long and so terribly under foreign domination, this is no small matter. In the long perspective of history, this means a reversal of that process of liberation for which we have all struggled in Asia for generations past and which at last yielded results. This is not a question of motives, but of certain steps which inevitably lead to others. We have struggled for freedom and guard it as a precious heritage. Are we now to risk it because of fear or a feeling of helplessness? That is a question which every country in Asia has to put to itself and to answer.

There have been so many contradictory statements about this proposal of American military aid to Pakistan that it is difficult to know what the real facts are, but enough has been said to show that this is no airy talk, and has much substance behind it, and enough has been said also that behind this proposal lie far-reaching consequences. If Pakistan accepts this aid, she becomes part of a great group of nations, lined up against another. She becomes potentially a

war area, and progressively her policies are controlled by others. To deny this has little meaning. Freedom recedes in Asia and the currents of history are reversed.

For India, this is a serious matter from many points of view. The mere fact that war is likely to come to our frontiers is grave enough. The other fact that this military aid might possibly be utilized against India cannot be ignored. I earnestly trust that even at this stage this unfortunate development will not take place and I say so, not in hostility, but in all friendship for the people of Pakistan.

Ever since Partition, with the establishment of Pakistan as an independent State, it has been my conviction which, I believe, is shared not only by the Congress, but by vast numbers of our countrymen, that India and Pakistan should live in friendship and cooperation. We accepted the independence of Pakistan and there was no question of challenging it in any way. Any other course would have been the height of folly. Therefore, we have wished well to Pakistan and hoped that its people would prosper and develop. It is true that we had disputes on a number of issues and several of them still remain unresolved. But that does not lessen in any way the basic fact that India and Pakistan have to live in friendship, or else, both suffer greatly and endanger their freedom. Our disputes must be treated as matters for us to decide and not for outsiders to interfere. Indeed, I think that some of these disputes might well have been settled by this time if there had been no external interference from outside parties.

Two or three years ago, I offered to Pakistan that we should make a "No War" declaration, thus making it clear that on no account would our two countries war against each other. That offer was rejected. So far as we are concerned, it remains open, for we want no war. Indeed, we are prepared, as a natural consequence of our policy, to have such agreements with any of our neighbouring countries, thus ensuring that there would be no aggression on either side.

While the situation created by the reported military aid to Pakistan is a grave one and deserves our earnest attention, there is no reason why we should be alarmed by it. But, it does make certain demands upon us and it calls us for one thing above all, that is, national solidarity. Time and again in our long history, we have been threatened and assailed from outside. Whenever we failed before such an onslaught and our country was dismembered or vanquished, it was not so much because of lack of arms or courage, but always because of internal weakness. We have great variety in our country, many diversities among ourselves, which have contributed to the richness of our life and civilization, but they have also sometimes led to our internal weakness. Our fundamental and historic unity has broken down again and again in the past because of this weakness. Our own arms have been used against us, our own people have

betrayed us. That is the lesson of history. Let us profit by that lesson. This is no time to allow a section of our people, on grounds of race or region, religion or caste or language, to get the better of our national solidarity. If we are united, that unity will confront and confound those who dare to menace our independence or our well-known desire to live in peace.

National solidarity means equally the development of the strength of our nation. This rests on us and us alone. We must seek to build up our strength by ourselves and not by dependence on others. Dependence in one direction leads to dependence in another. Nations, it is said, by themselves are made. By self-reliance, we shall command respect and we shall make our country more and more our own, of each one of us.

This calls for great endeavour, not only physical, economic or financial, but spiritually also on our part. It was that kind of endeavour that made us an independent nation and also enabled us to overcome the catastrophies of the early days of our independence. That is the real spirit of our people and the answer to the challenge that is handed to us. We shall be vigilant, we shall safeguard our national heritage and security, we shall pursue our endeavour for peace in the world, but we must basically rely on ourselves.

I have no doubt that we can do it. We have survived and overcome great difficulties during these past years and, whenever a challenge has come to us, we have faced it with courage. Even the experience of recent years has convinced me that if we make the right approach, the response of our people is good. Where there is lack of success, the fault lies in us, not in the people. Our strength will come not from building up arms or entering into a competition in armaments, but from the development of our country and the well-being of our people.

Two and half years have passed since our First Five Year Plan began, and all over this great land vast schemes are being worked out. Many of these schemes are magnificent in conception, as well as in execution, and the mere fact that we have taken them up and have pursued them with vigour indicates daring and faith in our future. The great process of consolidation in India has gone on and we have laid still further the foundations of the new India of our dreams. I think that India can stand comparison during a like period with any other country, and we may well feel a little pride in our achievements.

And yet, we have many failings and the greatest of these is the tendency to grow complacent. Our administrative machinery, good in many ways, has not yet been fully adapted to the changed circumstances in the country and has not been geared up for swift action. Delays occur at every step and even the monies we allot for various developmental schemes are not spent. We tend to work in fits and starts and that constant pressure, which is so necessary, is not maintained. Our people tend to rely on the Government agencies far too much

and, at the same time, criticise those agencies. A high rate of progress can be kept up by constant pressure from every side—from the people, from their representatives in Parliament and Assemblies and from the Government. Between all three there has to be cooperation. This task is not confined to the Congress and all can share in this great adventure. The Congress is especially fitted for it because of its past history and tradition and its great position today in the country, but it will only function effectively if we revive our old time spirit and forget our petty internal conflicts and desire for office and personal advancement.

The Community Projects and the National Extension Service present us with a unique opportunity for creating a peaceful revolution in this country and, more especially, in the rural areas, which were so neglected in the past. There is scope in them for everyone, whatever his party or group might be. In this struggle for survival, we have to rise above all influences and tendencies which narrow our vision and limit our outlook. We have, in particular, to root out communalism and provincialism and casteism and build up a new India, where these distinctions have no force and where there is a fuller life and opportunity for all.

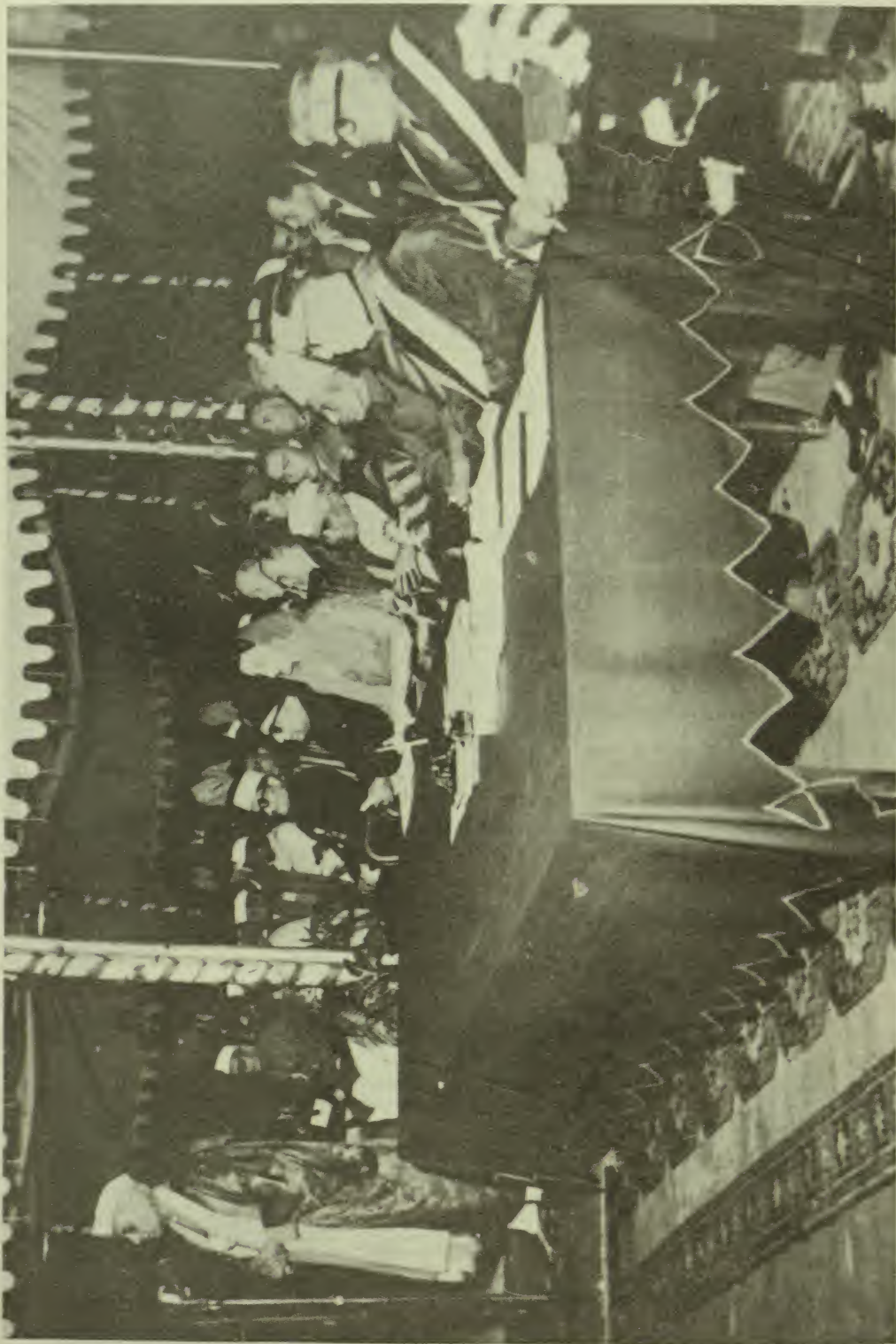
Even as we work for the fulfilment of the First Five Year Plan, we have to think of the second five years. This second plan, we have said, must be drawn up in full cooperation with the people and keeping in mind their special needs. Panchayats and village communities should begin to think of it and make their proposals. We can no longer function merely from the top, for we have to organize cooperatively the millions of our people and make them partners and sharers in these great undertakings. In order to do so, we have to enter into the spirit of our people, in their song and dance and music, in their day-to-day joys and sorrows. It is thus that work and play will be joined together and our projects and schemes become vital in the eyes of our people. That was the approach of our forefathers to the people and in this way they taught them great lessons and noble truths and gave them that joy in life which survived misfortune and disaster. In spite of their dreadful poverty, our people have not forgotten to laugh and dance and to be generous to each other. It is only some of the city folks who, in their assumed superiority, have lost touch with the vital spirit of India and often suffer frustration.

Our strength lies not merely in the cities but much more so in the countryside where hundreds of millions of our people dwell. It is for the revival of that countryside that the Community Projects and the National Extension Service are meant. Our young men and women have an ideal opportunity to serve there and thus to get in tune with our masses and fit themselves for higher responsibilities.

The response in many places has already been surprisingly good. Students, who sometimes have gone astray and have shown great lack of discipline and



AT THE TATA INSTITUTE OF FUNDAMENTAL RESEARCH, MUMBAI, 1 JANUARY 1954



INAUGURATING THE INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS, HYDERABAD, 3 JANUARY 1954

good sense, have made a vital contribution to this rural programme. Our universities, both teachers and students, can become the living centres from where work radiates. This will be a most effective preparation for leadership. We have often criticized our students, and rightly so, but we must always remember that they are the heirs of the tomorrow that we are trying to build.

Unemployment, on a large scale, casts a blight on many young lives and is one of our major problems. We cannot remove it by some magic but we can gradually put an end to it by proper planning and hard work. It is no good for everybody to look up to posts in Government service, but we should be able to guarantee employment and work to anyone who is prepared to work hard and is not disdainful of manual labour.

I am convinced that it is not lack of money that is going to come in our way if we are determined to go ahead and are prepared to pay the price for it. The next Five Year Plan, which should begin to take shape soon, must go a long way in settling our land question and in providing employment.

Freedom is precious and has its rights and privileges; it has also its responsibilities and obligations. We shall only preserve that freedom if we are conscious all the time of discharging our duties. Those of us, who are privileged to serve in our legislatures, have a special duty to perform. Their work does not lie in the legislatures only, nor is the success of parliamentary government measured mainly by its legislative output or the number of days on which the legislature sits. It is the quality of its work that counts and the nature of the relationship between the members and the people who elect them. It also depends upon the growth of a proper relationship between the executive and the legislature. The Member of Parliament or of an Assembly is the symbol of our democracy in his constituency. It is his work there that brings the legislatures and the people close together and helps to maintain the contacts and relationships that make democracy dynamic and effective. Thus, his work and functions in his constituency are continuous and are not limited to election time. It is his responsibility to have an informed electorate and, therefore, an informed country. He should be the guardian of the people's interests and their voice; it should be his function also to render the people conscious and alert about the great obligations which Independence has enjoined on all of us.

The faith of the people in democratic and parliamentary methods largely rests on the work of the members of the legislatures in their constituencies. These members should not seek to perform the functions or take the place of the administration, local, State or national, but if they function properly, they make a great impact on them and make governments respond to the needs and aspirations of the people. When an election takes place or an event of national or local importance occurs, it is the Member of Parliament or Assembly to whom the people should look with confidence for guidance. He should help them to develop a balanced judgment, so necessary to parliamentary

government, and prevent the emergence of communal or racial feuds and bitterness. He cannot live on slogans. A Congressman, when elected to a legislature, represents not only Congressmen there but the entire people in his constituency. He is the representative of the nation or the State.

The Congress necessarily has to function as an electoral organization, but that is not its only or the most important task. It has been our proud privilege to be soldiers in a mighty national movement which brought freedom to this country. We cannot allow the Congress to shrink now into just an electoral organization. It is vital that it should function, not only at election times, but at other times also, seeking to serve the cause of the people and to render the work of our Parliament, legislatures, local bodies and Panchayats, part of the life of our people. This does not mean intervention in the affairs of the local administration or coming in the way of the organs of government, local, state or national. Our party organization must be something more than a party and must win confidence and respect by patient and self-sacrificing service, and thus live in the hearts of our people.

We welcome criticism and even opposition, for that is of the essence of democracy. But unfortunately most of the criticism directed against us is unrealistic and has little relation to the problems of the day. The same theme is repeated again and again regardless of its relevance or its practicality. We are asked to nationalize all our major industries as if that would bring some immediate cure.

We are pressed, with unfailing regularity, to leave the Commonwealth without being told what good this will bring us. For my part, I am convinced that it was the right step for us to remain in the Commonwealth. It was right both from our point of view and that of larger world problems. There could be no association of nations with as little binding force or interference with each other. We would welcome not only this but any other association with other countries. Indeed, we have been associated with an Asian-African group in the United Nations without any commitments, and this association has been mutually advantageous. We have also close relations with some of our neighbour countries.

As for nationalization, most of us accept the broad principles of socialism, though we may not agree on any dogmatic approach to it. Where nationalization is obviously beneficial, we should not hesitate. Indeed, we have built up already a large number of magnificent state-owned undertakings and their number is growing. Why should we use up our slender resources in the acquisition of old industries when we want to start new ones? Each question must be examined on its merits.

We must remember that the complicated problems of any country are not solved by a blind attempt to copy some other. The United States of America is a great and highly industrialized country. Are we to introduce their methods

and techniques in our underdeveloped economy, or are we to copy the Russian methods regardless of their applicability here? We have to face the problems of a heavily populated and underdeveloped country, which is trying to make good in a democratic and peaceful way. On no account are we prepared to adopt the methods of violence or any other methods which we consider utterly wrong. That is not only a principle we stand by, but good practical politics, for, methods of violence would inevitably produce conflict and disruption and put an end to all progress.

We have no desire to interfere with other countries. But, our whole past background and our understanding of the world today inevitably make us opponents of all forms of colonial domination. By our own experience, we know that this is bad. It is bad for those who are governed and those who govern. In the context of the world today, colonialism is a constant danger to world peace and encourages a tendency to racial conflict. We had welcomed the progressive elimination of colonialism in many parts of Asia and had hoped that this process would continue to the end. Lately, however, there has been a marked tendency to reverse this process, chiefly in Africa, but also elsewhere. There have been distressing examples of this which have powerfully affected our people. I earnestly hope that these retrograde steps will be reversed before they lead to even greater disaster. I should like to say, however, that there have been two highly promising developments recently. One is the growth of self-government in West Africa and the other is the emergence of the Sudan, in the heart of Africa, as a self-governing State. Africa is bound to play an increasing part in the world's affairs and it would be disastrous if its normal development is sought to be hindered by force.

Another unfortunate tendency is to support feudal and reactionary regimes, which have completely outlived their day. No amount of support can give vitality to something that does not possess it. Everywhere, and especially in Asia, there has been a passionate desire for political freedom and economic betterment. Anything that comes in the guise of a liberating force is, therefore, welcome. To support a reactionary regime is to lose the support of the people. Unfortunately, it is forgotten that in the ultimate analysis it is the people that count. There is far too much of the mentality which is apt to ignore human beings.

I should like to give expression to a feeling which all of you must share, my deep joy at the liberation, after long years of imprisonment, of our old comrade and leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, that man of God, who has been for more than a generation a symbol of truth and fearlessness. We rejoice also at the release of our old comrades, Dr Khan Saheb, and Khan Abdus Samad Khan, two gallant soldiers of freedom, whose sufferings did not end even with the advent of independence. We send them all our greetings, affection and good wishes.

Fate and circumstances have cast a heavy responsibility on India. All of us, to whatever party we might belong, have to shoulder this responsibility. In particular, those who are privileged to be in the Congress must necessarily carry a greater burden. They should do so not in any pride of spirit but in all humility and with the consciousness that the great organization to which they belong still continues to be an agent of historic destiny. They must not only live up to its traditions but always seek the cooperation of others so that in the brief span of life that remains to us, we may write a worthy chapter in India's long history.

(ii) Organizational Affairs

1. Service to the People¹

It is heartening to see so many bright faces of Congress workers, men and women. I should like to speak to them a great deal from the Congress point of view which overlaps very often with the country's point of view. The Congress is not functioning apart from the country. It is not as if you serve the Congress and not the country. The Congress serves the country, otherwise it will not function. My mind goes back to the early twenties when the movement started by Mahatma Gandhi was in full swing.

The other day when I was speaking at a conference of Information Ministers at Delhi, I reminded them that, in the early twenties, we had neither the radio at our disposal nor any other special means. We did not have even loudspeakers when addressing large gatherings. The Congress leaders and workers met the villagers and shouted to the best of their ability before large audiences. The point is that, in those days, the Congress workers all over the country created a mighty revolution. We shook up the country, mentally and physically. Thousands and thousands of Congress workers went to the villages and countryside carrying the message of the Congress and Gandhiji. The remarkable fact was that they did so without any apparatus or any other arrangement used at the present time. It is astonishing and amazing how the whole atmosphere of the country was changed.

1. Address to the Tamil Nadu Congress Workers' Conference, Chennai, 3 October 1953. From *The Hindu*, 4 October 1953. Extracts.

In the countryside, they came across the downtrodden and poverty-stricken peasants. A ray of hope had come into the heart of the peasant who felt that he was now somebody, a partner in the great enterprise of freeing India and himself. Those who saw it said that it was a tremendous experience. We suddenly became a mighty force working all over the country. In a sense, we lost our individuality in the mighty mass of human beings working for a great cause. The strength came out of the mighty movement led by Mahatma Gandhi.

That was the foundation and basis of the Congress work under the Mahatma. That happened thirty years ago. There were many ups and downs and we went on working till a few years back when we achieved our political objectives. It was an odd thing that the Congress had experienced many ups and downs. On many occasions, our opponents had said that the British Government had crushed the Congress. But, as a matter of fact, the Congress came back with greater strength and it could not be crushed. In the nature of things, the dignity with which we worked gave it greater strength. We achieved success.

But success is something dangerous. After achieving Independence, a great testing time faces us. We have achieved some of the major objectives. The objective yet to be achieved is the economic one of raising the standard of the people and removing poverty from the country. We hope to achieve this objective within a measurable time.

The Congress has not finished its job. We have the sensation of having achieved political independence. But, we have lost the sense of losing ourselves in a great cause. Each individual thinks more of his individual self and benefit from Swaraj. That is why we, as an organization, suffer. We should pull ourselves out of this danger and realize that, if we think too much of our individual selves, there will be no going ahead and our mighty organization will not succeed.

We have to think in terms of working in the old way. Let us, by all means, utilize apparatuses like loudspeakers, radio, cinema or other means, but ultimately let us go back to that personal contact with the villager wherever we may have. This personal contact and understanding of the villager, serving him in a friendly way, and not bossing him, these are the ways that give strength to the Congress. This is the way we have to work. We have to fashion the Congress afresh. Go back, to some extent, to this way and try to revive this spirit of adventure which takes hold of everything without thinking of pleasing this or that person. When you go forward with this spirit you will find joy. The joy of work itself gives a sense of achievement. You will have even a sense of individual satisfaction, apart from the fact of your having achieved results.

People complain that Congressmen feel frustrated. We are now going through rather difficult times. We should remember that the world will overwhelm us if we do not conduct ourselves with strength and dignity and try to solve our problems. There is no use in thinking that shouting slogans will

solve them. Slogans will not solve our problems. Problems will be solved only by hard and cooperative work. We, in India, have a growing reputation of being a mature people with some wisdom, with some strength and capacity for cooperative endeavour. The credit for all this goes to Mahatma Gandhi. The Congress, under his leadership, had brought, in the last three decades, great credit to this country. We are the inheritors of it. It is our heritage. It is useful to have a heritage, it strengthens us. But we have to live up to it.

It is the privilege of Congressmen to belong to a great organization, a historic organization which has changed history in India and which has brought freedom to this country. It is a tremendous honour, prestige and responsibility and you have to live up to it. I do not mean to say that you should repeat the slogans raised thirty years ago. Conditions differ and new problems have cropped up. We have to hold fast to a true standard of conduct, as Mahatma Gandhi told us, and try to merge ourselves in the larger cause. Above all, we should remember that the Congress derives its strength from the people of India.

The moment we lose touch with the people, we become weak. We cannot live on our past record of service. We should work among the people and derive strength from day-to-day work. It is only then that we can achieve anything substantial and the Congress can go ahead. We should keep in touch with the people and be friends with them, trying to understand their joys and sorrows and interpreting to them what is happening...

The Congress workers are leaders in their own areas, big or small. I want them to realize the responsibilities of this leadership and to have a certain understanding of the major problems and an understanding of what the people are thinking. Many of us who work in offices in Delhi and elsewhere, no doubt, constantly think of India's problems, but we lose touch with the people. This is a dangerous thing, for we work in some rarefied atmosphere. We may be thinking mathematically quite correctly, but, actually, it is not practically correct because we live out of touch with the minds of the people...

All the same, I would agree that what we have done in India is not enough. We ought to have done more had we ought to do much more in the future. Above all, I warn that self-complacency or patting ourselves on the back is a fatal disease and none of us should succumb to it. Any organization or individual or movement which becomes self-complacent is fading and loses its vitality. We must all feel that our organization is vital, dynamic and revolutionary. We must have that spirit and go ahead. That is the main approach I should like you to have.

The common problem all over India is economic. We have to understand it in its broad aspects. It is not an easy matter because we cannot go beyond our

resources. You and I would like to do many things. But we have not got the resources.

We have to build brick by brick, and as our resources become more and more. That is the problem of undeveloped countries. We have to see how to make our little resources go a long way. The socialists say that by pursuing a certain method, the speed of progress will be greater. They may be right, but each case has to be examined carefully. If nationalization of any particular undertaking is found good that will be done. Do not be slaves of doctrines, religious, economic or political. In the changing world, we have to keep our eyes and minds wide open.

I do not expect all of you to become high class economists. I may tell you in confidence that high class economists live in a world totally unconnected with the present-day world. Experts are useful and have to be consulted, but if the world is left to them, I do not know what would happen to the world....

2. To Morarji Desai¹

New Delhi

November 2, 1953

My dear Morarji,

Your letter of the 1st November.

I am afraid I made a mistake in my last letter.² The Travancore-Cochin people had asked to send them rupees one lakh more or less straightaway. I understood this to mean their total demand for their elections. That was wrong. Their total demand appears to vary from five lakhs to eight lakhs.

Malliah,³ whom we sent to Travancore, thinks that we should give them rupees three lakhs for the elections and he estimates two lakhs for Pepsu. This is apart from what they might collect themselves and, according to him, is the minimum. That is, in all we are supposed to provide five lakhs for these two general elections in Travancore-Cochin⁴ and Pepsu.⁵

1. File No. F-58(Special)/1953-54, AICC Papers, NMML.

2. Not printed.

3. U. Srinivasa Malliah was one of the three General Secretaries of the Congress.

4. In the Travancore-Cochin elections of February 1954, out of 117 seats, the Congress won 45 seats, the CPI 23 and the PSP, 19. The Congress secured 45.3 percent of the votes polled, CPI, 16.8, and PSP, 16.3.

5. In Pepsu elections, out of 60 seats, the Congress won 37, C.P.I., 4, other State parties, 12, and independents 7. The Congress polled 43.3 percent of the votes cast.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I have sent from Congress funds rupees ten thousand for preliminary expenses to the TC Pradesh Congress Committee.

What idea can I give you as to what you might collect for this. You are in as good a position to judge as I am. I spoke to Dr. B.C. Roy and he has promised to send at least, for the present, rupees fifty thousand. I rather doubt if we can get much more from him or from elsewhere. I wrote to Pantji also, but he is terribly tied up with the student trouble.

Whatever we may ultimately send to Travancore-Cochin, I think that the greater part of it should be sent rather near the election, say about three weeks or four weeks earlier. That is the time when money is chiefly required and is spent. Suppose we send them rupees three lakhs altogether, I would not send them more than fifty thousand in the near future. Perhaps another fifty thousand in December and the remaining two lakhs in January.

That is so far as Travancore-Cochin is concerned. I would like to treat Pepsu more or less in the same way from the time point of view though the sums will be somewhat smaller.

I am not writing to S.K. Patil.⁶

I think you had better send the money for these elections to the AICC office directly here.⁷

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. President, Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee.

7. On 5 November Nehru issued an appeal (not printed) to Presidents of Pradesh Congress Committees for financial assistance especially for the forthcoming elections in Travancore-Cochin and Pepsu.

3. To B. Ramakrishna Rao¹

New Delhi
13th November, 1953

My dear Ramakrishna Rao,
Your letter of the 10th November.

1. JN Collection. A copy of the letter was sent to Balvantray Mehta.

I note that you are fixing your special session of the Assembly from the 10th to the 24th December.

About the question you have raised regarding the taking into the party of some Independents, I can hardly give any answer on grounds of principle.² Each case has to be considered separately. On principle, it is open to us to take any person in, if we are satisfied about him. We should not do so merely to buy him, if I may say so. For the rest, it is an individual matter. Naturally, before taking them into the Congress, as an organization, the Pradesh Congress Committee should approve.

There is one other way of dealing with this matter, and that is, to take them into the Congress Legislature Party, to begin with, as a temporary measure to their being taken into the Congress itself later; that is, they must sign the pledge etc. to abide by the rules of the party and will thus become members of it, or associate members. This is merely an idea that I am putting up to you without any present commitment. If you will let us know the names of such individuals with some account of them and what they have done in the past, we will be able to advise you a little better.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. In a letter (not printed) the same day to Balvantray Mehta, General Secretary, AICC, Nehru wrote: "I do not myself see any particular difficulty in the party taking in Independents who are prepared to join it and sign its pledge. After all, when we take in jagirdars and other people in the Legislature party, we ought to raise no objection to others coming in."

4. To Balvantray Mehta¹

New Delhi
November 13, 1953

My dear Balvantray,

Sometime ago I drew your attention to the extraordinary attitude of the Congress committee, or rather its president and secretary, of Manipur towards the Advisers²

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Dwijamani Dev Sarma, S. Krishnamohan Singh, A. Daiho, L. Kampu and S. Tombi Singh were advisers to Rameshwar Prasad Bhargava, Chief Commissioner of Manipur, in October 1953.

appointed recently. The Congress president there, Lalit Madhav Sarma, issues directions to the Advisers in regard to administrative matters from day to day and further threatens them with disciplinary action if they do not carry out his wishes.³ I then suggested that you should write to the president of the Manipur Congress and tell him that this was completely against our rules and practice. There should be no interference with the administration and certainly no question of disciplinary action arises in this matter.

I do not know if such a letter was written. Anyhow, the practice continues and impossible situations are being created. The Advisers are simple folk who get frightened by the threats of disciplinary action....

I understand that the Advisers are getting a salary of Rs 500/-. Out of this they are made to contribute Rs 250/- to the Manipur Congress. This just seems to me rather an excessive contribution. I do not mind how much they give willingly, but all this seems heavy pressure tactics. You might find out about this from the president and ask him what is done with the money. Is it being spent on normal expenses or kept apart? For instance, it might be used as an election fund or for building the Congress house there, or possibly for relief activities.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. On 8 November 1953, the Manipur Congress High Command had suspended Tombi Singh and D. Dev Sarma from membership of the State Congress and its executive and District Committees for breach of Congress policy and indiscipline. However on 16 December Nehru informed Sarma that "The Central Parliamentary Board has set aside the disciplinary action taken by the President of the Manipur State Congress Committee against the Advisors."

5. To B.K. Kaula¹

New Delhi
28th November, 1953

My dear Balkrishna,

Your letter of 19th November.² I have been terribly busy and I could not deal with it previously.

I must tell you that I did not like your letter at all. I do not like the spirit in which it is written. It does not matter how efficient a person might be in his particular work. He has to be something much more than that. He must have the capacity to pull along with others and to carry others with him.

I really do not know why you have written to me at length in the strain you have done. You talk about my being humiliated for your sake. I am not conscious of anybody humiliating me and, indeed, nobody can be humiliated except by himself. Certainly I am a terribly busy person and every additional problem is a burden. However, I have to deal with this burden all over India. They are of much more serious character than those in Ajmer. I do not run away from them.

Why should not Haribhau approach me directly? I am constantly writing to and receiving letters from Chief Ministers and I ask them to let me know what their difficulties are. It is quite possible that every such account might be one-sided. It inevitably is and one allows for that, just as I would allow for your account to be one-sided.

The art of government is how to deal with human beings, more especially that is the art of democratic government. If we did not succeed in this, then we have failed, however clever or intelligent we might be.

I know Haribhau Upadhyaya pretty well, both his virtues and his failings. I have no illusions about either. I know many other people in India, in Government or in Congress, pretty well also. We have to work with the material we have got and try to improve it.

You seem to take much too tragic a view of relatively petty occurrences. They may be irritating, but we must keep some balance of mind and perspective.

You know that the whole future of Ajmer is in the balance. Very soon the commission for the reorganization of states is going to be formed and this

1. JN Collection.

2. B.K. Kaula, Finance and Home Minister, Ajmer State, was very upset after going through the correspondence between Chief Minister Haribhau Upadhyaya and Nehru, in which Upadhyaya had alleged that Kaula was an intransigent and inefficient person. Kaula felt let down by his Chief Minister and blamed him for the troubles in Ajmer Congress party. He proposed to resign from the Cabinet and sought Nehru's advice. He claimed that Nehru was being humiliated by partymen on his account.

commission will have to decide, among other things, whether Ajmer should remain a separate entity or not. I think it is as well that all your party members should realize this.

Remember that one failing of Indians stands out in history—the incapacity to work with each other. If we do not get over that failing now, we shall not succeed.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Hunger Strikes¹

The Working Committee have, on previous occasions, expressed their strong disapproval of attempts to bring about political decisions by resort to hunger strikes. The Committee reaffirm this condemnation of a method which is a menace to democracy and freedom of thought and judgment. Hunger strikes to force a decision on political, administrative and other matters deserve no sympathy and should be ignored by the public as well as the press.²

1. Draft Note, 6 December 1953. File No.G-13/1953, AICC Papers, NMML.
2. This note is part of a resolution on "Hunger Strikes" adopted by the Congress Working Committee in New Delhi on 6 December 1953.

7. To Ramananda Tirtha¹

New Delhi
January 13 1954

My dear Swamiji,²

I understand that you are having a meeting of your PCC soon for the purpose of electing the President. I had thought that this might be done after the Kalyani

1. File No. P-9, AICC Papers, NMML. A copy of the letter was sent to B. Ramakrishna Rao, Chief Minister of Hyderabad, and to the General Secretary, AICC.
2. President of Hyderabad PCC.

Congress. But since you have fixed the date, you might as well go ahead with it. You will remember the procedure I adopted for the election of the leader of the Congress Party in the legislature in Hyderabad. I should have liked to adopt the same procedure for the Presidency of the PCC. But that is not wholly possible, as there is no element of surprise about it and people know that this will be done. Nevertheless I should like you to adopt that procedure in so far as you can. That is to say, there should be no nominations for the presidency, no proposals. The members should be asked to put down any name they choose. This should be done by secret ballot and the ballot paper should be collected immediately and the result announced.

I understand that you have sent in your resignation. I would have preferred that no one was ruled out even by virtue of resignation. But that is for you to decide. I should like to give the largest freedom to the members to indicate their preferences. Normally we do not encourage Ministers to become Presidents of PCCs. In the very special circumstances of Hyderabad today, I would not rule our Ministers, names being voted upon, if members so choose. For this purpose, I think the only person who should not be chosen is the Chief Minister. I do not think it is desirable for the Chief Minister to be the President of the PCC also.

Therefore, barring the Chief Minister, it should be open to the members to write down any other name in their ballot papers. And, as I have suggested above, this should be done without any formal proposals of names.

I have mentioned this matter to Ramakrishna Rao, who saw me yesterday and explained to him the procedure I would like to be adopted.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru





VISIT TO THE HINDUSTAN AIRCRAFT LIMITED, BANGALORE, 4 JANUARY 1954



AT SEVAGRAM. WARDHA, 5 JANUARY 1954

(i) The Internal Situation

1. Telegram to Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

I have received message² from Shaikh Abdullah which you have already seen. This is a matter entirely in the discretion of Kashmir Government and President of Kashmir Constituent Assembly who will, no doubt, decide it keeping in full view the constitutional and legal position. In view of this position it would not be proper for me to intervene in any way, and I am not for the present sending any direct answer to Shaikh Abdullah. I would suggest, however, that all detenu members of Constituent Assembly should be given opportunity to send any written memorandum should they so desire it.

1. Chennai, 2 October 1953. JN Collection.
2. Shaikh Abdullah who had been kept in custody since his dismissal on 9 August 1953, desired to attend the meeting of the Jammu and Kashmir Constituent Assembly, scheduled for 5 October, to express his views.

2. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Camp: Madurai
October 3, 1953

Nan Dear,

...Regarding Kashmir, it is not easy to suggest any particular line. I think that Bakshi and some others in Kashmir have talked too much about foreign interference although there is no doubt that there is some basis for it.² I have told them to be moderate in their language. I have no doubt myself, and this is for your private information, that the American Embassy is not only deeply interested in Kashmir but is constantly tending to interfere. They are doing that of course everywhere, more especially in Nepal. They have got enormous offices all over India and I rather doubt if even the Ambassador knows all that happens.

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. On 27 September 1953, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad was reported to have said at Baramula that Britain and the United States were apparently conspiring to get a foothold in Kashmir "through the backdoor, via Pakistan."

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

In Kashmir, conditions are outwardly normal and a big convention that Bakshi held was a great success.³ This means that the National Conference organization is very largely with Bakshi. In two or three days' time, their Constituent Assembly will meet and will probably support Bakshi.⁴ That is all certainly of some importance, but the fact remains that the Pakistani elements in Kashmir are more troublesome and are now supported by those who might be called pro-Abdullah elements including members of Abdullah's family. Meanwhile, Abdullah remains in detention in a sumptuous house at Udampur. The mere fact of his detention is of course a matter which troubles me greatly.

I would not mind a commission of Asian nations to take the place of a Plebiscite Administrator, though I cannot conceive easily of such a commission. So far as Nimitz is concerned, or any other American, we shall, on no account, agree to it.⁵ As for Adlai Stevenson, I do not think that he is to blame in any way⁶....

With love from
Jawahar

3. At this convention of National Conference workers the policies of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad were endorsed.
4. On 5 October 1953, the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir approved the steps the Sadar-i-Riyasat had taken in effecting the change of Government in Kashmir. It unanimously expressed confidence in the new Government.
5. Admiral Chester Nimitz had been appointed the Plebiscite Administrator in Kashmir on 21 March 1949 by the UN after the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan had submitted its second report on 9 January 1949.
6. Adlai Stevenson, Democratic candidate in the US Presidential election, visited Kashmir and conferred with Shaikh Abdullah from 1 to 3 May, the last interview having lasted seven hours. It was widely believed that Stevenson listened to Abdullah's demand for independence with sympathy and encouraged him to believe that America would support this move. This allegation was denied by the US Embassy in New Delhi on 10 August, which asked the Indian Government to bring to light any evidence it possessed of US involvement in Kashmir's internal affairs. Stevenson also denied on 14 August that he had suggested a concept of independent Kashmir to Abdullah or that he had given any assurance either as a representative of the US Government or as a private citizen.

3. Bannihal Tunnel¹

Please see the attached letter² from Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad. I am myself anxious that work should begin on this Bannihal tunnel.³ I do not know who is dealing with this matter at this end. Will you please enquire and let me know how matters stand here and what is the next step we can take.

2. Dr Uppal⁴ sent me three fat volumes containing his report on flood control, etc. in the Kashmir Valley. I have sent these volumes to the Minister of Irrigation and Power. This scheme of flood control, reclamation, etc. in the Valley is important. I understand that it has been accepted by the Kashmir Government fully. Has our Government to do anything with it? Is it in the Five Year Plan? The scheme is not very expensive, as such schemes go. It is a long distance scheme and I believe the estimate is for eighty to ninety lakhs. Something has to be done to prevent these recurring floods. The river has silted up so much that it is always on the verge of floods.

1. Note to Vishnu Sahay, Secretary for Kashmir Affairs, 12 October 1953. JN Collection.
2. In this letter Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad requested the Government of India to undertake the construction of Bannihal tunnel—an offer made by the Government of India but not availed of by Shaikh Abdullah.
3. The construction of a tunnel, 1.5 miles long and located at an altitude of 7,200 feet under the Bannihal pass, would keep open throughout the year the crucial line of road communication between Jammu and Srinagar. The tunnel was opened at the end of 1956.
4. H.L. Uppal, Irrigation and Flood Control Expert of the Punjab Government.

4. To Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi
October 12, 1953

My dear Bakshi,

... We have been following with great interest the proceedings of your Assembly.²

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Explaining the circumstances that led to detention of Shaikh Abdullah, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad said that just as India-Pakistan relations were taking a turn for the better, the disruptive movement that Shaikh Abdullah had started in the State wrecked the chances of an amicable settlement. Shaikh Abdullah had attempted to bypass the Constituent Assembly. Conditions of drift and suspense had reached alarming proportions. Something had to be done and the only course open was to part company with those colleagues whose policies were inimical to the interests of the people. "We were, therefore, constrained to detain them under the laws of the State."

From all accounts, the success you have achieved both at the Convention and at the Assembly Session has been remarkably good. That, of course, does not mean that you have not got to face great difficulties.

You know that I had a message from Shaikh Abdullah when I was on tour. I did not send a direct answer, but I sent a message in regard to it.

I do not like the way the Praja Parishad people behave.¹ They and the Jan Sangh people in India are always thinking of some mischief and we have to be fully wide-awake and not encourage them in the slightest. The Praja Parishad people of Jammu have, no doubt, developed a somewhat swelled head because of recent events. I realize that the whole situation in Jammu has to be met tactfully. But I think care should be taken not to encourage the Praja Parishad or their leaders....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The Jammu Praja Parishad was claiming at this time that it had not withdrawn its agitation unconditionally. "If promises made to us are not fulfilled we will have to launch a fresh struggle," it threatened.

5. To Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi
26th October, 1953

My dear Bakshi,

I had a talk with our Finance Minister, Deshmukh, today.² Vishnu Sahay was also present. Deshmukh thoroughly appreciates the position in Kashmir and is anxious to help. But naturally he cannot ignore his own difficulties, that is, the tremendous demands upon him for money from all over India, the extension of our Five Year Plan and the very big deficit we have to face, and the flood and other disasters that have occurred in various parts of India. We are really in a difficult position.

Nevertheless, he was quite prepared to help to the best of his ability. Any help that we give will have to be put before Parliament for additional sanctions and we shall have to explain it and justify it.

1. JN Collection. Copy to Vishnu Sahay, Secretary in charge of Kashmir Affairs.
2. C.D. Deshmukh expressed himself against aid being given to Kashmir Government for subsidising foodgrains. He could not also pay for the Kashmir militia for more than a year.

He pointed out, however, that the only effective way of helping is by developing. That adds to the purchasing power of the people and raises standards. It is permanent good. The other way of helping by some sort of subsidy on food³ may be given in an emergency, but it is always a temporary measure and does not strengthen the economy of the place. You remain where you were at the end of it and have to face the same problems year after year. It was because of this that we decided not to give any subsidies to any part of India. We prefer helping even in a scarcity area by works or other kinds of help. Rarely we give a subsidy on food in a flood area or the like for a small period to get over the immediate distress.

Therefore, Deshmukh was strongly of opinion, and basically I agree with him, that it would be wiser policy for you to spend the money we can give you in additional works instead of merely spending the most of it in just a subsidy on rice. Ultimately we have to choose how best to utilize the available money and cannot have it both ways.

For a period it may be necessary, because of a variety of circumstances, to lower the price of rice by subsidy, but as a continuing basis of your economy, it is likely to come in the way of your development very much. You will remember that the price of rice in Kashmir is far below the price people have to pay anywhere else in India. It is rather difficult to explain in Parliament that we are subsidising this relatively cheap rice in Kashmir, when we are not doing so even in scarcity areas in the rest of India where rice is much dearer.

I have put this argument before you so that you can consider it, if not in the present, then at least in the near future.

For the present, we shall try to meet your requirements. In what manner this will be done will be worked out by Vishnu Sahay in consultation with you. But please remember our difficulties, and do not put your claims so high that they are beyond our capacity. In addition to what has already been given, that is, I believe, about 95 lakhs, we might be able to give another 40 to 50 lakhs for the current financial year. Apart from this, we can consider the question of the militia payment for this year. This will cover nearly all your demands for this year. We shall think out the best plan for the next year a little later. Indeed, you can discuss this with Vishnu Sahay who knows our mind as well as the position in Kashmir.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Kashmir was not self-sufficient in food. As much as 1,000,000 maunds of rice a year had been imported.

6. To Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi
October 26, 1953

My dear Bakshi,

I have been very worried about Maulana Saeed Masoodi.² What has happened to him? My interest is not so much a personal interest in him, but rather an interest in the way things happen. When you came here, you met Masoodi and you yourself told me that he was going to Srinagar to attend the meeting of your General Council. As I was leaving Delhi, Masoodi saw me and mentioned this also to me. He gave me a long note which I have somewhere with me.

I naturally concluded that Masoodi would be present at your General Council. But he never got there, and I understand that his car was stopped en route from Jammu. What happened to him afterwards, nobody seems to know.³ At any rate, I do not know. It is said, I believe, that all this was a mistake and that he was not intentionally stopped. This is difficult to believe.

All this has created a most unfortunate impression on some people's mind, including mine. People accuse us of unfair dealing and underhand methods. I have never agreed to doing anything which could be described as such. Hence my distress. I am quite sure that ultimately only straightforward methods count or pay dividends in politics and public life. If you get a reputation for functioning in a wrong way, that reputation sticks to us and even our good actions are judged wrongly. As I have said above, it is a matter of no great consequence to me what Masoodi does or what happens to him, but the reputation of your Government as well as ours is a matter of great consequence to me. I should like you, therefore, to be good enough to tell me what has happened to Masoodi and where he is. He can legitimately be accused of double-dealing. I hope that, in the circumstances, he will not be arrested, unless of course he does something new which is objectionable.

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to Vishnu Sahay. Extracts.
2. He was the General Secretary of the National Conference since 1939, when it had transformed itself from the Muslim Conference, and a nominated Member of Parliament.
3. The General Council of the National Conference was scheduled to meet on 22 October 1953, but it met a day earlier and without previous notice. Maulana Masoodi was on his way to Srinagar and could still have attended the General Council, but he was detained on the way by the Kashmir police from 8 o'clock in the morning to 4 o'clock in the evening of 21 October, precisely during the hours when the meeting transacted its business of removing him from his post because he advocated the release of Shaikh Abdullah.

In this connection, I should also like to say to you that we must be particularly careful in the choice of our colleagues and principal workers. They must be above suspicion and an impression must be created in the public mind that we are out to put an end to nepotism and all kinds of corruption. A person with a bad reputation discredits us by his association....

Yours sincerely
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. To Karan Singh¹

New Delhi
30th October, 1953

My dear Yuvaraj,

I am sorry for not having written to you for so long and not acknowledged your letter of the 6th October.² I have been rather overwhelmed with work.

We are closely following events in the Jammu and Kashmir State and are naturally gratified at the great improvement in the general situation and, more especially, the economic position. We are trying to help to the best of our ability, but we must not delude ourselves into thinking that the basic political problem is much easier of solution now. I am not referring to Pakistan or the UN but rather to the minds of men and women in Kashmir. I have no doubt at all that ultimately it is those people who will decide. If we win them over, well and good. Otherwise, well, we just do not succeed.

Therefore, we can never forget the political approach. Bakshi and some of his colleagues are making that political approach, in the rural areas especially, and that is good. Still we have to look ahead and not take any step now which may come in the way of a future step.

You refer to making the administration more efficient and honest. I agree and, to the extent possible, we shall help, of course. There is, however, something in what Bakshi feels. If we put Indian officers in important positions, this may be utilized by our opponents against us. We have, thus, to strike some balance

1. JN Collection.

2. Karan Singh wrote that the State administration had to be made efficient by getting officers on deputation from the Government of India for the key posts and by sending some of the State's officers to India for training. He suggested the posting of an experienced Political Officer for Ladakh. He sought Nehru's advice on how the palace in Srinagar called Gulab Mahal, lying vacant, could be used—either for a National Laboratory or a Government-run hotel or to house some Government of India offices.

between the two. But, about the necessity for an honest and efficient administration, I have not the shadow of a doubt.

In regard to Ladakh, I think it will be a good thing for a competent officer from the Centre to be there, though, perhaps, he should go there in the capacity of an Adviser rather than as the Political Officer in charge.

You refer to Gulab Mahal. I think it is a great pity that this huge house should not be utilized. How it can be utilized, is not clear to me. The various suggestions that you put forward, or some of them, do not seem feasible. We cannot have a Government of India office in Srinagar, at least a major one. It is difficult enough to take them out of Delhi to a nearby place, as they have to remain in constant touch with the Capital. Nor can we have a National Laboratory there. We are not having any National Laboratories in the near future.

It might be worth considering how far it could be made into a State hotel. I think this certainly is a proposal which might work out. It will have to be a State hotel or, perhaps, while the State owns it, it may give a lease of it to some competent hotel firm. I doubt if there are any in India who are likely to take it up. There are only two such big concerns: Tatas of the Taj Mahal Hotel and Oberois. If we go to a foreign country, I would avoid the USA. Probably, a Swiss concern might consider it. We have been long thinking of a big modern hotel in Delhi situated in the diplomatic enclave. At long last, some decision has been more or less arrived at. This shows how long these things take.

I think you might discuss this matter with Bakshi Sahib and find out what his reactions are about the difficulty of having it there.

So far as the university is concerned you yourself point out the difficulty in having it here.

Vishnu Sahay has left today for Srinagar. You might perhaps consult him about some of these matters.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. To Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi
4th November, 1953

My dear Bakshi,

I have just had a talk with Mahavir Tyagi after his return from Kashmir.

1. JN Collection.

He has given me a full and very good description of conditions there. I am very happy to learn of the obvious evidences of change and progress that can be seen in Kashmir now, chiefly because of your energy and efforts.²

There is one thing he mentioned to me, which rather surprised me. It was about your engaging 10,000 men for political propaganda, organization and the like.³ Apparently you spoke to Rafi Ahmad Kidwai about this and he told you to go ahead. You did not mention this to me; neither did Rafi Ahmad. He talked to me vaguely about the necessity for political propaganda and I agreed generally within certain limits, so far as the finances were concerned, because obviously it is no easy matter to provide for all this. What I have heard from Mahavir Tyagi has, therefore, come to me as a great surprise. Even apart from the financial question, it seems to me very unwise politically to do this thing on the scale suggested. Speaking with some experience of this kind of thing, I think that the effort might well have a boomerang result. Numbers do not count and always prove to be troublesome. If you engage people today and cannot keep them on later, they turn against you. Also quality suffers. It is far better to start with selected and relatively few individuals and gradually increase them.

The financial aspect is most important and it is utterly beyond our means to provide for this in any large way.

I suggest to you that in all such important matters you might refer to me before committing the Government of India. Rafi Ahmad is one of our closest colleagues and I value his opinion. But he may say something casually. This should not be taken to be the final opinion.

2. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, after taking over as Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, announced certain ameliorative measures. Not only compulsory procurement of rice was given up, but large quantities were imported from India to meet the food situation. Customs duty on salt and medicines of Indian manufacture was abolished. Education was made free. The Wazir Committee report, which Shaikh Abdullah had pigeon-holed, was published, and steps were taken to implement some of its recommendations. A committee was set up on 30 October 1953 to prepare a charter of labour demands which he had promised in advance that he would accept. The businessmen had been assured that their capital was sacrosanct, and that the customs duty and other trade restrictions would be removed. The Cabinet had been made broad-based by the inclusion of G.M. Sadiq, the leader of the National Conference "left-wing" and by the appointment of two deputies from the hitherto unrepresented regions - Major Piare Singh from Jammu and Kushak Bakula from Ladakh.
3. The Kashmir Government had planned to raise a volunteer corps of 10,000 which would help the Government in the implementation of its economic policy and be employed "in allaying panic and dispelling wrong impressions created by interested parties."

We should like to help you, of course, to the best of our ability. But even the Government of India has its limitations in regard to finance. Also we want to work in a perfectly straight way which we can justify to anybody in the world.

Yours sincerely
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. To Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi
November 4, 1953

My dear Bakshi,

... When S.K. Dey² was going to Kashmir, I told him specially to discuss the Community Centre and National Extension Schemes with you. I feel that these are very important for the whole of India. In regard to Kashmir, they are even more important, provided always that they are tackled effectively and not superficially. The Community Projects that were started previously have hardly functioned thus far. Here in India the real difficulty we are having is lack of trained personnel, especially at the top levels. This comes up in everything. You will have the same difficulty. I am quite sure that any real effective work of this kind is watered down and spoilt by large numbers of untrained persons. I would, therefore, put it to you to attach adequate importance to trained personnel and not get rather lost with crowds of people who may become a burden and a nuisance later.

Obviously, these projects must be conducted by Kashmiris. The best course would be to send just a few persons of good quality here for some training. When they go back, they can take charge. It would not be desirable to import many people from here for this purpose. Of course, you can have a good adviser or somebody like that. I am quite sure that quality counts and produces results and quantity is ultimately harmful if it has no quality....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Administrator, Community Projects Administration, from 1952 to 1956.

10. To Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi

November 5, 1953

My dear Bakshi,

... I write to you frequently and offer you unsolicited advice. This is not with the intention to interfere but in my great desire to be of help to you. You are the best judge of the situation in Kashmir and how to deal with it. But I have a fairly large experience of public affairs and of Indian reactions as well as world reactions. So I venture to give you advice which you should consider in your particular context and then decide as you think fit. Your discretion has to prevail.

As I have told you, we have all been tremendously impressed by the fine work you have done and the great change you have brought about in the situation in Kashmir.² That is all to the good. But all my experience shows that work to be permanent must be based on solid individuals of integrity and training. Numbers count far much less than people think. It is always quality and training that count. You can go ahead as fast as you like in your schemes but there is always a risk of the scheme being watered down and proving ineffective if a crowd of untrained persons are associated with it. We have found this in our Community Centres and therefore we are beginning to lay much greater stress on training now.

I wrote to you about Maulana Masoodi. I know this was not your fault at all. But the consequence of what happened was not good as it gave rise to people thinking that he was tricked. That is a bad impression. You will have seen that the Socialist Party here has criticized you and supported Masoodi.

Vishnu Sahay spoke to me about certain action you intended to take in regard to some persons. That action is entirely for you to judge. It is not action that matters so much but the manner of taking it.

Vishnu Sahay also gave me some kind of a message from you. I am sure you did not mean it and you should not mean it. If I allowed myself to feel

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Some steps were taken to bring the State closer to India. The reconstituted Cabinet directed the Constituent Assembly to go ahead with the unimplemented clauses of the Delhi Agreement. The State's Telegraph and Telephones Department was taken over by the Government of India. The rules for the recruitment of Kashmiri Muslims to all the three wings of the Indian defence services, with the aim to incorporate the State Militia in the Indian Army, were liberalized.

that way, I would run away from the Prime Ministership of India. The burdens I carry are terrific, but I have no intention of running away. The very difficulties of the situation are a challenge to me and I do not like to refuse fate's challenge....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. To Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi
November 12, 1953

My dear Bakshi,

... I see that you have expanded your Cabinet and that Sadiq is now in it.² There is some talk, I understand, that he might be Deputy Prime Minister. I think that this will not be advisable. This has nothing to do with Sadiq's abilities and his capacity for work, for which I have a high opinion. But as a matter of tactics, if I may say so, it would be a false move. Sadiq will not gain any particular importance by it, but undoubtedly our opponents will seek to exploit this in their own way. I am sure that Sadiq will understand this, if he looks at this point of view.

You refer to the Praja Parishad of Jammu. I am quite clear in my mind that you cannot encourage this in any way. You can treat it with courtesy. But if they misbehave, you must accept the challenge.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. A copy was sent to Vishnu Sahay. Extracts.

2. G.M. Sadiq, President of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly, was nominated Minister of education, public health, information and broadcasting.

12. To Karan Singh¹

New Delhi

21st November, 1953

My dear Yuvaraj,

I have just seen the copy of your letter to the President, dated 19th November. I need not tell you that I am closely following the developments in Kashmir. I had a talk with D.P. Dhar² the other day.

What you have written about the Praja Parishad troubles me. I am all for the removal of genuine grievances and I have no doubt that Bakshi Saheb will do his utmost to this end. But, if the Praja Parishad thinks of giving trouble, I have also no doubt that it should be crushed absolutely and whatever the consequences. I think this should be made quite clear to them. They have already done enormous injury to Kashmir and India and, if they persist in this utter folly, India will certainly not tolerate them, whatever the Kashmir Government might do. It is fantastic nonsense for them at this stage to go on talking in the way they are doing. They are ruining their own cause and that of the State. They cannot have a better opportunity of the removal of legitimate grievances. If they want to miss this by their folly, then they are not likely to have another.

I do not think they are really after any real grievances. To talk of one flag, one President and one Constitution, is not a grievance of the masses. It may be a sentiment of some people and one may even respect it to some extent. But, in the circumstances, to raise this cry is just to invite trouble.

I am convinced that the Praja Parishad is in the hands of the most reactionary people in India who are exploiting it for their own ends, because they can get no adequate footing in the rest of India. With such people we can have no truck, wherever they might be.

I am equally convinced that this movement, or whatever it is, is not a movement of the common people, but rather of certain elements who naturally have suffered because of various changes. In every part of India, including my own province, Uttar Pradesh, big social changes and land reforms have affected small groups of people adversely, though they have been for the public good from a larger point of view. Every social reform results in this. We cannot give up such reforms, because unfortunately some people suffer from that. The result would be ultimately far greater suffering for them when an upheaval comes.

I really am greatly surprised at the complete lack of intelligence of these Praja Parishad people.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Finance Minister of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir.

13. To Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi
December 21, 1953

My dear Bakshi,

... D.P. Dhar told me that Shaikh Abdullah had suggested that when you were going down to Jammu, you might visit him en route. He has also told me that Shaikh Abdullah wants his family to be with him for the three winter months.

I have discussed this matter with him. I am quite clear in my mind that it is desirable for you to accede to Shaikh Sahib's wishes about his family. In fact, in the balance, it will be definitely a good thing for the Begum and the grown up children, if they so wish, to be with Shaikh Sahib. The question of communications coming out arises. But if you permit interviews from time to time, this question also arises. I do not think there is much in it. The question of smuggling other articles might also arise. I do not attach much importance to this either.

The Begum's going to Shaikh Sahib will have a good effect on public opinion both in Kashmir and outside. It will also remove the Begum from Srinagar where her activity has been very undesirable. This will also take us towards a certain measure of normality. I am, therefore, very definitely of opinion that the Begum should go to Shaikh Sahib.

Quite independently of Shaikh Sahib's suggestion that you might visit him, I have been thinking that you should go and see him and have a talk with him. I discussed this matter with Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and some others here. They were also of the same opinion. When you see Shaikh Sahib, he may even possibly express himself angrily. That does not matter much. But your visiting him will again bring about a little more normality and will have a good impression outside everywhere. It will strengthen your hands in many ways. I need not pursue this argument, but I am quite clear on this subject.

To keep Shaikh Sahib completely cut off is not feasible for long. If anybody is to see him, it is best that you should do so instead of others.

I hope you will think about this and take action as soon as you conveniently can.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Copy was sent to Vishnu Sahay. Extracts.

14. To D.P. Dhar¹

New Delhi

December 27, 1953

My dear D.P.,

I received your letter of the 23rd December some days ago. I have been terribly busy and could not reply to it.

I have given full thought again to what you say. I have not been convinced by your argument.² I think it is shortsighted and does not take the future into consideration and, I would say, not even the present. I think Bakshi Saheb's position will be definitely strengthened by a frank and brave move of this kind.

As a matter of fact, the present occasion specially justifies such a move, that is, his meeting Shaikh Sahib. The furore caused by the proposal to give military aid to Pakistan by the US has created an entirely new situation. There is an adverse reaction to it almost all over the Middle East apart from Burma and Ceylon. We should take advantage of this in many ways.

The idea that Bakshi Saheb and his colleagues are building up a strong position for themselves now is of course right. But to imagine that this process can be completed negatively by merely keeping Shaikh Abdullah in prison indefinitely is not so right. It is possible that a few persons might be shaken up in their loyalty. But that loyalty must be very weak indeed and will be shaken up anyhow by future events. On the other hand the mere fact that Bakshi Saheb is strong enough to go and see him and at the same time carry on with his work is a strengthening factor both from the point of view of the public of Kashmir and for other countries.

In regard to the other matter I mentioned to you, that is that Begum Abdullah and children should be allowed to live with him for the winter, I still continue to be of that opinion. Not to allow them would be a grave error.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. D.P. Dhar wrote that the idea of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad seeing Shaikh Abdullah at Udhampur would create confusion in some people's minds in Kashmir. He was doubtful whether Bakshi would see him.

(ii) Plebiscite Administrator

1. To Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi
October 26, 1953

My dear Bakshi,

After Mohammad Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan, came here and we issued our joint statement, there has been no development. The Pakistan press started attacking us violently and objections taken to our stand about Admiral Nimitz.² I wrote to Mohammad Ali and he replied on that limited issue of the Pakistan press.³ I must have written three or four letters to Mohammad Ali about various matters. I have had no reply to any of them.

I think, however, that I am likely to hear from him pretty soon. The Pakistan Finance Minister, Chaudhary Mohammad Ali, was here a few days ago and he indicated that his Prime Minister would be writing to me. If so, he is bound to write about Kashmir. He will have to deal with the question of Admiral Nimitz. About that our position is quite clear and quite firm. If he wants to open this question again,⁴ I shall send him a straight reply that under no circumstances are we going to have Admiral Nimitz or any other person as Plebiscite

1. File No. KS-25/53, Ministry of Home Affairs.
2. During Nehru's discussions with Mohammad Ali in Delhi between 17 and 20 August 1953, the latter had indicated willingness to accommodate the Indian view that some person from small and neutral country should replace Admiral Chester Nimitz as the Plebiscite Administrator. Meanwhile on 4 September 1953, Admiral Nimitz was reported to have tendered his resignation. The *Times of Karachi* wrote in its editorial entitled "Stab in the Back" on 6 September: "In retrospect, we can see the devastating results of direct talks with India. Their net effect is that Nimitz is gone, thereby destroying the entire fabric of agreements reached under the auspices of the UN and this had been achieved with the active cooperation of the US. Kashmir can now remain on the Security Council agenda in the same way as Hyderabad and Junagadh are. We may, however, say this that if we are to be thrown out of the UN that will not be into the lap of India, but on to the field of action."
3. In his reply Mohammad Ali referred to the campaign in the Indian press and to utterances of the Kashmiri leaders. Special note was taken of the speeches of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad in which he proclaimed Kashmir's accession as final and irrevocable and only to be reversed by turning Kashmir into a land of the dead.
4. In his letter of 27 August to Nehru Mohammad Ali referred to the proposal for dropping Admiral Nimitz and suggested that the matter be given further thought, in view of the advantages of continuing with the old choice. Again, on 5 September he wrote to him that there was no agreement in Delhi regarding Admiral Nimitz.

Administrator from any of the great Powers. If he does not agree to this, then the matter ends there so far as this is concerned.

I think, however, that he will ultimately agree to our choosing a Plebiscite Administrator from some of the smaller countries. If so, we shall have to think of this matter from that point of view.

Secondly, he might well raise the question of our having preliminary talks about other issues, military and other, which were discussed with Graham.⁵ We shall have to think about that and agree to such talks. I should like you to give thought to this matter and let me have your comments. Also, if and when such talks take place, would you like to send someone to participate in them, or at least to advise us? These talks will be on the official level, not Ministers.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Frank Graham, UN mediator on Kashmir Affairs.

2. To Mohammad Ali¹

New Delhi
November 10, 1953

My dear Prime Minister,

... 2. Your letter of the 3rd November deals entirely with certain complaints about what has been said in India or written in the press here.² I do not at any time say that our press was blameless or that individuals here did not make undesirable statements. It is easy to make a list of odd statements like this. What one has to consider is the general atmosphere in a country and the relative importance that should be attached to statements or to the attitude of certain sections of the press. We have got hundreds of daily newspapers in India and

1. File No. 14/4/60-KU.Vol.II, MEA. Also available in *Kashmir, White Paper*, pp. 40-42, MEA. Extracts.
2. In his letter of 3 November Mohammad Ali dealt with certain issues thus: (i) there was nothing wrong in the speeches made by dignitaries in Pakistan; (ii) so long as the problem of Kashmir was not satisfactorily solved, "we cannot hope to place Indo-Pakistan relations on a satisfactory basis;" (iii) the reason for Pakistan's concern about her security was the existence in India of some who wanted to bring about reunion of India and Pakistan; (iv) some Indians and the Srinagar Radio had been provoking Pakistan; and (v) the Kashmir Premier himself had been creating an impression that plebiscite was not going to be effective and declaring that foreign powers would not be allowed to have any foothold there.

hundreds of other periodicals. We have also, fortunately or unfortunately for us, a Constitution and laws which give the greatest latitude to the press and individuals. We have no authority to deal with them such as Pakistan Government has under its present laws. The point is, however, that in the Pakistan press there has been often a widespread and persistent attack on India and a frequent preaching of *jehad* and war. I am not aware of anything like it in India. I had ventured to point out to you that the hysterical outburst in the Pakistan press almost immediately after your return from Delhi was amazing, and I was much upset by it. The only reason you give for it is, what is termed, a "leakage" about our conversations. Even if there was a leakage, such as you suggest, I fail to understand why the Pakistan press should go off the tracks completely. As for this "leakage", I have already written to you. If my speaking frankly and privately to a *Dawn* correspondent, before we had issued our joint statement, is supposed to be organized leakage, I confess I do not understand it.³ You refer to some other newspapers. As a matter of fact, the question of the Plebiscite Administrator has been discussed in our press many times and, broadly speaking, they could make intelligent guesses about our attitude even before you came. Frankly, the subject seemed to me of no great importance and, in the circumstances, I did not think that it was a debatable point. It is possible that some slight leakage might have occurred, though how and where, I do not know. But, as I have said above, presuming a leakage, how can the reaction of the Pakistan press on that occasion be justified?

3. I need not discuss here the various quotations you have given from a few newspapers. But I should like to say something about your reference to Mr Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, the Prime Minister of Kashmir. Mr Bakshi is the head of a party and of a Government holding a very definite viewpoint. He expresses that viewpoint with vigour. Nobody says that he is an impartial and objective witness of events. He is an actor in them, aiming at a certain objective, which he has every right to do in his position.

4. Mr Bakshi's references to foreign powers may or may not be correct. But it is well known that the foreign policies of India and Pakistan differ considerably. Our policy has often not found favour with the United States

3. The Pakistani outburst followed the publication of a report in the *Evening Star* (Karachi) on 20 August 1952 of an interview with Nehru, where he said: "I have put it to the Pakistani Prime Minister that the Plebiscite Administrator may be chosen from one of the small countries" because of the involvement of the major powers in the cold war. It seemed that the decisions in regard to the Plebiscite Administrator and a regional plebiscite arrived at the August talks in Delhi were to have been communicated to the Pakistan Cabinet before being made public. But the Pakistan press leaked out these particular decisions. On arrival back in Karachi, Mohammad Ali had had to face embarrassing moments with his colleagues, who had confronted him with awkward questions on both the issues.

Government and, sometimes, not with the United Kingdom Government. Pakistan's policy is apparently more agreeable to these Governments. Certain possible consequences flow from this, and any public man may draw his inferences.

5. I come now to your letter of the 31st October.⁴ I am glad to find that you and your colleagues appreciate our point of view now in regard to the appointment of a Plebiscite Administrator from the smaller and more or less neutral countries of Asia or Europe. Even when I first spoke to you about this matter, it seemed to me that the reason behind our proposal was such that you would accept it immediately. Since then, other events have happened, which make it all the more incumbent that the Plebiscite Administrator should not come from any major power or any country which is involved in the so-called cold war. I presume that our difference in approach to this problem has been due to our different approaches to foreign policy generally.

6. You refer to the question of regional plebiscite. I can only repeat what I endeavoured to put before you when we met. Our object is to give freedom to the people of Kashmir to decide their future in a peaceful way and so as to create no upset, as we said in our joint statement. Obviously, any method that creates that upset will be bad for Kashmir's future as well as for India and Pakistan. We have thus to proceed warily. If a decision leads to large migrations, that will be an upset of a major character and would create ill-feeling in Pakistan or India as well as in the Kashmir State itself. We cannot proceed by some mathematical rule in dealing with large numbers of human beings. We have also to consider many other factors.

7. If, however, we decide on a regional plebiscite, how are we to define the regions? I know of no adequate basis except some rule of thumb. Also, the mere definition of a region by some rough and ready way at this stage would create a certain measure of upset within that region.

4. On 31 October 1953, Mohammad Ali wrote to Nehru that the real reason for the disturbance of the atmosphere of goodwill was the arrest of Shaikh Abdullah. But that should not allow them to be deflected from their course: "If we wait for a really calm atmosphere, before proceeding with our task of achieving that objective, we might continue in a vicious circle, since a calm atmosphere is not possible without removal of the causes that poison it." He referred to Nehru's idea of a plebiscite for the entire State and then scanning the results for the final solution. According to Mohammad Ali, "such a procedure would not be conducive to a final settlement of their dispute as there would be no assurance that an agreed solution would be found even after the plebiscite has been held." The urgent need was to appoint committees to settle the preliminary issues. On the question of Nimitz, he wrote that once other issues were settled he anticipated "no difficulty in resolving the question by mutual agreement."

8. Therefore, I had suggested that the plebiscite should be for the State as a whole and the detailed result of the plebiscite would then be the major factor for the decision to be taken. That detailed result will give us a fairly clear indication of the wishes of the people not only in the State as a whole but in different areas. Obviously, one cannot go by that completely, because some absurd result might flow. Any boundary, which is to be an international frontier, must take into consideration a number of other factors. It must be geographically, clear and suitable from a number of other important points of view. A handful of persons cannot change a boundary because they wish it. This seems to me the only reasonable approach to this problem.

9. You refer to the displaced persons.⁵ I have given a good deal of thought to this matter and it seems to me that it is practically almost impossible for us to include these displaced persons in this plebiscite voting. Any attempt to do so would of course prolong the period very greatly. Even so, I do not see how it can be done satisfactorily. Are we to undertake large scale rehabilitation schemes, involving fresh displacements and upsets? For the last few years, your country and mine have faced tremendous problems of displaced persons. We face them all. Are we to reproduce this problem in the Kashmir State and expect to deal with it satisfactorily within a measurable period of time? If, on the other hand, it is suggested that we allow the displaced persons to vote where they are, that would be an extraordinary proposal, which seems to me totally impracticable. These persons are spread out over great areas. There can be no possible check on them. Who is to distinguish between them and others?

10. You say that the same difficulty might arise within the State itself. Surely that is not so. The position is entirely different.

11. I agree with you that we should consider the appointment of official committees and determine their agenda.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Mohammad Ali had stated in his letter: "We agreed in Delhi that the plebiscite need not await the rehabilitation in their homes of the displaced citizens of the State. But that does not and cannot mean that these displaced citizens should be deprived of their vote in the plebiscite. I can see no reason either in justice and equity or on the basis of the agreement already reached between us which would justify our depriving them of their right to participate in the plebiscite."

3. To Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi

9th December, 1953

My dear Bakhshi,

Your letter of December 1st. Also the note that you have sent. The greater part of this note deals with past history. Coming to the present, you suggest:

- i. that a sub-committee should be set up for the drawing up of the agenda of the official meeting;
- ii. that care should be taken as to who should represent us at this official meeting;
- iii. that we should avoid the sudden appearance of a Plebiscite Administrator;
- iv. that such an Administrator will have to be carefully chosen and should not be under the influence of Big Power politics.

While largely agreeing with you, I would say that our approach to Pakistan in this matter should be perfectly straightforward. We cannot deal with this major matter in a petty way or else we lose prestige without gaining anything. For instance, we cannot argue about agenda. It is open to us to bring in anything. We must distinguish between an official meeting dealing with limited problems and a meeting at a higher level which deals with basic problems. I think, therefore, that we should leave this agenda open and flexible so that we can bring in any subject that we like in it.

The whole situation has changed by the proposed military pact of assistance between the US and Pakistan. This has to be kept in the forefront and will govern our actions.

As for the personnel of our representatives, there is very little field to choose from. There are only very few persons who are fully conversant with these subjects. In my reply, however, to the Pakistan Prime Minister, I shall leave it open for us to add any one we like.

We would welcome a representative of your government to be here at the time for consultations and, if necessary, to participate in the talks. It will be better, however, if he participates, not specially as a representative of the Jammu and Kashmir Government, but as one of our other representatives.

As regards delaying the plebiscite, obviously we do not want the plebiscite under conditions which do not produce the right atmosphere for peaceful work.

1. JN Collection. Copies of this letter were also sent to the Secretary General and Vishnu Sahay.

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There are any number of points which have to be considered in this respect. It will be wrong, however, for us obviously to try to postpone this matter and thus give an opportunity to Pakistan and to other countries to blame us for saying one thing and doing something else.

I do not want to delay my reply to Pakistan. I am, therefore, sending it today or tomorrow. A copy will be sent to you immediately. The Pakistan Prime Minister has suggested the 15th December for our meeting. I am suggesting the 21st of December, Monday, for the meeting which should be held at Delhi. This meeting is likely to be a preliminary meeting and I doubt very much if it will arrive at any definite decisions. I should like your representative to come here a day or two earlier to discuss these matters I shall let you know immediately after I hear from the Pakistan Prime Minister about his accepting this date and venue.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Cable to Mohammad Ali¹

I have read with surprise and distress reports in the newspapers about what you said at a press conference in Karachi yesterday. There are many matters in that statement about which I should like to address you. But, for the present, I shall refer only to your statement regarding the Plebiscite Administrator.

You are reported to have said: "About the Plebiscite Administrator, Pakistan did not agree with the view that he should be from a small Asian or European country. Pakistan had not changed her stand with regard to Admiral Nimitz who still continued to be Plebiscite Administrator." Right from the beginning of our talks I have made it perfectly clear that we cannot accept any Plebiscite Administrator from the major countries or from those countries involved in the present international tension and have suggested that the Plebiscite Administrator should be chosen from some small and neutral country. It was on this basis that I had talks with you when you were here. In subsequent correspondence I made this perfectly clear. In your letters to me you said that you appreciated

1. New Delhi, 18 December 1953. JN Collection. The cable was communicated through M.S. Mehta, High Commissioner of India in Karachi.

our viewpoint, though you did not commit yourself finally. Now, however, you have definitely rejected what we have always considered as quite essential for any further progress to be made. This creates an entirely new situation and it is not clear to me what purpose the official level conference fixed for the 21st December can serve when there is this basic difference in regard to the very first step.

Recent developments in regard to military aid to Pakistan from the United States had already created a new situation which obviously affected the Kashmir issue as well as other issues. The whole question of demilitarization of Kashmir had to be considered in the light of this new development which meant further militarization of Pakistan. However, in my earnest desire to proceed further with steps towards a settlement of the Kashmir issue, I agreed to the official level conference being held to consider certain preliminary matters. These preliminaries deal with not only demilitarization but with the future position of the Plebiscite Administrator. Hence, it is quite essential to be clear about the very first point, namely, the method of choice of the Plebiscite Administrator, before any further step can be taken. This cannot be left to some future decision. Much less can we agree to Admiral Nimitz being considered as continuing as Plebiscite Administrator. I should like to make it perfectly clear that under no circumstances can we agree to this.

In view of all this, it seems to me that the official level conference fixed for December 21st in Delhi can serve no useful purpose, unless you are in a position to agree to the position we have taken up in regard to the Plebiscite Administrator. I should be grateful for an immediate reply.

5. Cable to M.S. Mehta¹

Your telegram 550 December 19th. Reply of Prime Minister of Pakistan is not at all satisfactory from our point of view.² In our opinion this is an insuperable difficulty, as question of Plebiscite Administrator cannot be left over for future decision and dependent on other factors. If even on this simple issue there is

1. New Delhi, 20 December 1953. JN Collection.
2. In reply to Nehru's protest over the reversal of the previous decision to replace Admiral Nimitz sent through M.S. Mehta on 19 December, Mohammed Ali explained that he had been misrepresented by the press.

no agreement to begin with, our talks about other issues cannot possibly yield any result. Therefore, this matter must be cleared up right at the beginning.

2. However, I realize that if we cancel these talks now at the last moment, this is likely to create a very bad effect on the public mind which I wish to avoid. While, therefore, we cannot have formal conference till this question of Plebiscite Administrator is cleared up, we are prepared to have informal talks with Pakistan representatives here.³

3. Mohammad Ali again dealt with the question of replacing Nimitz by a representative of a small country in his letter of 4 February 1954 to Nehru. He indicated that while he did not share Nehru's views on the appointment of Nimitz, he was prepared immediately to select a new administrator for the plebiscite.

RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN

(i) US Military Aid

1. To Mohammad Ali¹

New Delhi

November 10, 1953

My dear Prime Minister,

I am sending you two letters separately addressed to you formally as Prime Minister. One of them is in answer to two of your letters² and the second deals with the complaint about canal waters.³

I am taking the liberty of writing to you yet a third letter which is meant to be personal and informal, because I wish to convey to you my distress at various developments since we met last. It seems to me that all the goodwill that we created on the occasion is rapidly being frittered away and, instead of making progress, we appear to be going backwards. I am not writing to complain, and I know very well the difficulties you have had to face in many ways. But I think I owe it to you to express my mind with some frankness.

I shall not deal here with the matters referred to in my other letters. But I might refer to the strange fatality that appears to pursue every attempt made on our behalf to go some way in settling the evacuee property problem.⁴ Sometimes it has appeared that we are making a move forward and then we come back with a jump. I really do not know what I can do about it. It does little good to go on repeating the something on my side or on your side and in making charges and counter-charges of breach of agreement and the like. This was a simple issue which any two reasonable persons ought to decide on the facts. Is it that our mental processes work differently? Shoaib Qureshi's statements surprise me.⁵ There is no argument in them nor any logic but just reiteration of something which has already been answered repeatedly. This almost reminds me of the strange doings at Panmunjon.

It seems to me that there is an apprehension on the part of Pakistan that, if this matter of evacuee property is pursued logically and any kind of enquiry

1. File No. 14/4/60-KV, Vol.II, MEA. Also available in V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. See *post*, pp. 453-456.
3. See *post*, p. 475.
4. The continued deadlock over the evacuee property issue which was holding up payment of compensation to displaced persons, was due to Pakistan's failure to ratify the limited agreement of August 1953 on evacuee property.
5. Shoaib Qureshi was Pakistan Minister for Kashmir Affairs.

held, this would lead to Pakistan being made liable for a very large sum of money, a burden which it is in no position to shoulder.⁶ I do not know what the result of an enquiry might be. But surely we realize, as well as you do, that there is a limit to the burdens that a country can carry. No one wants to put an impossible burden on Pakistan. We should consider this matter reasonably and in a cooperative spirit and try to decide this question, keeping in view chiefly the good of the displaced persons on either side.

I am writing this letter, however, for another reason. I would have hesitated to write it to anyone else but you. It may appear an unwarranted intrusion on my part and an interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan. I can assure you that I have absolutely no desire to interfere in this or any other way. What I am concerned with is the consequence which inevitably must flow from certain acts. That consequence affects us and, therefore, I want to bring it to your notice.

The recent decisions of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly about the name of the country being the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and various other provisions⁷ which relate to the Governor-General and to the laws etc., obviously place all non-Muslims in Pakistan in a special category. They may be protected in some way⁸ but they are not, and cannot be equal citizens nor can they share in all the privileges of citizenship. Pakistan is thus creating something that, to my knowledge, has ceased to be considered practical politics in progressive

6. It had been estimated that the value of property by Hindus and Sikhs in Pakistan was more than 3,000 crores of rupees while the property left by Muslims in India was valued at 300 crores of rupees. The Pakistan Government, however, contended that the estimate of the non-Muslim property left in Pakistan was grossly exaggerated.
7. On 31 October 1953, the Pakistan Constituent Assembly deviating from the original report of the Basic Principles Committee where the State was named as Pakistan only, decided that the name of the State should be the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The Islamic character of the State was reinforced by the provisions that no legislature in Pakistan could enact any law repugnant to the holy Quran and Sunna and that a Muslim alone could be the Head of the State in Pakistan when every seventh citizen was a non-Muslim. The new Constitution also imposed separate electorates on the minority communities to the extent of sub-dividing the Hindu community into two electorates, though they demanded a joint or common electorate with the majority community. A State organization was to be set up to make the teachings of Islam known to the people.
8. On 10 October 1953, the Pakistan Constituent Assembly rejected a Congress amendment which sought to secure certain written guarantees for the personal laws of the non-Muslims because there was a provision in the Constitution that personal laws of non-Muslims were not liable to be declared void or un-Islamic.

States for some hundreds of years. It is going back to a medieval conception of the State and of citizenship, where there are categories of citizens, and sometimes of non-citizens who may be permitted to function in a particular way within limits. This may not be wholly meant but it is the inevitable consequences of the decisions which have so far been taken by the Constituent Assembly.

The effect of this on the large numbers of persons constituting the minorities⁹ in Pakistan, and more particularly in eastern Pakistan, is bound to be considerable. Whatever the practical consequence might be, the psychological effect undoubtedly will be great, and these people will feel that they had been made some kind of second class citizens by statute, that opportunities for them were limited in many ways and that they were tolerated as an inferior species. Can you imagine their accepting this position with any satisfaction? They will feel frustrated and unhappy and will not fit in as they ought to.

I remember discussing this matter fully with Liaquat Ali Khan and he assured me then (this was in 1950 I think) that this kind of thing could never happen. In fact, some reference to it was made in the Prime Ministers' Agreement of April 1950.¹⁰ That Agreement, so far as this matter is concerned, is gone by the board completely.

You and I have been anxious to bring about normality and friendliness between India and Pakistan. But something has been done which will very seriously come in the way of that. This is a matter of the deepest regret to me.

Only two days ago I was at Phillaur in East Punjab where there was a joint police tattoo of the police forces of the two Punjab. Several hundred Pakistani police came there and participated in this tattoo. They were a fine body of men, and it was a joy to see how the police of the two Punjab fraternized with each other, both the officers and men. They were full of old memories. As a matter of fact, it was impossible to distinguish them. They wore the same kind of uniforms and even the distinguishing letters on their shoulder straps were the same—'PP'. Whenever the peoples of India and Pakistan come together, they are friendly, and one realizes the essential soundness of their approach to each other. And yet things happen which separate them, create barriers and prevent that very development which you and I seek.

9. In 1953, the minorities constituted about 14 per cent of the total population of Pakistan and 25 per cent of the population of East Bengal.
10. The Indo-Pakistan Agreement of April 1950 assured the minorities of both countries "complete equality of citizenship, irrespective of religion," and of "equal opportunity, with those of the majority community, to participate in the public life of the country, to hold political or other offices and to serve in the country's civil and armed forces."

There is another matter of the gravest importance to which I must refer. This is the news, which is publicly given about a coming military alliance between Pakistan and the USA.¹¹ Again, it is not for us in India to come in the way of Pakistan's foreign or internal policy. But, when we are affected by it powerfully, cannot ignore it.

I do not know how far this proposal for a military alliance has gone, but it is clear from American official statements that it has gone pretty far.¹² If such an alliance takes place, Pakistan enters definitely into the region of cold war. That means to us that the cold war has come to the very frontiers of India. It means also that, if real war comes, this also reaches the frontiers of India. This is a matter of serious consequence to us, who have been trying to build up an area of peace where there would be no war whatever happens elsewhere. It must also be a matter of grave consequence to us, you will appreciate, if vast armies are built up in Pakistan with the aid of American money. A responsible newspaper, the *New York Times*, mentions that an army of a million men in Pakistan is in view.¹³ Such an army, across our frontier, and more especially with the atmosphere that sometimes prevails in Pakistan, will undoubtedly create an entirely new situation in India *vis-a-vis* Pakistan. All our problems will have to be seen in a new light.

There was some talk once of the common defence policy between India

11. On 2 November 1953, the *New York Times* published a despatch from its Karachi correspondent stating that talks between the Governor-General of Pakistan, who was to visit Washington in November for health reasons, and President Eisenhower, would "centre about exploring possibility of a military alliance between Pakistan and the US." He cited as his source of information high Pakistani officials and military officers. The *New York Times* wrote editorially on 5 November 1953, that arrangements for the Middle East have not prospered. It is possible, however, that more can be done at this stage with a bilateral arrangement with a single potentially strong country such as Pakistan than with a group of weak States. Eventually a regional defence pattern may be evolved, but a start can be made in the case of Pakistan, such as has already been made in the case of Turkey." The Pakistan Government formally released the despatch and the editorial to the press on 6 November.
12. The officials of the US State Department conceded in early November 1953 that discussions concerning Pakistan's role in West Asia had "in fact been going on for the last year or two." Though no "inter-governmental negotiations" were in progress for the grant of military aid to Pakistan, it was admitted that "informal discussions" had taken place.
13. The scope of US military assistance to Pakistan was not known, but the *New York Times* had spoken of an army of a million men to be trained.

and Pakistan.¹⁴ All that, of course, goes completely by the board. There can be no common defence or foreign policy between the two countries when, in fact, their policies in both these matters are diametrically opposed to each other.

So far as we are concerned, we are firmly resolved to pursue our policy of non-alignment, and we do not propose to submit to any pressures or any inducements to alter that policy.

I shall not labour these points further. I have said enough, I think, to make you appreciate that these developments are going to affect not only Pakistan but India powerfully. Inevitably they will produce far-reaching reactions on our relations and on our problems.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

14. On 27 April 1953, Mohammed Ali told a PTI Correspondent that once the disputes between India and Pakistan were settled the Prime Ministers could think of joint defence of India and Pakistan. On 8 June 1953, at a press conference in London, Mohammed Ali said that Nehru "had thrown cold water" on his proposal for a joint defence policy. In fact, Nehru had objected to common defence on the ground that this would depend on a common foreign policy and might easily lead to military pacts "involving us in commitment, going against basic policy." See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 22, p. 328. See also for Nehru's further comments on this subject, *Selected Works* (second series) Vol. 23, pp. 236 and 248-51.

2. To U Nu¹

New Delhi
November 11, 1953

My dear Maung Nu,

... 3. I have not written to you for some time about the new developments in world affairs. I must confess that many recent events have distressed me. After Stalin's death, there was a marked change in Soviet policy, both internally and externally. That was also reflected, to some extent, in Chinese policy. Several steps were taken which indicated a desire for peace and a settlement with the Western Powers.

1. JN Collection. Copy sent to K.K. Chettur, Ambassador to Myanmar. Extracts.

4. Internally, the Soviet Union shifted its emphasis from too much heavy industry to the lighter industries and, more especially, to agriculture. This itself was a significant move, which indicated a certain confidence in themselves and a belief that war was not near. It represented a stabilising process. The top changes in the administrative set-up in the Soviet Union led, on the whole, to the weeding out of some of the extreme and more rigid types. The policy pursued in Poland, Czechoslovakia and East Germany also toned down. Perhaps, this was due to a feeling that there had been too much of an attempt at Sovietization of these countries and of treating them as satellites, which had been resented there. Anyhow, there was a general change for the better in Soviet policies.

5. This led to an easing of the tension in the Far East and a more accommodating attitude by the Chinese Government in regard to Korean matters. Winston Churchill, in a flash of insight, reacted to this favourably and delivered a speech in which he suggested a meeting of top leaders.² This speech was not favourably received by the US Government, who were not inclined to encourage any such meeting or peace move.³ They thought that, as the Soviet was weakening, they should become stiffer in their attitude.

6. This stiff attitude of the US was exhibited in the UN when the question of the Korean Political Conference came up. Whether India should be a member of this Conference or not, became a major issue, quite against our wishes. We were not at all anxious to get entangled in this, but we certainly thought that a Korean Conference would have a better chance of success if there were some neutrals there. You know what happened.⁴ There was a marked rift in this matter

2. Believing that the Soviet foreign policy under Georgi Malenkov had changed, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill proposed on 11 May 1953 a conference at the highest level of the Big Four, without a rigid agenda, to discuss the East-West issues. He said: "At the worst, the participants in the meeting would have established more intimate contacts. At the best, we might have a generation of peace."
3. The US declined on 13 May 1953 Churchill's proposal because, according to her, there were not enough indications of the Soviet Union's desire for peace.
4. When a proposal to invite India's participation in the Political Conference at Panmunjon was sponsored by Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the UK, in the First Committee on 27 August 1953, Cabot Lodge, the US Representative, said that the US would want India to "play a central and constructive role" in any later consultations on Far Eastern matters. In view of "the known attitude of the Republic of Korea" the participation of India could only jeopardise the success of the conference. In spite of the pro-Indian majority for the proposal it fell short of the two-thirds majority required if the resolution was to be approved in plenary session. India made clear that she did not wish a vote on her inclusion to be taken at the plenary session.

between the US and the UK and other Commonwealth countries. But, in the final analysis, the US had their way. Soon after, however, the US realized that they had overplayed their hand and were becoming rather isolated. Since then, some feeble attempts have been made to go back a little and some compromise solutions have been suggested.⁵ But these have not gone far and we are faced at Panmunjon today with a complete deadlock at the Preparatory Conference.⁶ There is also a deadlock over the prisoners of war issue at Panmunjon. So also in Europe over the German question.⁷

7. The position thus is not a happy one. I do not think that there is any near prospect of war, and yet basically the position is bad and there is hardening on both sides.

8. We in India have tried to follow the straight and narrow path of avoidance of siding with any group with the result that we get criticisms from both sides. On the whole, however, there is some recognition in other countries of our impartial attitude and some respect for it.

9. I have been following closely the question of the KMT troops in Burma. As far as I can judge, the attitude taken up by your Government has been completely right. There is hardly a single international issue about which it can be said that one party is hundred per cent right. The KMT issue is one such issue and your Government is, I think, hundred per cent right in its attitude. I do not know exactly what the position is now, except that some hitch has

5. On 17 September 1953, the US Secretary of State, Dulles, said at the UN General Assembly that the question of neutral participation could still be taken up at the Political Conference itself.
6. The preliminary discussions at Panmunjon dragged on through November 1953 without resolving the basic differences of the opposing sides over the composition of the Korean Political Conference. At the suggestion of the US and UN representative, the outstanding issues were discussed at the sub-committee level and after two weeks a plan was devised for simultaneous discussion of composition, time and place of the proposed Conference. The Communist side's insistence that the Soviet Union be considered a neutral, South Korea's opposition to India's participation, and the general inability to agree to the kind of role neutral nations would play at the Conference proved insurmountable.
7. Britain, France and the US were divided on the German question. While the US favoured West Germany's integration with the East and was determined to rearm Germany as a member of the European Defence Community, France had misgivings about German rearmament. Britain also opposed the idea of rearming Germany because of the doubt whether the German element in the European army would remain loyal to the principle of the European Union or it would try to become a third force in its own right.

occurred even in regard to the removal of the 2,000 KMT troops.⁸ Obviously, even if these 2,000 go away, the problem is not solved and you will have to face trouble with the rest.

10. You know that I have met Mohammad Ali, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, twice in recent months, once in Karachi and then in Delhi. I found him much easier to get on with than his predecessors. I believe he is anxious for a settlement with India as we are. He is a frank and amiable person. But he has been living in foreign countries ever since independence came and has thus been rather out of touch with his own country. In particular, he knows little about western Pakistan, being himself a Bengali. He became Prime Minister chiefly because of the rivalries of others. It was a good thing that he became Prime Minister, but his position in that post is rather a negative one. That is to say, that he has no particular following of his own and he remains there because others quarrel. He has a certain popularity with people. His position is, therefore, a difficult position, and continuous intrigues and struggles for power are going on behind the scenes in Pakistan. The political situation in Pakistan is completely fluid and nobody quite knows what might happen.

11. Mohammad Ali has spent the last few years in the USA and in Canada. He has been much influenced by the USA and, it is said, that the USA had some part in helping to make him Prime Minister. There is little doubt that the influence of the USA has increased greatly in Pakistan, at the cost of British influence. A large gift of wheat by the US to Pakistan was much publicised.

12. A new and rather alarming development is now taking place. There is no doubt that a military alliance between Pakistan and the US is being discussed and, I think, it is highly likely that this will take place in some form or other. The US Government is so obsessed with anti-communism that it forgets all other issues. Prominent Americans openly talk of raising, with their money, a well-equipped army of a million men in Pakistan. Pakistan, with its political

8. As a result of Myanmar's (Burma's) complaint to the UN in March 1953 and following the recommendations of the UN General Assembly, negotiations were started in Bangkok between the representatives of Myanmar, Taiwan (Formosa), Thailand and the US for the withdrawal of Kuomintang troops from Myanmar. But no solution could be possible because the Formosan delegates demanded that the Government of Myanmar should terminate hostilities against the interventionists on Myanmar territory, withdraw its troops to allow the Kuomintang troops a safe passage to Thailand and release about 1,000 Kuomintangists taken prisoners. Meanwhile, the spokesman of the KMT troops in Myanmar declared from Bangkok that the UN resolution was "unlawful and senseless" and that their troops had no intention of leaving Myanmar. The Myanmar delegate left Bangkok on 17 September and from 20 September the Myanmar Air Force began bombing KMT strong-holds in Myanmar.

and economic difficulties, is falling into this trap. There is considerable opposition to it among the people of Pakistan, but this opposition is not organized enough to make much difference.

13. You will appreciate that this formal lining up of Pakistan with the US as well as the building up of Pakistan as a great military centre, has far-reaching consequences for all of us. For India, it has a special significance and we are naturally much concerned. Pakistan practically becomes a satellite of America with US bases and crowds of Americans all over the place. More and more it will pass under the influence of the US. The cold war will come right up to India's frontiers and, if a shooting war starts, that will also come right up to our frontier.

14. Also, as its army develops, the military mentality will spread. As it is, the Pakistan army is a dominating influence there. The army officers have considerable contempt for the civil government and it is a possibility for military coups to take place. Whether it is Kashmir, or any other problems, this will make a big difference. I do not mean to suggest that we are frightened of all this. But, it is clear that this represents a basic change in southern and western Asia which will affect all countries and, more especially, India.

15. Yet another unfortunate development is the decision by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly to name the country "the Islamic Republic of Pakistan" and to lay down that only a Muslim can be Governor-General. Further that all laws will have to conform to the Islamic laws of the *Shariat*. It is possible, and indeed probable, that this proposal about the laws will not be fully implemented, because it is impossible to have medieval system of civil and criminal law in a modern State.⁹ Nevertheless, all this represents a certain medieval and reactionary outlook and it divides its citizens into two major classes: Muslims who are the dominant and governing group and non-Muslims who are tolerated and who may be protected, but nevertheless belong to an inferior species. In East Bengal there are still over ten million non-Muslims. To make all these people feel that they have no future and no opportunities even in the present hardly seems a wise way of dealing with vast numbers of people. Apparently, the Americans and the Britishers rather encourage this medieval tendency, probably because they think that this will keep away Pakistan from communism. They are of course wrong.

16. Pakistan thus is going along a path which is not only bad for it but which draws it away from the circle of independent Asian countries, and makes

9. In fact, in its anxiety to make the socio-economic system of Pakistan flexible and modern, the Pakistan Constituent Assembly decided to exempt for 25 years all monetary and fiscal measures from the Constitutional provision that no legislature should enact any legislation which was repugnant to the Quranic law.

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it a backward and reactionary country dependent on the US. This cannot lead to stability.

17. I am taking the liberty to put all these considerations before you because we have to be wide awake and understand events as they take place. Unfortunately, American policy is so governed by military factors that they ignore other, even more important, factors. In Indo-China, France is being bled to death. But Americans will not allow any kind of a settlement. In Morocco and Tunisia, France has acted with the greatest high-handedness and America, on the whole, has supported it because they want French there for military reasons. The US have made an alliance with Franco in Spain, again for military reasons, forgetting that Franco has been bitterly disliked as a fascist by progressive people all over the world for the last 18 years.¹⁰

18. Because of these developments, it becomes all the more incumbent for us, who do not wish to align ourselves with either of these powerful blocs, to hold together. This is not only practical politics but is the only way to save our real freedom and, if I may say so, our soul. I hope, therefore, that during these difficult days ahead, we shall keep in constant touch with each other....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. Not only was the US giving military aid to France for use in the Indo-Chinese civil war but she was also pressing France to continue the fight till the power of the Communist-led nationalists was broken. In North Africa, the US had shown no sympathy towards the nationalists of Tunisia and Morocco. It did not oppose France on the Tunisian and Moroccan issues in the 1953 session of the UN General Assembly.

3. To K.M. Panikkar¹

New Delhi
November 12, 1953

My dear Panikkar,²

Two recent developments are important. One is the decision of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan to name the country "the Islamic Republic of Pakistan" and other clauses giving a special position to Muslims and Islamic law in the State. Whatever assurances might be given to the minorities, there can be no

1. JN Collection.

2. Ambassador in Cairo, Egypt.

doubt that this means two classes of citizens—a superior class, the Muslims, and an inferior class, the non-Muslims. The non-Muslims will practically be not full citizens and, at the most, what the old Islamic law said, *Zimnis* or protected persons. This is bad enough for Pakistan also. But it is worse for the poor non-Muslims, of which there are about 10 millions in Pakistan.³ There is bound to be a reaction in India. I think that this aspect should be mentioned to General Neguib⁴ and his colleagues.

The second, and even more important development, is the military alliance between Pakistan and the USA. Whether this has been actually signed or not (some reports say that the agreement has been signed), the fact remains that we are on the verge of it. The American press is full of it, and there is guarded mention of it even in the Pakistan press. Indeed, the *New York Times* had an extraordinary leader about it, looking forward to a million stout Pakistani soldiers armed and equipped by the US, standing up to communism. As I write to you, I have before me an article in the *US News and World Report*, which is an important weekly, more especially having influence with the defence forces in the US. In this, it says, "Pakistan is an answer to a prayer and is challenging India's neutral leadership." "Pakistanis are a warrior people who once conquered and ruled India" and so on.⁵

In effect Pakistan becomes practically a colony of the US. There is practically no organized opposition there. I understand that the Nawab of Bhopal has also organized his trip abroad to fit in with Ghulam Mohammad's, and jointly they are going to stand up as champions who will fight communism. That of course is the *mantra* to win American love and money. It is said that both of them are dabbling in Anglo-Egyptian controversies.⁶ No doubt they will try to bring pressure on the Egyptian Government to fall in with British wishes.

3. In fact, S.C. Chattopadhyaya, leader of the Congress Party in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, described the decision that the State should be called the "Islamic Republic of Pakistan" as an attempt to make Pakistan a theocratic state, against all principles of democracy, and a device to drive out all self-respecting non-Muslims from the country." The representatives of the minority walked out of the Assembly and declared that their further participation in the proceedings of the House "would be of no efficacy."
4. General Mohammed Neguib, President and Prime Minister of Egypt.
5. The weekly in this article, dated 8 October 1953, further said that John Foster Dulles, and Admiral Arthur Radford of the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff "are interested in the desire of Pakistan to join the Middle East Defence Command that would help plug the gap left by India's neutrality towards Communists of Russia and China." It would cost the US about \$250 million annually in arms for the Pakistan army.
6. The relations between Egypt and Britain had deteriorated in 1952-53 as a result of their positions on the Sudan's future relations with Britain, which attempted to bring the Sudan into the British Commonwealth, and the dispute over the evacuation of the British troops in the Suez Canal.

The US imagines that by this policy they have completely outflanked India's so-called neutralism and will thus bring India to her knees. Whatever the future may hold, this is not going to happen. The first result of all this will be an extreme dislike of the US in India. As it is, our relations are cool.

Some months ago, we sold a very small quantity of thorium nitrate to China. It was worth less than Rs.50,000. This is one of the strategic materials, which are given in the US Battle Act,⁷ and the export of which to a country of which the US do not approve, is forbidden. On learning of this transaction, the US Government got very angry and openly threatened to cut off all aid to India. We told them quietly but very firmly that they seemed to have forgotten what we had often told them, namely, that our policy would not be affected in the slightest by any aid that they might give.⁸ They were perfectly free to stop this aid. The strong line we took and the unconcern we showed to the possibility of their aid being stopped, rather surprised them. Evidently they are not used to this kind of response. Anyhow, they gave up the argument and did not refer to the matter again.

It is quite possible that developments may take place in future when the US might stop aid. This will increase our difficulties and come in the way of our planned schemes. But we shall certainly not change our policy or give in to any pressure from the US, whatever the consequences. I think that you should discuss this US-Pakistan military alliance with General Neguib and his colleagues. It has far-reaching consequences and it must indirectly affect Egypt also.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. The US Mutual Defence Assistance Control Act, known as the Battle Act (named after its sponsor, Representative Laurie Battle of Alabama) was signed on 26 October 1952.
8. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 23, pp. 490-93.

4. A Matter of Intense Concern¹

...I come to the decisions of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. Obviously, it is completely open to Pakistan, as it is to any independent country, to have

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 15 November 1953. From the Press Information Bureau. Extracts. For other parts of the press conference see pp. 226-227, 515-517, 622-624.

the Constitution of their choice. I am only concerned with it in two ways. One is, well, as a human being, the other as a person who is a neighbour of Pakistan, as a person also, who was concerned with the Pakistan area before the Partition and all that. As a human being, I am very sorry about this tendency in Pakistan to build up the type of State which is envisaged in these decisions, which it is rather difficult to understand from any modern point of view. It is a medieval conception, if I may say so. It is totally opposed to any democratic conception.

That is the general proposition. The thing that concerns me more is the effect of that on minorities in Pakistan and reactions in India. It is perfectly clear that such a Constitution creates at least two classes of citizens or two grades of citizenship, one having more opportunities, the other less. Also, it creates a sense of inferiority in the minorities who have less opportunity. That is not a democratic approach, or indeed a practical approach, from the point of view of having stability among all classes of the State. It may be that the minorities, as stated, are given protection, but the whole conception is that of a superior giving some kind of protection to inferiors. This is not liked even by persons who are supposed to be getting protection. The result is that the minorities quite inevitably, whether Hindus, Christians, Jews or Buddhists, will feel rather out of the picture, will feel frustrated and will have little hope for the future.

As a friend of Pakistan, I regret this kind of development because it can only lead to continuous tension and unhappiness. Then, I am, of course, concerned with its reactions in India. You remember perhaps that in 1950, in the Prime Ministers' Agreement with Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, actually in the joint statement that was issued—I speak from memory—some reference was made to this matter, and Mr Liaquat Ali Khan was pleased to say that there could be, and should be, no differentiation in their Constitution. According to the new proposal of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, it does come in. I am not concerned so much with, say, whether there is a breach in an agreement three years old; it is a rather petty lawyer's argument. I am concerned with the larger consequence of this because inevitably certain elements in India, which are communally inclined, will take advantage of it to spread their wrong policy, wrong arguments and create ill will when we want goodwill....

Someone asked me about a military pact between Pakistan and the United States. I should like to answer that question when something more precise or definite is known. I do not exactly know what the position is, but one could safely say that there has been not only a great deal of talk between the two countries about such a pact, but further the things have gone pretty far. The press of the United States has said a great deal about it, and apparently with authority. Responsible organs in the US, and even in Pakistan, have given some indications that this is happening.

This is a matter which constitutionally or otherwise is not our concern—

what kind of pact Pakistan and the United States have—but practically, it is a matter of the most intense concern to us and something which will have very far-reaching consequences on the whole structure of things in South Asia, and specially on India and Pakistan. I am rather surprised, therefore, that this very major development should take place in the way apparently it is taking place. There is talk of bases, air bases being established in Pakistan. Again, it is open to Pakistan to have bases, to have foreign armies, anything they like in their territories. It is an independent country. It is open to it to give up its independence, if it so chooses, or to limit it. We can't interfere. But we are concerned with the consequences of these developments and, therefore, necessarily we are watching these developments with the greatest care.

Q: It is open to Pakistan to give bases in Gilgit because it is still a disputed territory?

JN: It is a hypothetical question. I should say it is obviously not open for them to do anything in Kashmir, much less to give bases.

Q: Can we presume that the Government has taken steps to make our views on this subject known to Washington before any decisions are taken?

JN: It is rather difficult for me to answer that question. We are constantly, formally or informally, discussing such matters, expressing our views to various Ambassadors, various Governments.

Q: Has there been any progress in the talks between yourself and the Prime Minister of Pakistan in regard to Kashmir, or with regard to other matters?

JN: Soon after my meeting the Prime Minister of Pakistan in Delhi, there was some correspondence or rather I wrote to him some letters on various topics—some flowing from our meeting and our joint statement. I must have written about three or four letters, I think, during the course of the fortnight or three weeks.² The replies to them were rather delayed, on their side I mean, partly

2. The joint communique issued on 20 August 1953 announced a limited agreement on the Kashmir dispute: (i) India agreed to a time-table for a plebiscite and the appointment of the Plebiscite Administrator; (ii) Pakistan agreed to his formal appointment and induction into office by the Jammu and Kashmir Government—virtually an acceptance of that Government's sovereignty over the whole State, including Pakistan-held areas; and (iii) the two countries agreed that the "preliminary issues," to be settled prior to the plebiscite, were to be considered directly by them for which "committees of military and other experts should be appointed to advise the Prime Ministers."

because Mr Mohammad Ali was ill, and partly because he was heavily occupied, I believe, by developments there. Then, only not long ago, I had a letter from him to which I have sent a reply. There the position rests.

Q: I think you suggested the possibility of India having some kind of a Monroe doctrine³ for us.

JN: I do not know what other people have said, but I made a reference to this, I think, in Madras two months back not referring to Asia at all, but referring to India, that is, I was referring to the French and Portuguese establishments in India, not to the whole of Asia at all.

Q: You must have seen in the Pakistan papers and some other Urdu papers reports of some Muslim convention in Aligarh. Have you any comments to make?

JN: Yes. I have seen those reports and other reports too. My general impression was that the convention itself was a small affair and not important from the point of view of numbers or influence, but I do think that the line adopted by that small convention was, if I may use a strong word, vicious.

Q: You said that you were aiming at better relations between India and Pakistan not only in regard to Kashmir, but in regard to other matters also. Are you planning to include the nature of the State that they are envisaging also in those negotiations?

JN: This particular development has taken place since we met, and it is always a rather difficult matter for one country to interfere in the internal arrangements or Constitution of another country, but in a friendly way it is always open to us to refer to these matters, especially pointing out the consequences.

3. Enunciated by James Monroe (1758-1831), in his annual Presidential message on 2 December 1823, it declared that while the US would not interfere with the existing European colonies in America, it would view, any further colonization attempts by any European powers as a threat.

5. To Lord Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
16th November, 1953

My dear Dickie,

... Parliament started here again today and, as usual, there is a terrible lot to do. This country requires such a tremendous deal of managing in a variety of ways, that sometimes I wonder how it holds together. And yet, I suppose there are stronger forces than individuals which hold us together.

I am much concerned at the reported military pact between Pakistan and the US. The US newspapers, like the *New York Times*, talk calmly of the US not only having a number of bases in Pakistan, but building up an army of a million well-equipped men there. Obviously, this concerns us very much. Meanwhile, Pakistan is again going the theocratic and dogmatic way. They have decided to call themselves the "Islamic Republic of Pakistan" and all their laws have to be vetted from the point of view of the Koran. Poor Mohammad Ali has not only had a bad time of it from his colleagues, but has also been ill.....

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

6. The Far Reaching Consequences¹

Recent developments in the international situation indicate a definite hardening on all sides. At Panmunjon, in the conference preparatory to the proposed Political Conference, there is interminable talk and repetition of the same arguments and almost the same phrases and the same abuses. It does seem extraordinary that great nations should continue to talk to each other in this

1. Note to the Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary, 27 November 1953. JN Collection.

way. In the exchange of notes between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union, there is also the same continuous sparring and playing for position.² A constant attempt is made to blame the other party for not being forthright, and for putting obstructions in the way of discussions. Sir Winston Churchill's suggestion last year of an informal high level meeting without any agenda or commitments has disappeared in a fog of innumerable statements and speeches, and just the procedure that Sir Winston Churchill wished to avoid, namely, long previous discussions about agenda and commitments, is taking place. It is a little difficult to disentangle the truth from this jungle of accusations. It appears, however, that the recent statements made in the US and the UK that the Soviet had rejected completely a high level meeting of the Four Powers can hardly be justified by the facts.³ The Soviet did not reject this. But, just as the Four Powers introduced certain limiting factors, the Soviet put forward its own viewpoint.⁴ In fact, both parties want vital decisions to be made by admissions and commitments even before the conference takes place. The result is that there is little chance of such a Four-Power Conference in the near future. And now the US, the UK and France are going to meet at Bermuda by themselves.

2. It appears that, in the internal tug of war between the US and the UK as to which approach should be adopted, the USA. has won. The USA has all along been opposed to this Four-Power Conference. Much of the correspondence between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union can only be understood on the basis of the Western Powers not desiring an open meeting with freedom to discuss everything but laying stress on previous admissions and commitments by the Soviet, which they knew would not be agreed to. Thus in effect a Four-Power meeting was avoided and now only the Western Powers will meet to lay

2. Russia's note dated 3 November 1953, in reply to the proposal of Britain, France and the US for a Conference of "Big Four" Foreign Ministers on Germany and Austria at Lugano, Switzerland, on 9 November 1953, demanded the abandonment of the European Army plan before agreeing to talks on Germany. Britain, France and the US had made the projected six-nation military merger cornerstone of their European policy.
3. The western offer for a Big Four Foreign Ministers' meeting to discuss Germany's future contained the idea of a European Army which provided for the raising of West German divisions and of bringing Germany into some form of direct association with the NATO.
4. The Soviet Union reiterated that a solution of the German problem was only possible as part of a wider settlement of international issues. It suggested that there should be two conferences of Foreign Ministers. The first one, which would include a representative of the Chinese People's Republic, should consider measures to reduce international tensions. The second conference, at which representatives of the West and East German Governments would be present, would confine itself to the consideration of the German problem.

down their policy vis-a-vis Germany etc.⁵ That is not a step towards an agreement or peace.

3. In the Korean POW discussions at Panmunjon also, there appears to be a complete jam, and one can hardly expect that any further explanations will take place before the period for such explanations has expired. Both sides take up uncompromising attitudes and there is dispute even about the interpretation of the terms of the POW Agreement. The real matter at issue is lost in this wordy warfare and the desire to save prestige and manoeuvre for some kind of position. It almost appears that each party plays for time, though what it aims at otherwise is not quite clear. One would think that the UN Command is not at all interested in the explanations and is merely waiting for the time-limit to expire. On the other hand, the Northern Command in Korea has been very non-cooperative. It is true that the behaviour of the prisoners of war has been amazingly bad, and explanations in these circumstances have little meaning. The big question arises as to what will have to be done after the three months are over, and even more so after the four months are over. The terms of agreement lay down definitely and specifically what should be done at the end of each period. The USA lays stress on these categorical directives. But among those directives is the functioning of the Political Conference. If the Political Conference does not take shape, then a major part of the Agreement breaks down. Do the other dates hold good, or does this breakdown necessitate a fresh reference to the two parties to the Agreement, namely, the UN Command and the Northern Command? It would seem that, if the Agreement breaks down in any essential particular, the matter should be referred to the two Commands. Probably they will not agree even then. What then is to be done? To say that prisoners should automatically be released without further reference to the two Commands, appears unreasonable. To say again that the prisoners should continue indefinitely in detention is, on the face of it, absurd. The only course that remains is that the matter be referred to the two Commands and should further be discussed in the UN Assembly. The UN Assembly in a way represents one party, namely, the UN Command, but, as a matter of fact, it still is something more than one party. Anyhow, there is no other forum to refer to.

4. One other serious development in world affairs is the hardening of the colonial powers in regard to their overseas possessions. In particular, the UK policy has hardened, whether it is in Egypt, in East Africa, in the Central African Federation, or in British Guiana. The UK Government does not believe in

5. The decision had been made by US President Eisenhower, British Prime Minister Churchill and French Premier Laniel to meet in Bermuda from 4 to 8 December 1953 to discuss German problems in the light of Russia's refusal to take part in the proposed Big Four Conference.

loosening its grip on its colonies. Indeed, it wants to tighten that grip. In regard to the racial policy of South Africa, the UK Government passively supports it.

5. Thus the world situation has deteriorated, though this does not mean that a war is suddenly coming. More and more people think in terms of military factors and ignore other factors, forgetting that, war or no war, other factors count. Among these other factors is the reaction of millions of people in Asia and Africa. The support of certain reactionary regimes as well as colonial policies by the US and the new orientation of the UK's colonial policy all confirm this analysis.

6. One interesting fact has to be kept in mind. This is the inner conflict that goes on between the US and the UK, in spite of their general alliance. In the Middle East, there is a continuous attempt by the US to displace the influence of the UK.⁶ This is visible in Egypt, as well as in some countries of western Asia. The UK resents this, but apparently is powerless to do much about it. Indeed, the US, in spite of fine phrases, treat the UK as a country which is in the downgrade and cannot play a world role which it has thus far played, and the US wants to take its place even in countries where the UK had continued to be dominant.

7. It is in this context that we should view the various attempts made to build up some kind of a Middle East Defence system.⁷ This did not come off chiefly because Egypt did not fall in line on account of her differences with the UK.⁸ An attempt was then made for Turkey, Iran and Pakistan to form some kind of a military alliance sponsored by the USA. That too has not thus far succeeded. The latest effort in this direction is the proposal to have a Pakistan-US military pact with US bases in Pakistan. A number of contradictory statements in regard to this have been made by prominent persons in America and Pakistan. There can be little doubt, however, that talks about such an alliance and bases have been held and that Pakistan is completely agreeable to fall in line. For the US this was part of its grand strategy of bases all over the globe and more especially encircling the Communist world. The UK might have no

6. There was occasional rivalry between Britain and the US in West Asia which arose partly from the competition for the oil and other resources and partly from the differences on the attitude to be adopted towards the nationalist movements of this region. Since 1950 there had been a continuous decline of British power and prestige in West Asian countries and a steady infiltration of American political and economic interests.

7. Dulles, the US Secretary of State, announced on 1 June 1953 the concept of a "northern tier" defence system which would embrace those countries that were contiguous to the Soviet Union—Turkey, Iran and Pakistan.

8. In October 1951 Britain and three other Powers presented to Egypt a proposal for a Middle East Defence Pact with an offer stating that she would withdraw her forces from Egypt if the latter would participate in the Pact. Egypt rejected the proposal.

particular objection to the military aspect of such a pact, as it had probably no objection to MEDO, but it does not favour the US taking its place in the sun everywhere. There is little doubt that US influence has grown in Pakistan greatly, and at the cost of UK influence. I doubt if the UK at all likes the idea of a military pact between the US and Pakistan.

8. What the position is now in regard to this pact is not clear. It appears, however, that things had gone pretty far when a strong protest from India pulled them up, or rather pulled the US up and made it hesitate.⁹ Pakistan appears to be willing all along the line.

9. It need not be pointed out that a military pact between Pakistan and the US and US bases in Pakistan are matters of the gravest concern to India. Indeed, the whole of South East and South West Asia are concerned, India cannot possibly remain a passive spectator to these developments. If they come off, they are bound to create bitterness and fear as between India and Pakistan. They will come in the way of the settlement of all our problems. They will, in fact, bring the cold war right up to our borders as well as the prospect of world war. Pakistan would then complete her progress towards the status of some kind of a satellite of the US.

10. There is general realization, I think, in South East Asia, as well as in some of the Western Asian countries, about the dangers of such an alliance. The US of course, thinks of it as another chain in her line of encirclement of the Soviet Union and in her fight against communism. Pakistan's foreign and military policies revolve round India. She is anxious to build up her military strength so as to use it first as a bargaining factor in dealing with India and secondly, if necessary, by a regular war on India.

11. It is clear to me that Pakistan-US pact will make a great change in the whole situation in Asia, and we in India will have to consider what we should do about it. There will be no question of our changing our foreign policy or our basic approach to international problems. We shall certainly continue our policy of non-alignment and yet we shall have to do something.

12. In any event, we must exert ourselves to the utmost now to prevent such a military pact between the US and Pakistan. I think this can be done because India still counts and a deliberately hostile approach to India will bring reactions which the US will not like at all. India, in her own way, is playing a vital role though she does not shout about it.

9. On 16 November 1953, in his talks with the Indian Ambassador, G.L. Mehta, John Foster Dulles said that the talks were still at a preliminary stage and that no agreement with Pakistan was contemplated. On 18 November 1953, President Eisenhower said at a press conference that Indian reactions would be watched in any arrangements which might emerge.

13. I think that our Ambassadors and Ministers in our Missions abroad should bring these facts in regard to the proposed pact between US and Pakistan to the notice of the Governments concerned and at the highest level. They may do so orally but they should be firm and clear about it. We should, therefore, instruct them to do this in a friendly way pointing out all the dangers. It is possible to create, if not a world opinion on this subject, at any rate an Asian opinion. This is bound to help, and it may even succeed finally in preventing that military alliance. Such an approach should be made to almost all countries though the emphasis and the method of approach will necessarily vary. It should be made also to the Soviet Union and China. They are, of course, opposed to this US and Pakistan alliance. Nevertheless, it is as well to put our case to them. There might be a polite hint to the countries that an expression of their opinion to the US and to Pakistan will help. This has to be done tactfully and not in any sense by way of pressure or threat. It should only be a recital of facts, and understanding of their inter-relation. Our Heads of Missions abroad must realize the importance of this question to Asia, and, I think, to world peace. Therefore, they should deal with it themselves and help in every way in making it clear to the countries concerned that India is not going to submit quietly to any such development.

7. To Balvantray Mehta¹

New Delhi

30th November, 1953

My dear Balvantray,

Congress committees appear to have given up completely almost every political activity. In the old days whenever any important question arose in the country, there were meetings held to consider it.

There is now an important issue in the country, the proposed US-Pakistan military pact. I think that it would be desirable for Congress committees to hold meetings on this subject and not to leave the field to others.

I suggest, therefore, that you should send a confidential circular to the PCCs drawing their attention to this important development and pointing out that, if this pact takes shape, it will have far-reaching consequences not only in India and Pakistan but in the whole of South Asia. The whole balance will be upset, the cold war will come right up to our borders, and, if and when a

1. File No. PG-29/1953-55, AICC Papers, NMML.

shooting war starts, it will be also right near us. Our policy has been to keep away from entanglements with power blocs and to develop as large an area as possible in Asia which will keep out of the war, if it comes. If, however, there is a US-Pakistan military pact, Pakistan is drawn completely into the net of war and new threats arise to peace and to India.

I think, therefore, that you should suggest to PCCs that meetings should be held about this matter.² It is desirable that there should be no condemnation of Pakistan in this matter. Indeed, I would prefer that there is no condemnation of the US either as a country or a Government. But the policy should be condemned as dangerous to world peace and injurious to India. If there is such a pact, the chances of the development of friendlier feelings with Pakistan will become less and less. Tension between the two countries will grow.

Some such brief indication should be given about the line to be adopted.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. The Pradesh Congress Committees held meetings and sponsored demonstrations on 20 December 1953 against the proposed US military aid to Pakistan.

8. To Mohammad Ali¹

New Delhi
December 9, 1953

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of the 1st December 1953. I have been distressed to learn of your ill-health. I hope you have wholly recovered now.

2. On the 10th November, I wrote two letters to you, one of which was a personal letter.² In that letter I referred to various matters including the evacuee property problem. In particular, I referred to the news of a military pact between Pakistan and the United States of America. I made it clear that it was not our wish to interfere in any way with Pakistan's internal or external policy. But when something is done in Pakistan which is likely to create powerful repercussions in India, then it is only right that I should draw your attention to it, just as if any thing happened in India, which would produce that result in Pakistan, you would be perfectly entitled to draw my attention to it.

1. File No. 14/4/60-KV, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, pp. 413-417.

3. You have not referred to this matter in your letter to me, but in a public statement you have denied any such pact between Pakistan and the USA.³ The Governor-General of Pakistan has also said that all such rumours were without foundation and were baseless.⁴

4. You are no doubt aware that the press of the United States has been writing about this proposed military pact or agreement repeatedly and in great detail. There was no denial of this or even correction. I had to conclude, therefore, that there was some basis for what was being written about so frequently in America.

5. As a matter of fact, there has been no uniformity in the various denials issued. Indeed, some statements made by responsible statesmen in the United States practically confirm these rumours, except, perhaps in regard to military bases.⁵ Even during the last three or four days, newspapers all over the world have been full of the military assistance that is likely to be given to Pakistan by the USA.⁶ If this is so, then you will permit me to say that my statement was not far from the truth and that the denials were hardly correct.

6. In my personal letter of the 10th November, I pointed out that any such pact between Pakistan and the USA meant the alignment of Pakistan, both in regard to its foreign and defence policy, with a particular bloc of nations. So far as India is concerned, it has been our consistent policy to avoid any such alignment; because we believe that this would be undesirable from the point of

3. In a broadcast on 1 December 1953, Mohammad Ali denied the report that his country was negotiating with the US for military aid in return for US bases in Pakistan. He asserted that Pakistan would "tolerate no interference in her domestic or foreign policy from any quarter."
4. The Governor-General of Pakistan, Ghulam Mohammed, said on 19 November 1953: "I was extremely surprised to see that Mr. Nehru has commented on these reports without verifying their veracity. I wish to make it absolutely clear that Pakistan will never be a camp follower of anyone." He described as "absolutely baseless and unfounded" the reports of military alliance between the US and Pakistan.
5. On 17 November 1953, Dulles, the US Secretary of State, declared that no negotiations had been underway with Pakistan for establishing American bases in that country, but he added that one could not rule out the possibility of such a pact with Pakistan in future. However, on 18 November, President Eisenhower stated at a press conference at Washington, that the question of military aid and bases had not been discussed in detail when he had met the Pakistani Governor-General on 13 November 1953. He also said that Indian reactions would be watched in any arrangements which might emerge.
6. *Reuter* reported from Washington that Pakistani sources in New York had informed UN delegates and others that Pakistan had indicated her willingness to grant America bases, if the US armed her. The report said: "According to Pakistan and US estimates, it would cost \$250 million to re-equip the Pakistan army on modern lines, especially since it was the aim to block potential land invasion at passes such as Khyber Pass."

view of peace in Asia as well as world peace. We hoped that the countries of Asia would keep free from these entanglements and preserve an area of peace, whatever happened elsewhere. Some other important countries in South Asia have independently followed the same policy. Apart from the danger of extending the sphere of war, such alignments were highly likely to lead to progressive limitations in the independence of the country so entangled. The countries of Asia have only recently recovered their freedom and, in our opinion, it would be most unfortunate that any policy should be pursued which would inevitably bring in powerful outside influences, limiting that freedom. Past history is a warning to us in this respect.

7. I mention this because, in view of the developments that appear to be taking place, Pakistan's foreign and defence policy will become diametrically opposed to the policies we have so consistently and earnestly pursued. I can only express my regret that the area of disagreement between India and Pakistan should be extended over a wider field now. So far as we are concerned, we shall continue to pursue our own policy of peace and non-alignment.

8. You and I are concerned with our respective countries, and we bear a heavy responsibility for their well-being. We have to think also and shoulder some responsibility for world affairs, and chiefly the vital issues of peace and war. In any event, we cannot forget that those issues affect our respective countries. We have thus to fashion our policies, keeping all this, and more especially peace, in view. War today is likely to be an irretrievable disaster and all our hard-won freedom will be endangered by it. Progress and reconstruction will, of course, stop completely. In fact, the movement will be in an opposite direction.

9. I do not know what the present position is in regard to the military pact or assistance between Pakistan and the USA. But responsible newspapers state that large-scale military assistance and equipment, arms and training will be given to Pakistan by the US. It is even stated (the *New York Times* has said so) that an army of a million men may be so trained in Pakistan. No doubt, the United States thinks that these forces may be utilized for a possible war against the Communist countries. Some of us differ from them in considering this as a method of ensuring peace. It seems to us rather an encouragement to war. Whatever the motive may be, the mere fact that large scale rearmament and military expansion takes place in Pakistan must necessarily have repercussions in India. The whole psychological atmosphere between the two countries will change for the worse and every question that is pending between us will be affected by it. We do not propose to enter into an armament race with Pakistan or any other country. Our ways of approach to these international problems are different from those of the nations of Europe and America. But it is obvious that such an expansion of Pakistan's war resources, with the help of the United States of America, can only be looked upon as an unfriendly act in India and

one that is fraught with danger. It is not the people of India who think so but people of other countries also⁷ and this has little to do with the motives behind the act, because the result in any event will be the same.

10. This matter is of such great importance and far-reaching consequences that I am writing to you once more about it, in addition to the more formal approach that we have asked our High Commissioner at Karachi to make to you.⁸ Inevitably, it will affect the major questions that we are considering and, more especially, the Kashmir issue. We have been discussing for a long time past, the question of demilitarization in the Kashmir State. Indeed, it is proposed to discuss this particular question again at the Official Conference that has been suggested. The whole issue will change its face completely if heavy and rapid militarization of Pakistan itself is to take place. It is a relatively small matter what forces Pakistan maintains within the State of Kashmir, as it is doing at present. They can withdraw them 30 or 40 or 50 miles into Pakistan territory. These forces can come back at a few hours' notice. If, however, they are backed by an increasing armed power in Pakistan itself, that is of far greater moment than the so-called demilitarization of Kashmir State. In fact, it becomes rather absurd to talk of demilitarization, if Pakistan proceeds in the reverse direction with the help of the United States.

11. I have been, and am, anxious that we should proceed towards a settlement of the Kashmir dispute. It was with this firm resolve that we had talks with each other in Karachi and Delhi and issued our joint statements. These joint statements become further and further removed from reality and tend to fade away before the cruel logic of facts as they are developing, in the shape especially, of the proposals to increase largely the armed forces of Pakistan. In fact, the question before us becomes one of militarization and not of demilitarization. It is in this context that we have to consider this issue of Kashmir.

12. In your letter you have referred to the manner of taking the plebiscite and have not agreed with what I had written in paragraphs 6, 7 and 8 of my letter of November 10. I can only say that your arguments failed to convince

7. Asian opinion echoed Nehru's reaction to the proposal of US military aid to Pakistan. Several newspapers such as the *New Times* of Myanmar, the *Tribune* of Sri Lanka, the *Al-Akbar* of Iraq shared the Indian reactions. Some of the Asian Governments also felt as strongly against the American move as India.

8. The Indian High Commissioner in Karachi delivered a note from the Government of India to Mohammad Ali on 19 December 1953 linking the question of Admiral Nimitz's appointment as Plebiscite Administrator for Kashmir with that of US military aid to Pakistan. As the national of a great power and as he represented the country giving military aid to Pakistan, Admiral Nimitz was not considered suitable.

me and that I can only repeat what I said in my previous letter on this subject.⁹ So also in regard to the displaced persons. We have to consider this matter in not an argumentative and legalistic way, but from the broader point of view of bringing about a fair decision in Kashmir and avoiding upsets and large-scale dislocation. This was our approach in our talks and in the joint statements we issued. That approach is nullified if we are to adopt the procedure that you have suggested in your last letter. I cannot conceive of how we can have that procedure of temporary camps etc., without creating enormous difficulties.

13. Regarding the Official Committee, I am agreeable to a meeting taking place at a fairly early date. I would suggest that the meeting be held in Delhi. We are so overwhelmed at present with our work here and with Parliament that it is difficult to send persons to Karachi. As for the date, I should like it to be as soon as possible. But the date you suggest, namely the 15th December, is too near for proper arrangements to be made. I would therefore suggest that the conference be held in Delhi on Monday, the 21st December 1953. Our representatives at that conference will be:

- (1) Shri M.J. Desai,¹⁰
- (2) Shri Vishnu Sahay,¹¹
- (3) Shri V. Shankar,¹² and
- (4) Brigadier Manekshaw.¹³

There may be two or three civil or military representatives.

14. As for the agenda you have suggested, I have nothing special to say. We need not adopt the methods of Panmunjon and argue about rigid agendas indefinitely.

15. Please let me know if the date I have suggested suits you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. Mohammad Ali, in his letter of 1 December 1953, refused to accept Nehru's ideas on regional arrangement for a plebiscite in Kashmir: "Once the plebiscite had been held and people's verdict as to the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir as a whole was known, both India and Pakistan would be bound to abide by that verdict; 'it would not be open thereafter to either of us to proceed to dispose of the State in accordance, not with the verdict, but with some different criteria to be then defined.'" Mohammed Ali named the Pakistani representatives for the joint committee of India and Pakistan: Aziz Ahmed, M. Ayub, and Aftab Ahmed Khan with two advisers, Maj.-Gen. K.M. Sheikh and Lieut.-Col. Mohammed Iqbal, and also proposed an agenda: (i) (a) demilitarization of the State, (b) other preliminary issues; and (ii) action necessary to implement the joint decision.
10. Desai was Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of India in Sweden.
11. Vishnu Sahay was Secretary for Kashmir Affairs, Government of India.
12. Vidya Shankar was Joint-Secretary, Ministry of Defence, Government of India.
13. S.H.F.J. Manekshaw was Commander of the 167 Infantry Brigade.

9. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon

... Messages appearing in *New York Times* from Trumbull,² correspondent who went to Karachi with Nixon,³ are important as indicating vital change in American policy towards India and Pakistan. General indication appears to be to give every help to Pakistan and to take tough line with Delhi. Fact of India getting stronger in South Asia not favoured as coming in way of American policy.

1. New Delhi, 11 December 1953. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extract.
2. Robert Trumbull, correspondent of the *New York Times*.
3. US Vice President Richard Nixon following a tour of the Far East on 7 October 1953 visited India from 29 November to 4 December and Pakistan from 6 to 9 December. He declared in Karachi on 7 December that his country would protect Pakistan against "forces working for its destruction."

10. To Mohammad Ali¹

New Delhi
12th December, 1953

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of the 9th December. This was delivered to me as I was leaving Delhi for Dehra Dun and I am taking the earliest opportunity of replying to it.

2. It was not my intention in my previous letter to say anything against Islam or any Islamic principles as such. I did not call any Islamic principles as "medieval". I am not competent to express an opinion about what are Islamic principles or not, and it would be improper for me to discuss the principles of a great religion without respect.

3. I referred to certain proposals made in regard to the Constitution of Pakistan. I am not aware of any constitutions of the modern type having been considered in the history of Islam in the past. Quite naturally, conditions were different in those times and they were dealt with accordingly. It is not criticism, much less a condemnation, of any principle or practice adopted at a previous

1. File No. 14/4/60-KV, Vol. II, Corr, MEA.

period of history, to say that it might not be suitable when conditions differ completely. No one, I take it, will suggest that we should adopt the methods of transport and communication now such as existed some hundreds of years ago. The structure of society has changed and the life that human beings live have also changed very greatly because of the Industrial Revolution and all that has followed. Political problems have changed and necessarily different answers have to be sought for these new problems. In fact, these problems did not exist previously and, therefore, there was no question of finding an answer for them.

4. My use of the word "medieval" had nothing to do with religion. In the history of Europe, as well as Asia, there are instances in the past when citizenship was not a common factor for all the people who lived in a country and the privileges attached to such citizenship were not the same. This is what I call a medieval conception. In those days, it was perhaps a suitable way of dealing with the problem as it existed then. Today the well recognized approach is different. The only major deviation from this has been in Hitler's Germany, where one group of people were considered as dominant or master race and others were tolerated or even suppressed. We see this policy adopted, both in theory and practice, in the Union of South Africa. While not accepting this in theory, in practice there is racial discrimination in other parts of Africa and elsewhere in the world.

5. Whether the difference is that of race or colour or religion, the fact remains that different grades of citizens are created, some with somewhat greater privileges than others. The example I have given of Hitler may be an extreme one, but the principle is the same.

6. It was in this connection that I used the word "medieval". If all citizens in a country are not, in law and by constitution, placed on exactly the same footing in regard to all matters, then it inevitably follows that there is some differentiation between different types of citizens. I am not for the moment referring to practice. But of course, even in practice, they should be treated in the same way. Practice, however, is a more difficult thing to seize hold of. But law and constitution are definite and precise. I would ask you to consider whether it is not a fact that some of the proposals made for the Pakistan Constitution create a different set of privileges for the nationals of Pakistan, who differ in religion.² The special set of privileges might be limited. But once this principle is accepted, it goes against all modern democratic theory and

2. The Constitution of Pakistan had several "Islamic" provisions. Only a Muslim could be the head of the State; the State itself was to be known as the "Islamic Republic of Pakistan". In Articles 1 (1), 24, 25(1), 25(2), 32(2), 197 and 198 of the Constitution, that was ultimately passed in 1956, the various Islamic provisions were enumerated.

conception. Once a step in that direction is taken, not only is the democratic basis of a constitution or structure of society undermined, but all kinds of consequences flow from it. There is no reason why further steps might not be taken in this direction later, because the principle of democracy has been bypassed. In any event, even a relatively small step in this direction created a division among the nationals of the country concerned and apprehension in the minds of those classes or groups which are deprived of certain privileges even by the constitution. They become inferior citizens in a sense and they are afraid of their future.

7. Modern States are more or less founded on the basis of some kind of nationalism. That basis may be a narrow one from the international point of view. But, if within the nation itself the national idea is broken up, that is a retrograde step and is certainly removed from democracy.

8. You refer to my statement encouraging the minorities in Pakistan to look elsewhere and thus to weaken their loyalty to their State. May I suggest that it is not my statement, but the proposed action in regard to the Pakistan Constitution that is bound to have that result.

9. You say in your letter that I should have waited for a reply from you to my letter before making a public pronouncement on the two issues you have dealt with in your letter. I made the first comment on these matters at a press conference when I was asked about them. I could not very well refuse to reply. Subsequently, a question was put to me in Parliament. Again I had to reply. But, apart from these questions, these matters had become vital issues which were agitating the public mind. Opinion in India was powerfully stirred up. No public leader could ignore this reaction and simply remain quiet to it. I am sure you could not have done so if you had been faced with a similar position.

10. So far as the question of a military alliance or aid between the US and Pakistan was concerned, I was not the first to refer to it. The press of the United States, including very responsible organs, which were supposed to be semi-official, had been discussing this openly and repeatedly for some time. Indeed, some of these articles in US press were circulated officially in Pakistan. There was no denial or repudiation by the Pakistan Government about them. It was only then that I made the reference in the press conference and later in Parliament.³ I hope you will appreciate that it was not at all unreasonable for

3. When Ghulam Mohammed, the Governor General of Pakistan, accompanied by Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, the Foreign Minister, met President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles in Washington on 12 November 1953, they talked about a Middle East Defence Pact, predicted by the *New York Times* in its editorial of 2 November which the Pakistan Government had deliberately released to its press on 6 November. Nehru said on 15 November that this was a matter of serious concern to India whereupon the negotiating parties promptly denied any knowledge of such a move. See *ante*, pp. 424-427.

persons in India to conclude, in these circumstances, that there was some basis for these statements.

11. You have denied that there was any basis, and so has the Governor-General of Pakistan.⁴ May I draw your attention to what has been said by the President of the United States as well as the Secretary of State of the US, on these subjects. They have not denied them completely and, in fact, they have partly admitted these statements. Even lately, the American press has been full of references to heavy military aid being given by the United States to Pakistan.⁵ Reference has even been made to the possibility of the US helping to build up a well-trained and well-equipped army of a million men in Pakistan.

12. These are matters of great moment and cannot be treated either by you or by me lightly, because their consequences are far-reaching.

13. You refer to your desire and mine to build up friendly relations between India and Pakistan. That is, of course, my earnest desire and I know it is yours also. But friendly relations depend upon many factors and, chiefly, on the policies pursued by either country.

Even the trend of domestic or foreign policy of India or Pakistan can produce repercussions in the other country and affect these relations. If our domestic or foreign policies are totally opposed, it becomes very difficult, indeed, to have friendly relations. It was because of this major factor that I ventured to write to you previously on this subject.

14. I would again earnestly request you to consider these matters from the wider point of view, not only of Indo-Pakistan relations, but of the future of Asia and of the world.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. In their statements on 9 and 17 December 1953, Mohammad Ali and Ghulam Mohammed denied that any military pact with the US was being negotiated. There had been some exploratory discussions, but the matter was still being deliberated and was nowhere near conclusion.

5. Both President Eisenhower and the Secretary of State, Dulles, said that it was the purpose of US collective security policy not to create discord among friendly neighbours in the free world. Furthermore, the views and ideas of neighbouring countries, and in the particular case of India, will be taken into consideration in connection with any arrangements to be made with Pakistan.

11. No Arms Race with Pakistan¹

B.R. Sen² has written to me also, letter attached. I am distressed at the loose thinking that some of our Ambassadors are indulging in. When I said that we will have to do something, I certainly was not thinking of an armament race with Pakistan. We may tighten up our Defence Forces somewhat, but I do not conceive of our going in in a large way for additional armaments. The 'something' I had in mind had little to do with armaments.

2. Even to consider asking the US for help in the shape of arms indicates a complete lack of understanding of our basic policy, apart from its resulting in our losing all sense of self-respect. The question that might arise is whether we should accept even the aid that the US is giving us.

3. Mr Sen's other suggestion of trying to frighten the Americans by mentioning the Soviet in this connection is also borne of loose thinking. It may be that more goodwill for the Soviet is created in India by American action, but we are just not going to enter into a competition in armaments.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 18 December 1953. JN Collection.

2. B.R. Sen was India's Ambassador to Yugoslavia and Italy.

12. To John Kotelawala¹

New Delhi
21st December, 1953

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of the 1st December which has just reached me.

Your suggestion that the Prime Ministers of neighbouring countries in South Asia might meet periodically is, I think, a very good one.² You have mentioned

1. JN Collection

2. The idea of creating a no-war area in South Asia having appealed to John Kotelawala, he suggested periodic South East Asian Conference of Prime Ministers of India, Pakistan, Myanmar and Sri Lanka. He made it clear during his recent visit to Delhi that "with the world divided into two camps, the emergence of an Asian bloc which both sides may respect and heed, may well be the only means of averting a third world war."

the four Prime Ministers of Burma, India, Pakistan and Ceylon. Perhaps Indonesia might also be added. It is true that the larger the number, the vaguer the talk and, perhaps, sometimes it might be easier for only some of them to meet. In any event, I like your idea.

I would very much like not only friendly relations between these countries, but an increasing measure of cooperation in various fields. I fear that at present the general approach of the Pakistan Government is very different from our approach. The proposal for Pakistan to have a free military aid from the United States is a very disturbing one from the point of view of all our neighbouring countries. I need not labour this point because I know that you view this proposal with some concern and the press of Ceylon has written about it with considerable insight.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

13. To Mohammad Ali¹

New Delhi
December 21, 1953

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of December 17,² which was delivered to me by your High Commissioner.

I have written to you fully on a previous occasion about the proposal for the USA to give military aid to Pakistan. I do not wish to repeat what I had already written, but I must express my regret at your not realizing the far-reaching consequences of any such military aid being given by a great power

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Mohammad Ali denied that Pakistan was entering into a military alliance with the US or that the US was establishing military bases in Pakistan. He was surprised that Nehru should consider any attempt to strengthen Pakistan as an unfriendly act. He pointed out that the Indian defence budget was three times as much as that of Pakistan's. "I am sure" he added, "that it is not established only on the basis that the present great disparity in the military potential of India and Pakistan shall never be altered to India's disadvantage." Indian press reactions and some of the observations of Nehru were unfortunate and "a sad commentary on Indian professions of friendship." As for Kashmir, he pointed out: "The overall military strength of Pakistan or India, outside the State even in my opinion has no bearing on this State." To Pakistan, her independence was a "most cherished possession" and world peace "an article of faith."

to Pakistan or, for the matter of that, to India. Both past history and recent events have shown us what the inevitable consequence of such aid is. I have no doubt that Pakistan cherishes her independence and would not like any limitation of it. Every free country cherishes its independence. We have seen, however, that this independence becomes progressively restricted when certain steps are taken.

I have also no doubt that the people of Pakistan desire peace. So do the people of every country in the world. Yet in the name of peace, policies have been pursued by some countries which have created a dangerous situation which is continually leading away from any firm peace and which might well lead to the most terrible of wars. We, in India, have endeavoured to follow a foreign policy which we feel is not only in the interests of world peace but is particularly indicated for the countries of Asia. That policy is an independent one and of non-alignment with any power bloc. It is clear that the policy which Pakistan intends to pursue is different. It is one of alignment with one group of nations and, in particular, of close military association with one great nation. We are convinced that this is not the way to peace and that this will endanger the future of Asia, as well as that of the country which adopts it. You will thus observe a great difference between India's approach to these problems and that of Pakistan. If our approaches are so different, the ends we strive for, or that are likely to take shape, are bound to be different. It is not enough to talk of peace; one has to shape one's policy to that end. Otherwise, we go straight to the atomic bomb and all its progeny.

You accuse me of giving credence to highly coloured and speculative press reports. Most of these reports have emanated from America and often from the highest quarters there. The press of almost every country in the world has discussed this matter and drawn certain inevitable conclusions. If I am to blame, then a very large part of the world is also to blame. In any event, I have not seen any serious criticism from you or from Pakistan of what the press of other countries, and notably that of the United States has said in regard to this matter.

I must, of course, accept your statement that there is no truth in the reports that Pakistan was entering into a military alliance with the USA or that America was establishing bases in Pakistan. But, it is clearly stated in America, and you have yourself confirmed it,³ that it is proposed that the USA should give military aid to Pakistan. That in itself is a significant fact.

3. In the third week of December Mohammad Ali confirmed however that "informal talks" had taken place with the US Government on American military equipment for Pakistan but no detailed discussions had taken place as yet and that Pakistan had its own ideology and "had not cast in her lot with the western powers as reported."

You refer to India spending larger sums on strengthening her armed forces. I have no figures with me about the Defence budget of Pakistan. But I should like to inform you that you are not correct in what you say about India's Defence expenditure. We have in fact, ever since the ceasefire in Kashmir, reduced our army by over 60,000 men. This process is continuing. It is gradual because we do not wish to create more unemployment. In our desire to build up industry, we are spending considerable sums in erecting large plants, which have both civil and military uses.

The fact that some talks relating to military aid to Pakistan have been taking place has drawn worldwide attention. I should like you to consider why this is so. There must be something unusual about it to produce this result. Any such military aid necessarily changes the situation in South Asia very greatly. It means that Pakistan is tied up in a military sense with the USA and is aligned to that particular group of powers. It affects the situation in the Middle East, and you will have noticed the adverse reactions to this in the countries of the Middle East.⁴ India is, of course, even more interested in this as it is likely to produce an entirely new situation. That new situation does not depend so much on the quantity of military aid received, but more so on the fact of such free aid coming to Pakistan. This produces a qualitative change in the existing situation and, therefore, it affects Indo-Pakistan relations, and, more especially, the Kashmir problem.

During the last two years or more, we have discussed the Kashmir problem with Dr Graham. One of the subjects which was considered at great length was the question of demilitarization.⁵ Naturally, this was considered in the context of the then existing situation in India and Pakistan. If that situation changes basically, as it will no doubt change if military aid is obtained by Pakistan from the USA, then the premises along which we proceeded have changed. The new situation has to be considered afresh and from different premises.

I have already informed you of another grave difficulty which confronts us now. That is the question of the Plebiscite Administrator.⁶ It is totally

4. For example, the Kabul daily, *The Anes*, commented on 7 December 1953 that the countries of Middle and Far East should remain neutral in international conflicts and should not enter into any military pacts with big powers.
5. The question of the number of troops to be retained on either side of the ceasefire line in Kashmir when the plebiscite was held had created the deadlock in the Kashmir situation. Frank Graham who mediated between India and Pakistan on the Kashmir dispute in his fifth report presented to the Security Council — on 27 March 1953, suggested direct negotiations between the parties to resolve the issue.
6. At the meeting on 20 August in New Delhi, Nehru and Mohammad Ali committed themselves to name a mutually agreeable neutral plebiscite administrator for Kashmir by 30 April 1954.

inconceivable to us to accept any representative of a great power as Plebiscite Administrator. It is only after this point has been clearly settled that we can consider any other matter. It is not enough to say that a decision on this can be deferred and, meanwhile, other matters can be considered.

You have referred to the references in our press to the proposals for military aid to Pakistan. As I have said above, the press of the world has dealt with this matter and drawn its own conclusions, which are usually not different from those of the Indian press. It is quite natural for the Indian press to deal fully with a matter of the greatest moment which has attracted public attention so much.

Your High Commissioner has presented us with a memorandum protesting against certain meetings and demonstrations which are being held in India to express concern at these new developments. Public organizations have to deal with public opinion and to give a lead to it where necessary. Because of the importance of this matter, it became desirable for our national organization to deal with it and to direct people's minds in right channels. Otherwise, they would have followed a wrong track. So far as I know, there has been no untoward event. We have in fact tried to avoid these demonstrations having any anti-Pakistan character and have stressed the friendship of our respective peoples....

I agree with you that we are in danger of losing all the ground we have so far gained. But I would like you to consider who is to blame for this. This unfortunate development is the direct result of the proposal for the United States to give military aid to Pakistan. Instead of ensuring peace, it has made people think much more in terms of conflict and war. So far as the countries of Asia are concerned, this is a danger signal of foreign powers attaining great influence which is not compatible with true independence. This is evident enough in Asia today and requires little proof.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. In his reply to this letter, Mohammad Ali did not attempt to disguise the fact of the acceptance of aid. But he drew a distinction between the receipt of aid and the conclusion of a formal military alliance.

14. Denial of Secret Pact with any Country¹

In view of the message put out by the *Observer* correspondent, Knox, that India had made a secret pact with China and Russia, it seems necessary that we should take some further steps in this matter.² I believe, we have informally denied it in the press.³

I think that the news has evidently emanated from the Pakistan Government and they are trying to make this a cause for their own military aid pact with the US. I think that our High Commissioner in Karachi should call formally on the Pakistan Foreign Office and express his surprise at this news emanating from official quarters in Karachi. He should say that it is completely false and without the least foundation. India has no secret pact of any kind with any country and has no military understanding with any country either and does not intend having any.

The Pakistan High Commissioner⁴ here might also be informed of this.

When the US Ambassador comes to see you, you might also refer to this and tell him that we are surprised that such fantastic stories should be circulated....

1. Note to the Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary, 30 December 1953. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. The report that India had entered into a military pact with Russia and China was circulated by the *London Observer* correspondent, Rawle Knox, from Karachi. He wrote: "Pakistan's decision to accept American military aid has been influenced by reports that reached Pakistan Intelligence Department some months ago, on what authority I cannot discover, that India had made a secret pact, in the event of war, with China and Russia."
3. On 30 December 1953, an official press release in New Delhi stated that: "India does not have any military or defence pact, secret or otherwise, either with Soviet Russia or China or with any country in the world nor is it her intention to enter into any such pact in the future. India's policy of opposition to such pacts is well-known and has been declared from time to time."
4. Ghazanfar Ali Khan.

15. Arms Aid and Freedom in Asia¹

If friendly countries offer military assistance to India, we will reject it with thanks. Such foreign military assistance is disastrous for any country.

India has pointed out that the reported pact between the United States and Pakistan will harm the interests of Pakistan herself. India does not criticize the proposed military aid on the ground that the United States is an enemy country. On the contrary, the United States is a great friendly nation which has extended economic aid to us for which we are thankful to that great nation. I disapprove of such military aid because it is bad for the freedom of Asian countries in general and Pakistan in particular.

India has no intention of imposing any policy of hers on any country. Inevitably, however, owing to common background and experience, there is also common thinking among Asian countries about not aligning themselves with any power bloc. Therefore, in the United Nations there has grown up gradually an Arab-Asian or African-Asian group of nations conferring together and, although there is no binding link, this act of cooperation is growing.

We regard this area as a no-war area in Asia. Naturally, we hoped that Pakistan, which is similarly circumstanced as other Asian countries, would belong to that area also. If military aid comes to Pakistan from the United States, it is obvious that Pakistan has dropped out of the no-war area in Asia. One does not receive free military aid without certain consequences following. Obtaining the aid itself is a serious thing. It means that the cold war has come to Pakistan and, therefore, has come to India's borders; and it means also that if a shooting war develops, it also has come right near to the border of India. It affects not only India, but Burma, Afghanistan and other countries in the Middle East as well as some in South East Asia.

The talks between Pakistan and America for military aid are contrary to the historical process for emancipation. To accept military aid from outside is dangerous. So far as India is concerned, we shall see that it does not happen. But if the Pakistan army, navy and air force expand considerably, we have to take note of it.

The main outstanding problems between India and Pakistan, including Kashmir, are awaiting solution, and India will continue to seek an amicable settlement of this problem. Pakistan and India must go together and not quarrel.

India is prepared to accept foreign economic aid for the development of

1. Speech at the inauguration of the sixth annual session of the Indian National Trade Union Congress, Shastrinagar, Jalgaon, 31 December 1953. From the *National Herald*, 1 January 1954. Extracts.

her economy, but she should not rely on foreign aid too much. The country must depend primarily on her resources for her development. If foreign aid stopped, does it mean that India should cease to carry out the Five Year Plan? We must depend more on internal resources and less on foreign economic aid. In the context of the national and international situation this is not the time for differences and disunity, either economic or political. Rely on yourselves and not on any assistance from outside....

16. To Mohammad. Ali¹

New Delhi
January 18, 1954

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your two letters² of the 14th January, which were handed to me three days ago by your High Commissioner here. I explained to your High Commissioner immediately that it was quite impossible for us to arrange a meeting of the Official Committees on the 21st of this month, as suggested by you. This was physically not possible. We have been very busy here with the visit of the Prime Minister of Ceylon and other important engagements. I am leaving early tomorrow for Kalyani, near Calcutta, where the annual Session of our Congress is going to be held. I shall be away for a week. After that, we have for several days our Republic Day celebrations, in which most of us are fully engaged.

2. But, apart from the physical difficulty of arranging such a meeting, I do not understand the purpose of it at this stage. The Official Committees met recently and had long discussions.³ By meeting again to discuss the same thing

1. JN Collection.

2. Mohammad Ali asserted that any military alliance with the US had nothing to do with friendly relations between India and Pakistan. He did not see any connection between the question of Kashmir and that of US military aid although he had publicly announced that the equality of military strength would help a settlement on Kashmir. He regretted that not much progress had been achieved in the Delhi meeting of the expert committees on 21 December 1953 and suggested another meeting of the committees at Karachi on 21 January 1954.

3. The meeting of the Joint Committee of Indian and Pakistani civil and military experts took place in Delhi from 21 to 29 December to discuss the preliminary conditions for the holding of a plebiscite in Kashmir. A statement issued at the conclusion of talks emphasized the friendly nature of the atmosphere in which the talks were held, and the progress registered. Because of the American military aid to Pakistan no further progress in this direction could however be made.

over, without any additional development having taken place, can yield no further result.

3. I am writing this letter to you late at night within a few hours of my departure from Delhi and I am, therefore, writing rather briefly.

4. I am anxious to proceed with this matter as speedily as possible. But the delay that is being caused is none of my seeking, nor has it been caused by any action on our part. I pointed out to you that no further progress can be made till the question of choice of the Plebiscite Administrator is cleared up beyond doubt. That was the very basis of our agreement when we met and I made it perfectly clear then. We have had much correspondence on this issue and the result of it is that you say that if other matters are settled, this might also be settled. That surely is not the position as I understood at any time, because we can only proceed further on the clear understanding and basis that the Plebiscite Administrator can only be chosen from countries, which may be considered more or less neutral and are not engaged in any way in the cold war that is going on. This has no relation to other issues. Indeed, since we met, this question has become even more important to settle beforehand because of subsequent development.

5. I have already written to you fully about the talks, which have apparently been taking place in regard to military aid from the United States of America to Pakistan. I do not propose to repeat what I have said before. But I might point out that what you are reported to have said in an interview, which has appeared in the *US News and World Report*, takes the matter very much further than any previous statement. I am sorry that you do not appreciate the vital difference that this has made to our approach to many problems. I do not and cannot challenge your Government's right to take any step it chooses. But, when that step is, according to our thinking, of vital significance to the peace and security of Asia and affects India directly, we cannot ignore it, and we have to think of other problems in relation to this new and, what we consider, dangerous development. The total difference in our outlook is exemplified when

4. In an interview to the *US News and World Report* on 15 January 1954, Mohammad Ali asserted that Nehru was not afraid of aggression from Pakistan, but was protesting against US aid for fear of losing his bargaining power between the two power blocs. Nehru, he said, was in the middle of an almost equally balanced two power blocs and "is trying to pursue a course of neutrality, and gather around him a bloc of smaller nations. By holding the balance of Power, he wants to dominate the two power blocs. If there is another Power strong enough to give the lead to other smaller nations, then Nehru's bargaining position is weakened." To a question as to how the proposed aid to Pakistan might affect Pakistan's relations with India, Mohammad Ali replied that at first they might become "slightly strained." But eventually, the relations would improve "as the military strength of the two countries became more equal." He said that US aid to Pakistan "would make a settlement of the Kashmir question easier."

you say that such aid given to Pakistan will add to the security of India. We think that we have nothing to fear from the attack of any country, but lining up with one of the power blocs brings insecurity and danger, apart from this being a step away from peace.

6. The position, therefore, is that we should like to know exactly how matters are likely to stand in regard to this military aid before we can decide about other policies.

7. You will no doubt have observed that this proposal that the US should give military aid to Pakistan has been considered by almost every country in Europe or Asia as a vital development in the world situation. This is not so much because of Pakistan or India, but because a great world power, namely, the USA, is spreading out in Asia. This has very far-reaching consequences and we are compelled, therefore, to think of the new situation that has arisen. This situation is in direct conflict with what we have been striving for in Asia and in the largest context of the world.

8. Because of this vital change, there has been strong reaction to it all over India, which may well be considered as unanimous. As head of a great democratic organization in India, I have to give a lead to that organization as to how to deal with this new situation. I have done so, and propose to continue to do so, stressing always our desire for friendly relations with Pakistan. In fact, the lead we gave has had a sobering effect all over the country.

9. I need not refer here to the other matters you have mentioned in your letters, as I have dealt with them previously.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

17. Concern for Friendly Relations¹

The Congress has learnt with grave concern that there are certain proposals for military aid to be given by the United States of America to Pakistan. The Congress would welcome the peaceful development of Pakistan because the development of all countries of South Asia is important and is a guarantee of peace and stability in South Asia. In particular, the Congress considers friendly and cooperative relation between India and Pakistan, which have so much in common with each other, as essential.

1. Resolution drafted by Nehru on 20 January 1954 and adopted by the Kalyani Congress. 24 January 1954. File No. G-55(D)/1954, AICC Papers, NMML.

But the intervention of a great and powerful country, in the shape of military aid, whatever the motives of such aid might be, necessarily leads to grave and far-reaching consequences which affect the whole of South Asia, and, more particularly, India. Such aid, it is stated, is meant to ensure peace in this area, but the effect of it is likely to be the exact opposite of this. The area of potential war would spread and fresh conflicts may arise.

In view of the history of Asia during the past few hundred years, military aid and intervention by foreign powers in Asian countries is a reversal of the process of liberation which had led these countries, after long struggle, to a large measure of freedom.

The United States of America have a long record as champions of freedom and democracy. On them rests a very great responsibility today because of their great power and influence. The Congress earnestly trusts that the USA will not take any step which will tend to reverse the process of history in Asia and create doubt and apprehension in the minds of Asian peoples, who wish to pursue the path of freedom and democracy in their own way.

The Congress wishes to assure the people of Pakistan of its friendly feelings towards them and of its desire to further the cooperation of the two countries.

Because of these developments a grave situation has arisen which demands, above all, national solidarity. The Congress trusts therefore that in this crisis the people of India, whatever their internal differences might be, will present a united front and devote themselves to the development and strengthening of the nation through peaceful processes. It is not by a competition in armaments that India will basically strengthen herself, but by unity, self-reliance and the social, economic and industrial development of the nation.

18. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi

January 25, 1954

My dear TT,

Thank you for your two letters² of the 25th January. I am glad you have informed

1. JN Collection. A copy was sent to C.D. Deshmukh. Extracts.
2. In his first letter Krishnamachari wrote that at a press conference in Rajkot he was asked about the possibility of Communists coming to power in Travancore-Cochin. He replied that any such Communist contingency must be resisted. But the newspapers had reported that he said that Communists should not be allowed to run the administration if they were returned in a majority in Travancore-Cochin.

me of what exactly you said at Rajkot because I can deal with the matter if it is raised anywhere before me.

As for the second question that you have mentioned in your letter, that is, our accepting American aid, we shall certainly discuss this fully with Deshmukh. It is important enough for the Economic Committee or even the whole Cabinet to consider it.

My present reaction is that we should allow things to run their normal course and await any particular development. That is, we should not go out of our way to say that we will not accept American aid, but we might be a little cautious about it.

This whole question of American military aid to Pakistan is still apparently in a somewhat fluid state and we have to watch further developments.³ The fact that Pakistan gets a good deal of direct military assistance is important enough from many points of view. But the real significance of all this is that it denotes a very definite step forward in American policy to control more or less directly, large parts of Asia, and indirectly to bring pressure on the rest, that is us. It is not Pakistan that counts so much in this matter as the United States.

I received reports of large numbers of Americans in various positions continuing to spread out all over India, town and village alike, and doing some kind of intelligence work. I confess I do not like this....

As you have sent a copy of your letter to Deshmukh, I am sending a copy of this to him also.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Pakistan made a formal request for US military assistance on 22 February and the US President granted the request on 25 February 1954.

19. Speeding up Defence Schemes¹

The Prime Minister referred to the resolutions adopted at the last Session of the Congress of Kalyani, particularly those relating to the proposed US military aid to Pakistan and the 'Call to the Nation.'² It was important that the wide

1. Minutes of a Cabinet meeting, 28 January 1954. Item XI/54, 1954, Planning Commission. Extracts.
2. See *ante*, pp. 98-103, 452-453.

feeling of indignation created by the proposed alliance between the United States of America and Pakistan should be canalized and one of the ways of doing this was the floating of special development loans so that public works on a much larger scale might be initiated and industries built up. It was in this context that the Prime Minister, in his capacity as the President of the Congress, had sponsored the resolution "Call to the Nation."...

2. The Prime Minister also referred to the wide public demand for the expansion of the Indian army in view of the proposed US military aid to Pakistan. He was of the view, and the Cabinet agreed, that it was far more important to expedite the execution of the existing Defence schemes and to lay greater stress on the raising of the National Cadet Corps and its Auxiliary and expanding the Territorial Army.

(ii) Evacuee Properties

1. To Mohammad Ali¹

New Delhi
8th October, 1953

My dear Prime Minister,

The decisions taken by the representatives of the Governments of Pakistan and India during their discussions in Karachi on evacuee property from the 27th July to the 13th August, 1953, were to be confirmed by both the Governments and it was agreed during the discussions that efforts would be made to confirm the decisions² within one month. The Government of India have already accepted the decisions and the fact of their acceptance was communicated to your Ministry of Refugee and Rehabilitation as early as the 4th September, 1953. Confirmation of the decisions by your Government has not been received so far and so implementation of the agreement is being delayed. Another letter requesting your Ministry of Refugee and Rehabilitation for early confirmation of the

1. JN Collection.

2. A limited agreement on evacuee property was reached at the July-August 1953 conference. Matters of agreement included the refund of cash security deposits of contractors, personal and household effects, and payment of compensation for movable property allotted or acquired by governments for rehabilitation purposes.

decisions has been sent by my Ministry of Rehabilitation on the 2nd October.³ I wonder whether it would not be possible to expedite confirmation.

2. You will remember that when we met in Delhi last time, it was agreed that further discussions on evacuee property should be resumed within one month and this was mentioned in our joint press communique of the 20th August. While intimating acceptance of the decisions, our Ministry of Rehabilitation had also suggested to its counterpart in Pakistan that the discussions may be resumed in Delhi some time in the third week of September. I am told that views of your Government in the matter are still awaited. I feel that further discussions should be resumed as soon as possible. I shall be obliged if you will look into this question and let me know the date and venue considered suitable to your representatives.

3. Incidentally, I might also draw your attention to the statement⁴ of Mr. Shuaib Qureshi in your Parliament on the 25th September accusing India of having systematically violated the Karachi Agreement of 1949 and of having placed obstacles in the way of implementation of the Movable Property Agreement of 1950.⁵ Apart from the fact that these allegations are incorrect, I feel it is unfortunate that such accusations should have been made when we are seeking the settlement of various differences between the two countries by direct negotiations and are endeavouring to create a proper atmosphere for the purpose.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. In this letter India had proposed that, for the successful implementation of the agreement reached at Karachi in July-August 1953, the Government of Pakistan should withdraw the demand for income-tax clearance certificate from the Indians visiting Pakistan. India also hoped that another conference to discuss the question of unmovable property could be arranged within a month.
4. Shuaib Qureshi, said that soon after the conclusion of the Karachi agreement of 1949 on evacuee property, India went back on it and had since violated its important provisions, and that the Government of India's attention had been drawn to these breaches but to no result.
5. The January 1949 Karachi agreement permitted displaced persons in each country to dispose of property in the other country by sale or exchange basis. The Movable Property Agreement, signed in Calcutta in June 1950, allowed the migrants of East and West Bengal to remove or dispose of their gold and household and personal effects.

2. Outstanding Questions¹

I have read through this note only on the 18th afternoon. I am afraid it is not now possible for me to meet Mr. Mohammed Ali² before he goes. I understand he met Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai yesterday.

2. Reference is made to what was said to me in Karachi in 1950. I have absolutely no recollection of this; but my answer to the proposal could only have been that such matters should be discussed with Mr. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar.³ I have never been able to understand how, in existing circumstances, the Pakistan Government goes on insisting on private exchange of property.⁴ An analysis of the property will show that, apart from a very small percentage, the vast extent of their property belongs to very petty people who cannot possibly exchange with anybody. The Pakistan proposal is advantageous to a small handful of rich people and all the others go by the board. It is wrong in equity but, apart from this, we could not possibly put it through because of the furore this would have caused among the evacuee population here, leaving out a handful of the well-to-do. At present all this property is in a common pool and every evacuee presumes that he has a share in it. If the pool is emptied of its valuable assests, then the average evacuee suffers.

3. There is no possible way out for the large number of evacuees but to have some government-to-government arrangement, whatever that might be. To say that Mr. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar's attitude was rigid has no meaning in this context. The fact is that the Pakistan Government is influenced much more than India by the richer element of the evacuees who want to profit by this

1. Note for the Ministry of States, 18 October 1953. File No.KS-25/53, MEA, Extracts.

2. Chaudhari Mohammed Ali, Finance Minister of Pakistan.

3. N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar, who was India's Transport Minister, was the leader of the Indian delegation to the Karachi conference on evacuee properties held in the last week of June 1949.

4. The Indian Government took the view that the only reasonable solution to settle the evacuee property claims was an exchange of evacuee properties at government level. Each country should assume responsibility for the total value of the evacuee properties left behind in its territories, the debtor country paying the difference in value to the creditor country. Pakistan held that the evacuees should themselves have the freedom in disposing of their own properties without government intervention and that the Indian proposal of a government-to-government settlement amounted to ending the proprietary rights of the people involved. However, Pakistan's view was influenced by the fact that the value of the Indian properties left in Pakistan was greater than the Pakistan property left in India, and a government-to-government settlement would place the Pakistan Government in a debtor position.

transaction. Even their leaders have done well out of it. Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman has done particularly well out of it and so have others.

4. No one suggested that Pakistan should take a leap in the dark and to accept any liabilities which they cannot possibly meet.⁵ But even in small matters like the transfer of funds in banks and personal assets, there has hardly been any advance from the Pakistan side.

5. What the decision might ultimately be about our approach to this question need not worry us at this stage. But the first approach has to be to find out what these properties are. The Pakistan Government has refused to cooperate in this. A large number of small houses have fallen or are collapsing. I doubt if many of them will survive for long. In Bombay and in Delhi, the municipalities have ordered destruction of many of them. When we tried to sell these houses last year without in any way infringing on the rights of the original owners, Mr. Shoaib Qureshi objected very strongly and we stopped the auctions. Some of these houses are no more now.

6. The persons living in these houses are not interested in repairs because they have no rights on the houses.

7. There are many methods of approach to this problem which would keep in view any possible burden on the Pakistan Government. None of these has been accepted and the Pakistan Government goes on saying that there must be private exchange. That we cannot accept.

8. Some agreements were definitely arrived at in Karachi when I went there. The Pakistan Prime Minister referred to them here and confirmed them. Even so, nothing has been done about them.

9. Financial Settlement: Choudhari Mohammed Ali is right in saying that a certain sum of money is due from India to Pakistan, but what this exact sum is has not yet been calculated.⁶ Nobody has denied this and our Finance Minister

5. From the very beginning when the evacuee property question was raised in 1947, Pakistan had adopted an intransigent attitude for a fair and quick settlement. The reason was that the evacuee property left back by Indian displaced persons in West Pakistan alone was five times larger (Rs 500 crores) than that left in the whole of India by Pakistani displaced persons (Rs 100 crores). The acreage of agricultural land left behind in West Pakistan by Hindu evacuees was more than one and half times the acreage of similar lands in India left by Muslim evacuees. Consequently if there was ever to be a full and final settlement of the question, Pakistan would have to pay India a vast sum.
6. The Inter-Dominion conference of 1948, had fixed that India had to pay Rs.55 crores to Pakistan to enable her to meet its financial needs out of the cash balances available with undivided India. India, however, linked the payment due to Pakistan with the settlement of Kashmir issue. Under the pressure of Mahatma Gandhi, the Government of India later paid Rs.50 crores to Pakistan. A sum of Rs.5 crores was kept by the Government towards adjustment of the dues from Pakistan in respect of Pakistan's share of the joint military expenditure after Partition.

has said repeatedly that he is prepared to discuss this matter fully, that is, both aspects. In fact, he intended discussing this with Choudhari Mohammed Ali on this occasion. I suppose they had no time. We are perfectly prepared to discuss this fully and to make the necessary payments or adjustments.

10. It is true that I objected to a Joint Defence Council for India and Pakistan because it was quite clear from experience we had gathered even then of the Joint Cabinet here that this could not function and the army would go to pieces under different pulls. The whole background of the Pakistani leaders and the leaders of India was totally different in regard to foreign policies and even to our relations with the United Kingdom and it is difficult to imagine any common ground. It must be remembered that Pakistan was entirely represented in regard to army matters by British senior officers who were more interested in creating trouble between the two countries than in evolving a cooperative procedure. We did not wish to deal with them on that basis. We had, in fact, a Joint Council to consider certain common problem in regard to disposals and the rest. On every occasion the British officers created trouble...

3. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

New Delhi

November 27, 1953

My dear Ajit,

...I agree with you that we cannot expect much from Pakistan.² Indeed, Pakistan, or rather the Government of Pakistan, appears to be in such a bad way that it is difficult to get any answer from them. I have written any number of letters to Mohammad Ali and few of them have been acknowledged. It is true that Mohammad Ali has been rather ill with typhoid. But it is also true that the Government of Pakistan is at sixes and sevens. With Mohammad Ali unwell,

1. JN Collection. A copy was sent to Commonwealth Secretary. Extracts.
2. In October 1952, a suggestion was made to the Government of Pakistan that as there was no possibility of the return of evacuees to their respective countries and the evacuee properties were fast deteriorating the two Governments should take over the evacuee immovable properties in the countries and compensate the evacuee owners according to principles which might be mutually agreed upon. If direct negotiations proved unfruitful, the method of valuation might be settled by arbitration or by reference to an impartial tribunal or an international court. The debtor country should then pay to the creditor country the difference in the value of evacuee property according to certain agreed arrangements. The Government of Pakistan had, however, not accepted this proposal.

the situation has deteriorated still more, and nobody appears to be responsible. Our old friend, Shuaib Qureshi, is probably one of the greatest obstructions to anything being done³ It is quite possible that changes may take place in Pakistan at any time.

Because of all this, little can be expected from them on the evacuee property question and after a little while we shall have to decide what to do ourselves.

You will remember that I wrote to you some time ago to have a paper prepared for the Cabinet's consideration in regard to the evacuee property laws and like matters. I have been giving a good deal of thought to this matter and I consulted some of my colleagues in the Cabinet also. We have a strong feeling that the time has come, in our own interest, to deal with these laws in a big way. I am not talking about the past or what has been done thus far, or of the property under the Custodians now. That is a separate matter which can be dealt with Pakistan or by ourselves. I am considering the future.

These laws, as we all know, are unique and I doubt if you will find a parallel to them at any time any where, except, of course, in Pakistan. They were the result of very special circumstances. We have endured them for all these years. But, undoubtedly, they come in the way of our economic life generally, and more especially of the economic life of the Muslims in India. It is not that much is done, but there is this sword hanging over large numbers of people which prevents normal business and other transactions. Psychologically it is bad.

We should, therefore, revert, as soon as possible, to normal behaviour. At the most what will happen is that some money is taken away to Pakistan. We can control exchange to some extent. But in the final analysis it just does not matter from the larger point of view. Other foreign countries can do so. Why not Pakistan?

I am, therefore, thinking now that we must take a big step and just put an end to the further application of these evacuee property laws in so far as the future is concerned. And this regardless of what Pakistan does. I feel sure that this will be the right step producing the right reactions both in India and Pakistan. It may be that the refugee element or some of them might dislike it. But we cannot ignore the larger considerations because of this.

I would suggest to you, therefore, to have a relatively brief paper prepared on this subject. It need not be detailed to begin with. Only certain principles

3. In a communication to A.P. Jain, on 4 November 1953, Shoiab Qureshi, turned down India's offer, made some days back, to refer the working of the 1949 Karachi Agreement on Evacuee Property to an impartial agency to adjudge as to which country was responsible for its violation. He proposed to link other issues like canal waters and Kashmir disputes with this question.

can be laid down for our consideration. We should first consider it in the Cabinet Committee and later in the full Cabinet, because it is important enough for that. Probably the actual legislation will have to be a little delayed as the preparation will take some time. If, however, our Cabinet decides definitely what we should do, we can even state it publicly that this is our intention.

We should also examine how far we can, by executive action, stop the further application of these evacuee property laws till such time as new legislation is passed.

I should like the Cabinet Committee and the full Cabinet to consider these matters in the course of the next fortnight, that is, certainly before Christmas. It might be desirable to make a brief statement in the House itself.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To Mohammad Ali¹

New Delhi
27th November, 1953

My dear Prime Minister,

I understand that, subject to certain modifications, your Government have approved the decisions taken by the representatives of the two countries during the discussions at Karachi from the 27th July to the 13th August, 1953, and the implementation of the decisions is to commence shortly.² This will, no doubt, bring some relief to a number of displaced persons in Pakistan and India.

2. You will remember that besides the points on which agreement had been reached there were certain matters such as transportation charges, remittance facilities, income-tax clearance certificates, deduction of Custodian's fees etc. on which the representatives of your Government had reserved their final decisions. In your talk with Mehr Chand Khanna³ you had, I understand,

1. JN Collection.

2. On 12 November 1953, the Government of Pakistan ratified the Karachi decisions on movable property reached in August 1953, but subject to certain modifications and stated that implementation should begin from 1 December. On 23 November 1953, the Government of India informed the Pakistan Government in a letter that India considered some of the modifications unnecessary but nevertheless accepted them. This was done for avoiding a delay in implementation.

3. Adviser to the Ministry of Rehabilitation.

indicated that some of the suggestions were acceptable to you and others would be further considered. My Rehabilitation Ministry specifically sought a decision of its Pakistani counterpart on those points in their communication of the 4th September and we were hoping that, while ratifying the agreed decisions, your Government would also intimate the final decisions on these matters but this has unfortunately not been done. You will appreciate that without a decision on these questions, effective implementation of the agreement already reached will not be possible. I shall, therefore, be grateful if you will kindly have the decision expedited.

3. You will recollect that when I was at Karachi, we had a general discussion on the question of protection of places of religious worship.⁴ You agreed that it is necessary to ensure that such places are properly maintained and facilities given to interested persons for visiting those places. This question was further discussed by Mehr Chand Khanna with the representatives of your Government and it was agreed that every effort would be made to ensure that the places of religious worship in both countries, particularly, those of historical importance, or of special sanctity should be properly protected and maintained and their sanctity preserved. It was also agreed that facilities for the visit of pilgrims to such places should be granted, and *Sewadars* and *Khadims* given adequate protection, and facilities for residence. These decisions have not so far been ratified by your Government. I need hardly emphasize the importance of the matter and I hope ratification of the agreement would not be delayed further.

4. When you were in Delhi in August, you had told me that your Cabinet had accepted our suggestions in regard to lockers and safe deposits in the custody of banks; restoration of or the payment of compensation for the properties of Joint Stock Companies allotted or acquired by Government; shares, securities, debentures etc. and bank accounts and that formal acceptance would be communicated shortly. We had in fact made out a draft agreement in this behalf which was to be confirmed by you on your return to Karachi; but the matter has not progressed further. May I request that the agreement may now be concluded?

5. You will remember that during the discussions between our representatives at Karachi in July-August last, it was decided that the talks should be resumed in the near future to settle the outstanding issues relating to evacuee property, particularly, the question of urban and agricultural property, and it was understood that the next series of meetings would be held in about three weeks time. Further when you were in Delhi last time, we felt that discussions on the issues should be resumed within one month and this was announced in our

4. The Government of Pakistan had reserved the ratification of an agreement arrived at for the protection of Hindu and Sikh shrines and holy places in Pakistan and the facilities to be given to Hindu and Sikh pilgrims of India to visit them occasionally.

joint press communique of the 20th August, 1953. Accordingly in the letter sent by my Rehabilitation Ministry on 4th September, 1953, ratifying the decision reached at Karachi, it was suggested that these talks may be recommended in the third week of September at New Delhi. But I understand that the letter of your Refugees and Rehabilitation Ministry of 2nd November, 1953, intimating the acceptance of the decisions, is completely silent about this important point. I have written to you twice before urging an early resumption of the talks. In my last letter of the 28th October, 1953, I made a personal appeal to you for an early settlement of the issues in regard to evacuee properties, as the present stalemate unnecessarily causes sufferings to millions of people on either side. I have not received any acknowledgement of these letters but I realize that you have been ill and probably have not found time to give personal attention to this matter. You will agree, however, that negotiations of this nature cannot be prolonged indefinitely and I should like to emphasize again our anxiety to reach a final settlement on this issue, which is vital to us, without any further delay. I suggest, therefore, that talks should be resumed in the third week of December at New Delhi and an attempt made to reach a full and final settlement. I hope you will agree.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. The Evacuee Property Law¹

...3. The Cabinet at its last meeting accepted the general principle that the Evacuee Property Law² should no longer apply in future, in so far as any fresh property was concerned, that is to say, the existing evacuee pool should remain

1. Note to the Minister of Rehabilitation and Cabinet Secretary, 20 December 1953. JN Collection, Extracts.
2. Under the Evacuee Property Law passed in May 1954 the Government of India could acquire the right and title of evacuee properties in India and to utilize them for giving part-compensation to displaced persons in India. It was made clear to Pakistan that this step could not prejudice an agreement eventually between the two Governments, and that India would have no objection to Pakistan taking similar measure in respect of properties of Indian evacuees left in Pakistan.

for disposal, as determined upon later, but that complete freedom should be given for the future to every person to deal with his property as he likes. This meant that the special distinction which these laws had made in regard to persons going to Pakistan from India should cease. Foreigners in India who own property can dispose of it as and when they like without any restriction. This general freedom should apply to Muslims or others leaving India for Pakistan in the future.

4. This general principle has been accepted for a variety of reasons. It has also been decided that we should be prepared to proceed unilaterally in this matter even though the Pakistan Government takes no action agreeable to us. The Pakistan Government, of course, is differently placed in regard to this matter as there have been very few non-Muslims left in western Pakistan who are likely to be affected by the provisions of their Evacuee Law in this matter.

5. It is logical to tie up the question of compensation³ from the existing pool with this future abrogation of the Evacuee Property Law as suggested. Nevertheless, it has to be considered whether it is essential to tie the two up. We do not quite know what the future developments might be in regard to our relations with Pakistan.

6. It is not clear to me why sections 16 and 52 of the Evacuee Property Act should be made inoperative in future.⁴ It is true that these sections are not likely to be used in future. But it is possible that a special case may require their use and Government should retain that power to prevent a case which appears to them to require some action to be taken in the interest of justice.

7. It has been stated in the note that the exercise of discretionary powers by the Executive in such matters and the over-ruling of quasi-judicial orders are bound to be misunderstood. That may be so. But the whole genesis of these laws and their application was very special and peculiar and definitely political. They were not based on any well-known canons of justice. It has often happened that by the strict application of these laws obviously injustice has been done to the detriment of some citizens of India. It is right, therefore, that the Central Government should retain discretionary powers to take action where such is considered necessary. If no such case arises, then there is obviously no difficulty. If a case does arise, then it is improper to render the Central Government incapable of dealing with it even if it considers necessary to do so.

3. On 5 November 1952, the Government of India decided to grant interim compensation of Rs 2.25 crores from 1 December to 50,000 claimants among the displaced persons in India who were entitled to priority on account of their needs.
4. The Evacuee Property Law was rendered inoperative in regard to cases where the cause of action might arise in future, so that after 7 May 1954, no Muslim in India could be declared an evacuee—a measure which had completely removed the sense of insecurity suffered by the minority in India.

8. Another matter should be considered: Is it possible, even before we make the change in the Evacuee Property Law as contemplated, to stop the application of that law in regard to future transactions? Can this be done by Executive action or instructions issued? I think it will be desirable to do so in so far as possible and, at any rate, to tone down very considerably.⁵

5. Having substantially resettled the Indian evacuees and disposed of their claims for compensation, the Indian Government abrogated the evacuee property legislation in October 1954.

(iii) Other Issues

1. To Mohammad Ali¹

New Delhi

October 8, 1953

My dear Prime Minister,

I have just seen the report of the Indo-Pakistan Conference held recently at Calcutta, to deal with our differences and difficulties in the Eastern Zone.²

I confess that I am rather disappointed at the way in which some of the subjects were dealt with at Calcutta. Much was expected from this Conference. You will remember that the subjects to be discussed at Calcutta were given a fairly high priority in our own talks at Karachi, and were again referred to when you came to Delhi. Naturally enough, if substantial progress in the settlement of Indo-Pakistan issues is not made even when the two Prime Ministers come to an agreement on the principles which should govern their solution, public reaction to the failure of the negotiations is doubly great. People may indeed begin to wonder whether it is really worth while even for the two Prime Ministers to have talks on such matters.

2. Our Foreign Office will be communicating formally with yours shortly in accordance with the procedure mutually agreed upon at Calcutta for the ratification and implementation of the agreements reached, and for the further

1. File No. P.III/53/66112/1-, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

2. The four-day Indo-Pakistan conference in Calcutta, held between 30 September and 3 October 1953, did not make much headway with the questions of the exchange of the enclaves, the liberalization of the travel restrictions and border trade between East and West Bengal.

progress of the issues left over. I wish however to bring to your notice certain matters which I think were mishandled at Calcutta due to an improper appreciation of the issues involved and, if I may say so, of the principles which had already been agreed upon between you and me.

3. (i) Exchange of Enclaves: When we met in Karachi in July 1953, we agreed that the Cooch Behar enclaves in East Bengal should be exchanged with the East Bengal enclaves in West Bengal. This was reiterated in the joint press communique which we issued after we met again in Delhi in August last. Certain proposals were also made to you by Dr. B.C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, suggesting that advantage could be taken of the exchange of enclaves to straighten out the boundary of Cooch Behar between India and Pakistan.³ It was proposed that the Patgram P.S. of Rangpur District which contained as many as 50 Cooch Behar enclaves should be ceded to India, in lieu of which India should cede sufficient territory as shown in the map furnished for the purpose, to make up for the excess area involved in the total exchange.⁴ In our subsequent correspondence after our meeting at Karachi a specific suggestion was made that proposals for the rectification of the boundary between East Pakistan and West Bengal should also be considered alongwith the question of the exchange of enclaves.

These proposals were made by us obviously with the intention of ensuring that the exchange of territory between India and Pakistan should take place on an equitable basis, not specifically favouring either country, but in a manner which would be advantageous to both. As you know, if there is a straight exchange of the existing enclaves between the two countries, it would mean that India would cede approximately eight square miles of territory in excess of the territory that she would receive from Pakistan in return.

You will easily appreciate that a small over-populated State that West Bengal is now, cannot possibly afford to give away such excess territory without being compensated in kind elsewhere. This is so obvious that it seems hardly worthwhile discussing the subject on any other basis. Unfortunately, however, this is exactly what the Pakistani delegation at Calcutta did. They were not prepared to consider the proposal made by us, namely, that communicated to you by Dr B.C. Roy, referred to above. Moreover, they had no alternative suggestion to make regarding the manner in which they proposed to compensate West Bengal for the extra eight square miles of territory which it would be called upon to yield by the exchange of enclaves. This really meant that no

3. On 1 August 1953, India and Pakistan exchanged enclaves in Cooch Behar and East Bengal where residents could make a choice of nationality.
4. The Pakistan delegation asked for time to study India's proposals, which were based on the principle that the compensation payable to India by Pakistan for the excess area of 8.5 square miles in West Bengal, that would cede to East Pakistan, should be in the form of land.

real consideration of this question could take place at Calcutta, and the matter stands exactly where it did when we first discussed it, except that much time and effort has been needlessly wasted in the meantime. I therefore request you to look into the matter, and to make any alternative proposals that you may have in mind for giving West Bengal territory equal to that which she will be called upon to surrender to East Pakistan by the exchange of enclaves. This may be at any place along their common frontier that you may judge most convenient.

(ii) Border Trade: At Karachi I referred to the border areas in East Bengal and Assam and Tripura which had suffered greatly because of Partition—more especially in regard to border trade. I had urged that we should put an end to these difficulties which were felt on both sides, and facilitate normal trade across the frontier in these areas; our general approach to the problem being to bring back normality. And you had agreed with me. I had also mentioned this in our talks in Delhi. There is a reference to it in our joint communique, and in my letter dated the 29th July 1953 to you.⁵ You may also recall that when Mr Ghulam Faruque had come down with a Pakistani delegation to discuss an Indo-Pakistani trade agreement in March last, an Indo-Pakistani sub-committee to discuss border trade was appointed. That committee made certain joint recommendations; in fact, it laid down the general principles on which this trade should be permitted in order to restore normal economic life in these areas.

The item of border trade was among the first to be suggested for discussion at this conference. Actually, it was because we wanted it to be discussed in a realistic spirit, and this could only be done between persons thoroughly familiar with the areas concerned, that we decided to have the conference at Calcutta.

It was therefore rather surprising that the Pakistan delegation for the first three days of the conference were not prepared to discuss this major item on the agenda at all; and even when they did discuss it on the last day, the Pakistan delegate, for whose presence the subject had been postponed for three days, was one who had no knowledge of the local conditions, nor of the background of the subject.⁶

When discussion on the subject was opened, it was agreed that it should proceed on the basis of the recommendations made in March last at Delhi by the joint Indo-Pakistani sub-committee on border trade. The only reservation made by the Pakistan delegation then was that they said that they were thinking of making some arrangements at the *Hats* (markets) on their side of the border for roughly assessing the total volume of the trade involved in order to be sure

5. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 23, pp. 440-441.

6. The talks on easing of border trade proved inconclusive because of the late arrival of one of the members of the Pakistan delegation.

that a balance between the two countries was maintained. The Pakistan delegation also put forward the suggestion that a distinction should be made between (a) the inhabitants of the border areas who were actual producer-cum-consumers of the goods; and (b) petty traders residing in the border zone, the latter to operate under a system of licences. On the understanding that the general principles evolved at Delhi were acceptable to Pakistan, subject to these two suggestions being incorporated in the detailed procedure, discussion between the two delegations went on for the whole day, when suddenly late in the evening the Indian delegation was informed that while Pakistan was willing to exempt border trade from the operation of import, export and foreign exchange regulations, it would be subject to customs control.⁷ This was a fundamental departure from all that had gone before, besides being a contradiction of the principles set out by the Indo-Pakistani border trade sub-committee at Delhi. Obviously, the Indian delegation could not accept such a travesty of the conception of border trade, which had all along been kept in view in the discussions between our two Governments and, if I may say so, in our own talks. To any one, who knows the areas and the people living there, it should be quite obvious that the imposition of the customs control, or of a system of licensing, on them would eliminate border trade altogether in the sense in which we had envisaged it; and as it was required if the border people on both sides of the frontier were to be given relief from their present economic and social difficulties. If this was to be the attitude of the Pakistan delegation, it would have been far more courteous and proper for us to have been told about it from the first, or at least when the Pakistan delegation was questioned at the conference about the principles on which they desired to negotiate.

It is, of course, for the Pakistan Government to decide whether they wish to permit legitimate border trade in the eastern zone or not, but I think that the Government of India is at least entitled to the consideration of not being asked to enter at the final stages of negotiations into discussions *de novo* of this type on supposedly agreed basic principles, which are later on repudiated.

I feel rather strongly about this and would request you to look into the matter.

(iii) Freedom of movement: This matter was also discussed between us at

7. For further promotion of border trade between East Pakistan and the neighbouring Indian States, India's representatives suggested free movement of some essential commodities up to certain limits. The Pakistan delegation said that it would be difficult to enforce quantitative restrictions and failure to do so would lead to large-scale smuggling of the commodities across the border. But the Indian delegation countered that as a result of free movement even in limited quantities, the incentive for smuggling would be reduced. But the Pakistan delegation insisted that all trade must pass through customs posts.

Karachi and at Delhi, and I thought that you completely agreed with me on the desirability of doing everything possible to bring back the conditions in the eastern zone to normality. We had generally discussed the possibility of doing away with the visa system or of making it much simpler than it was at present for this purpose. I was therefore surprised to read in the minutes of the Sub-Committee dealing with this question that the Pakistan delegation were not prepared to consider any modification in the passport and visa scheme which did not apply to both wings of Pakistan; and that further in their opinion any major modification of the main principles of the scheme which had only recently been introduced would be premature,⁸ but that they were otherwise willing to consider proposals for its liberalisation. Nevertheless, when the Indian delegation put forward a concrete suggestion for the liberalisation of the existing visa system which would apply to both wings of Pakistan, namely, a system by which a passport holder anywhere in India or in Pakistan could visit the other country for a limited period, say, two months, without having to obtain a visa, the Pakistan delegation stated that this proposal was impracticable administratively, and the facilities proposed were not commensurate with the difficulties involved. They were also not willing to consider the reduction of the existing number of categories of visas — 'A', 'B', 'C', 'D', 'E' and 'F' — to bring the Indo-Pakistan passport and visa system more in conformity with international practice, and more particularly with Commonwealth practice.⁹

I suggest that this rigid attitude of the Pakistan delegation towards a subject which adversely affects the daily lives of thousands of people in India and Pakistan, is not in conformity with the principles that we wished our two Governments to keep in mind when dealing with it. There can be no normality established in the relations between our two peoples so long as these abnormal restrictions on their movement are maintained. I hope you will agree with me that the matter requires to be examined with a broader outlook, bearing in mind the larger objectives that you and I had in view, when we agreed on the need for reducing the hardships and inconvenience caused by the present passport and visa system to the minimum necessary, for ensuring the safety and security of our two countries.

8. A passport-cum-visa system was introduced on 15 October 1952.

9. During the talks about the liberalization of travel conditions between East Bengal and the border Indian States, the Indian delegation suggested that there should be free movement based on the system operating between two Commonwealth countries. Statistics showed that about 97 per cent of those who had applied for visas since the enforcement of the existing arrangements had been granted visas by either country. So the Indian delegation suggested the abolition of the visa system. The suggestion was not acceptable to the Pakistan representatives who thought that the "changes should be gradual."

4. I have written to you very frankly about all these matters. I hope you will write to me equally frankly, as only then shall we be able to cut away the dead wood which has been hampering the growth of normal friendly relations between our two countries for all these years. Unless we do this, our future negotiations will be bogged down in the same way as those of the past, and that will lead us nowhere in our attempt to restore to the common man on this sub-continent the rights and privileges to which he is entitled by all that you and I stand for.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Recovery of Abducted Persons¹

This business of recovery has been going on for the last six years. It has undoubtedly shown results and yet it is a little difficult for me to understand the significance of these results or the various procedures used. Now that we are examining the whole matter afresh, it is desirable that we should get a fuller grip of it in every way and lay down clear policies and procedures.

2. As I have said previously, Sardar Swaran Singh will be in direct charge as Minister of this work. He has kindly agreed to do this. I shall always be available for consultation and I should like to be kept in touch with events and developments.²

3. The first thing to be done is to know the facts as they are at present. We are supplied with numbers of recoveries from India or from Pakistan and some

1. Note to Minister of Works, Housing and Supply, New Delhi, 30 October 1953. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. Nehru was personally attending to the policy matters regarding the Abducted Women's Recovery Organization, which formed part of the Ministry of External Affairs, ever since Gopalaswami Ayyangar died. He passed on this work to Swaran Singh, Minister for Works, Housing and Supply, in October 1953. Mridula Sarabhai was assisting Swaran Singh. For day to day administration, I.S. Chopra, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, was in charge.

other information is also given to us.³ I think that all available information should be methodically arranged and presented. This will include:

- (1) Numbers of women and children (separately) contained in the lists supplied by India to Pakistan and Pakistan to India.
- (2) The question of children is important and has a direct bearing on our future policy and work. Where women have come with children, those children should be separately shown. Newly born children since abduction should also be separately shown.
- (3) How far have these lists been examined with a view to a preliminary classification which might well be in the following categories:
 - (a) Names of persons who are known to be dead or who have actually returned to Pakistan,
 - (b) Names which appeared to be fictitious,
 - (c) Names which *prima facie* are difficult to trace,
 - (d) Likely names and more probable names, and
 - (e) Recoveries.

So far as we are concerned, such a preliminary survey of the Pakistan lists sent to us should be completed as soon as possible if this has not already been done.

- (4) Figures for recoveries:
 - (a) From the lists supplied, and
 - (b) From outside the lists.

It is often possible that a person recovered from outside the lists might be somewhere in the lists, though under a different address because many of these women have travelled about or have been pushed about from place to place. Therefore, the recoveries from outside the lists should be carefully compared with the lists to find out how many of these are common names.

In the case of recoveries, it should be particularly stated as to how many children the woman had and what was the fate of the children. That is to say, did the children go back to their mother in the other country or did they stay behind?

Have we correct records of recovered women being delivered to the other side? That is, have we receipts for them, separately and

3. According to a report of the Ministry of External Affairs, published in 1956, since recovery of abducted persons began in 1947 and till June 1955, 20, 623 persons were recovered in India and restored to their relations in Pakistan. Pakistan recovered 8,000 persons and sent them to India. Some 2,500 cases in each country were still due for recovery.

individually? If not, for what number are there no receipts? Why and under what circumstances were no receipts taken? Do we not keep full records of all such cases? This is a human problem concerning individuals and each individual counts.

- (5) In the procedure for recovery, who carries out the preliminary investigation of cases, apart from actual recovery work? Is it the normal police establishment or only the recovery establishment?
- (6) How do the Tribunals work? Is every recovered woman produced before the Tribunal for a personal interview or only selected cases? Do the Members of the Tribunals come to their decisions on papers supplied to them or after personal interviews only?
- (7) I understand that when a woman is traced she is brought to our camp even though she might be unwilling. Then she is kept in our camp for a month or so. In our camp she is given the opportunity to meet her relatives from across the border. After that, is her consent the deciding factor for her to be sent to the camp on the other side or not? That is to say, if after the month's stay in our camp, she still refuses to go across, will her wishes be respected or will she be sent across for further opportunities to be given to her to decide?
- (8) What number and proportion of children born after abduction go back with their mothers to the other side? If the children do not go back, are any steps taken to ensure proper looking after of the children that are left behind?
- (9) In regard to the consent of the women concerned, how far does age count? That is, would a woman above 21 be treated differently in this respect than women under that age?
- (10) Separate figures should be given for recoveries from Pakistan and in India during the last six months.

4. These are some odd ideas that strike me immediately. The whole point is that we should have as full data as possible and what has happened in the past and how we are functioning today. In the preparation of this data, it is desirable that the help of a competent statistician might be had. Prof. Mahalanobis might be requested to supply such a person. This is not merely a question of collecting figures, but applying the social approach to statistics. Prof. Mahalanobis will fully appreciate this.

5. In regard to our future approach to this problem, it should be clearly understood that there will be no compulsion and consent is essential. This consent should be obtained before the woman leaves India and after giving her sufficient time to think about it in our camp. Even in removal from her home, it is not desirable to do so by physical force unless there is some special reason.

6. It must always be remembered that we have to deal not only with the

woman in such a case, but with her children and, in fact, a family group. The future of the children is, I think, more important even than that of the women or the men. Therefore, our approach has to be governed to a considerable extent by thinking of the children. That is why I have asked for full particulars about children. To separate the mother forcibly from the children is rather inhuman and bad for the children. Generally speaking, where there is apparently a more or less happy home, we should not break it up because of some theoretical consideration. Our object is to protect the woman and give her full choice in the matter and at the same time to protect the children. No rigid rule can be applied in such cases and numerous human factors have to be taken into consideration. It is because of this that social workers were considered necessary because, official routine seldom takes into consideration the human aspect. We shall have to continue using social workers and all officers dealing with this matter should be impressed with this fact of the human aspect. It is quite essential that personal interview with the woman should take place and the Tribunal should see each woman. Preliminary enquiries can always be made through the normal police staff.

7. I should like separate figures for recoveries (with dates) from Jammu and Kashmir State, "Azad Kashmir" and from the North West Frontier Province.

8. We should proceed roughly in the following order though, of course, our work will overlap:

- (1) Collection of full data as suggested above.
- (2) Full examination of lists supplied by Pakistan and preliminary enquiry in regard to cases still to be dealt with. Thus, the lists will be divided into various categories of:
 - (a) persons wrongly included,
 - (b) possible cases,
 - (c) likely cases, and
 - (d) cases dealt with already

There may be other categories also.

- (3) Recoveries from outside the lists should be carefully compared with the lists supplied.
- (4) We should concentrate on cases mentioned in the lists first, without going outside it, unless there is an obvious case to be followed up.

9. Every attempt should be made to finalize all these preliminary surveys and enquiries into lists in the course of the next two or three months. It is important that if and when this matter comes up before Parliament, we should be in complete possession of the facts, such as they are, properly arranged.

10. The question of the organization will have to be considered and the present organization checked up and, if necessary, varied here and there. This

will be looked upon, of course, from the point of view of an efficient handling of the problem, but even more so from the human point of view of dealing with it with understanding and sympathy, always keeping the personal factor in view. All officers as also social workers who are engaged in this work have to keep this aspect in view. Social workers will have to continue working. Their work should be properly coordinated with official work....

3. Cable to Mohammad Ali¹

Your letter of 28th October relating to canal waters reached me as I was leaving Delhi.² I had immediate enquiry made. I have just returned to Delhi. I find that your Irrigation Commissioner wrote to our Special Commissioner for Canal Waters³ on this subject on 21st October, the letter actually reaching him on 26th October. I am somewhat surprised to find that you should be troubled about this when the matter was under enquiry.

My preliminary enquiries show that there is no reason for complaint. Apparently misunderstandings have arisen over methods of calculation and rotational programme period. There have been no actual shortages of any substance on the CBDC⁴ while on the SV⁵ canals Pakistan received much larger supplies than due.⁶

There was to be a joint meeting of the two Commissioners today at Amritsar border. I shall await the report of this meeting and then address you further on this subject.

1. New Delhi, 2 November 1953. File No. SC/IP/1, Ministry of Irrigation. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Mohammad Ali alleged that India had reduced the supply of canal waters to Pakistan through the Central Bari Doab and the Sutlej Valley canals in September and October 1953.
3. G.R. Garg.
4. Central Bari Doab Canal.
5. Sutlej Valley.
6. The complaint had been made on the basis of errors due to wrong recording of supplies received by Pakistan authorities and the adoption of an incorrect ratio of distribution and of wrong periods for working out distribution. Taking the figures for the entire kharif maturing period, the balanced account showed that Pakistan received 60 per cent excess supplies in the Sutlej Valley canals and only a negligible shortage of 1.45 per cent in the Central Bari Doab Canal.

4. To Mohammad Ali¹

New Delhi
10 November 1953

My dear Prime Minister,

In my telegram No. Primin. 22046 dt. 2nd November 1953,² I promised to write to you further after the joint meeting of the two Commissioners at Wagah border.³ At this meeting which took place on 2nd November, Mr. Garg, Special Commissioner for Canal Waters pointed out the correct ratio of distribution of supplies and the correct periods to be adopted for working out such distribution. The meeting was also helpful in removing certain misunderstandings which arose as a result of mistakes and omissions in Pakistan record. It was discovered, for instance, that on Main Branch Lower, discharges varying from 1307 to 1495 cusecs run on 8th, 9th and 10th October were unaccounted for because the Pakistan subordinate failed to transmit the figures to the Executive Engineer, Lahore Division. The Executive Engineer's register recorded the words 'NR.' (Information not received) which were construed as 'water not received' and taken as 'nil' while preparing the statement.

So were the discharges run in the same canal on 28th, 29th and 30th September and 12th and 13th October — although for a different reason as stated in Mr Garg's report...

My attention has been drawn to a news item reported in *Times of India* issue of 5th November in which reference has been made to canal waters by the Industries Minister of Pakistan in Pakistan Parliament. In answer to a short notice question, Khan Abdul Qayum Khan accused India of cutting down supplies of canal water to Pakistan at critical times in September and October, 1953. The accusation is without substance but what is amazing is that such a charge should have been levelled before it was investigated and proved.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. SC/IP/1, Ministry of Irrigation. Extracts.
2. See previous item.
3. On 12 November 1953, the Government of India issued a press note stating that accusations had been brought against India in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly and elsewhere about a reduction of supply of canal waters to the Central Bari Doab and Pakistan Sutlej Valley Canals in September and October 1953. These had been examined by India's Special Commissioner for canal waters and were found to be untrue. The error was due to wrong recording by the Pakistan authorities.

5. Canal Waters¹

I have had a talk with Shri G.L. Nanda on this subject.² I am not concerned at present with the legal notice which may be deferred to January 1st as suggested. But I am strongly of opinion that informally we should make it clear to the Pakistan people that the Bhakra canals will be ready for use about the end of May and we should like to use them then. Fortunately Pakistan will not suffer appreciably by this. This should be recorded in the minutes of the negotiations.

In saying this formally or informally we should not accept even indirectly the right of Pakistan to any part of the Sutlej waters.³

Even if negotiations fail later, we cannot treat this matter on the legal basis only — there is the human factor.

1. Note to Gulzarilal Nanda, 14 November 1953. File No. DW. 20 (69)-CWD/54. Ministry of Irrigation.
2. Concerning the scare roused by the Pakistani press that the diversion of Sutlej Waters into the Bhakra Canals would adversely affect the flow of waters into Pakistani canals.
3. In accepting the suggestion of the World Bank, (which had offered its good offices in 1951 to both India and Pakistan Governments to settle the canal waters dispute) that neither side should diminish the supplies available to the other party for existing uses during the period of negotiations, the Indian Government did so with the reservation that work on the Bhakra canals, which had been going on since before Partition, would not be interrupted.

6. To Mohammad Ali

New Delhi
15th November, 1953

My dear Prime Minister,

I am writing to you not about any high matter of policy, but about an incident that occurred on the Bihar-East Bengal border on the 8th of May, 1953. Normally this incident would have been dealt with by our officers on either side of the border. Because we have failed to get any result from our approaches to the Pakistan Government in this matter I am writing to you about it.

To us, this incident is of the highest importance and our President is deeply concerned over it. It is not a political matter involving the prestige of either country. It is a simple but very tragic incident in which five poor Santhal women

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

were killed and one young Santhal woman was carried away by the East Pakistan policemen.

I shall not give all the details of this horrible incident to you here, because we have addressed the Pakistan Government repeatedly on this subject and there has been some correspondence. According to us, the incident took place in Indian territory. But, even if it be presumed that the Santhal women had crossed the Pakistan territory, the behaviour of the policemen was abominable. The evidence in this case is as strong and good as one can have in such cases. On the part of Pakistan, various arguments have been advanced which, I must confess seem to me of no substance....

May I beg of you to look into this matter?²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. On 27 November 1953, the Pakistan Foreign Office expressed regret at the murder of the three Santhal women.

7. To Rajendra Prasad

New Delhi
December 2, 1953

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Your letter of the 2nd December.²

As regards the incident of the death of the five Santhal women, we have taken every possible step that we could. I have myself written to the Prime Minister of Pakistan³ and we have sent for the High Commissioner here and expressed ourselves strongly. All this in addition to the official letters that are being sent. I quite agree with you that the attitude of the Pakistan Government is deplorable in this matter. I do not quite know what more one can do. We shall of course continue to press the Pakistan Government to make amends.

1. File No. 86(2)/53, President's Secretariat.
2. Prasad wrote that the post-mortem examination revealed marks of injury on at least four of the five bodies of Santhal women who therefore did not die of drowning and were murdered by Pakistan police near Bihar-East Pakistan boundary line. Prasad felt very strongly about the incident, adding that the Indian police should protect the nationals, particularly women.
3. See the preceding item.

As regards the other incident⁴ to which you refer, we are pursuing the matter. This incident, however, is different from the Santhal one and is more of the normal type on a frontier.

I do not see how we can guard 2000 miles of frontier which is not even marked. We have checkpoints in various places. But every little part can hardly be guarded.

There have been incidents in the frontier where there has been mutual shooting and killing on either side.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. On 12 November, three Pakistani armed policemen, along with a Pakistani fisherman, trespassed inside Indian territorial waters to catch fish. When challenged, they opened fire, resulting in the death of an Indian.

THE PROBLEM OF KOREA

1. Cable to K.S. Thimayya¹

Have just returned to Delhi. I have read your messages and have seen in the press today your reply to UN complaint.² I think this reply is factual, dignified and good. Attitude taken up by you and your Commission appears to me to be perfectly correct and you will have our full support. We cannot allow ourselves to be coerced by any party into doing something which we do not consider correct.

1. New Delhi, 5 October 1953. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. Lt. Gen. K.S. Thimayya, Chairman of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, rejected on 3 October 1953 a UN Command complaint that the message of the Commission distributed among the POWs had favoured the communists. Thimayya insisted that the message embodied a "perfectly correct interpretation" of the truce agreement's terms of reference.

2. Cable to K.S. Thimayya¹

Your telegrams 7043 of October 5th and 7046 of October 6th.² Issues you have raised are difficult and we are giving them full consideration. It is clear that purpose of Armistice Agreement would be defeated if large numbers of prisoners refuse to appear before explainers. We have to perform our duty in terms of that agreement. In view of possible complications, we are referring this matter to US Government also in regard to threats and menaces held out by South Korean Government.³ We have gone to Korea under definite assurances from US Government representing UN Command and they must fulfil those assurances. We are also communicating with UK Government as well as others.⁴

1. New Delhi, 6 October 1953. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. In the two cables Thimayya expressed concern at the possibility of resistance by the Korean prisoners of war to go through explanations on repatriation and the fear that any use of force to compel them would result in bloodshed and their large-scale escape from the custody of the Indian troops. The demand of the South Korean officials and demonstrators for the immediate release of all anti-Communist prisoners and the threat by them to drive Indian troops out of Korea had encouraged the prisoners to acts of indiscipline which might compel the Indian troops to shooting. Thimayya sought Nehru's guidance on these matters.
3. See the next item.
4. See *post*, p. 485

Krishna Menon has discussed present grave situation with Secretary General of UN who proposes to ask US, as representing UN Command, for their version of facts.⁵ He may also ask India as Chairman of Commission to report on allegations of breaches of terms of agreement and threats. Please telegraph full factual report on situation, giving particulars of UN Command's complicity, proved or suspected, in the disorders that have taken place in prisoners' camps.

Please also inform us how far your Commission as a whole is supporting you in views you have expressed.

5. V.K. Krishna Menon, India's delegate to the UN, discussed on 5 October 1953, with Secretary General Hammaraskjoeld and a number of important delegates, South Korea's threat to use military force against the Indian custodian troops and the way it was presented to Major General Thorat. A number of delegates were understood to have said that South Korea's threat to enter the demilitarized zone must be considered as linked to a campaign against the impartiality of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission and must be brought to the attention of the UN without delay.

3. Aide Memoire to US¹

The Government of India are gravely concerned at some recent developments in Korea which affect the discharge of their responsibilities under the Armistice Agreement. These responsibilities were accepted by them as they were assured by the two High Commands that peaceful conditions would prevail in the demilitarized zone. They were further assured that adequate measures would be taken to prevent any interference with the Commission's work by individuals or organizations from outside the zone.²

1. New Delhi, 6 October 1953. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. The Aide Memoire was handed over to the State Department on 7 October 1953 by G.L. Mehta, the Indian Ambassador at Washington.
2. Nehru said in a message to the US Government that India would not send troops to Korea to guard the prisoners of war unless the Indian custodian troops were assured that the South Koreans would let them "function peacefully". See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 22, pp. 506-507. The US assured India on 22 July that its troops could function in Korea without danger. A Beijing broadcast on 20 July announced that protection would be given to the neutrals involved in the handling of war prisoners. The Indian troops went to Korea under the Armistice Agreement of 27 July 1953 after assurance by the United States that a four kilometre zone across Korea would be demilitarized and that they would be able to carry out their responsibilities there without fear that the demilitarized zone would be violated by hostile forces.

During the last few days, some incidents have taken place in the prisoner of war camps on the UN side of the demarcation line.³ Some prisoners have assaulted the guards and indulged in unruly behaviour. A mass breakout from the camps has also been attempted. The guards have had to use some force to maintain discipline and also in self-defence. Two or three prisoners have been killed and a few others have been injured.

These measures which were taken by the Custodian Forces, under extreme provocation, have led to some new developments. The South Korean Minister for Foreign Affairs is reported to have made a statement to the effect that if these evil acts are not rectified immediately,⁴ the South Korean Government will be forced to take up arms against the Indian Custodian Forces. The Government of India understand that some South Korean newspapers have published cartoons and articles accusing Indian troops of bayonetting helpless and unarmed anti-Communist prisoners.⁵ This false propaganda is clearly designed to provoke demonstrations against India and to create anti-Indian feeling among the South Korean and also to encourage recalcitrance on the part of the prisoners of war.

3. On 1 October 1953, some prisoners in the South Korean camp attempted to escape by scaling the barbed-wire enclosures. The Custodian Force of India issued a warning and when it went unheeded it fired a few shots. One prisoner was killed and some were injured. On 2 October, some prisoners in the South Korean camp crashed through the gates of their enclosure in an attempt to attack the Commander of the enclosure and effect a mass breakout. The Indian Custodian troops tried various methods to stop the prisoners, and when they failed, they opened fire. As a result two prisoners were killed and five wounded.
4. On 3 October 1953, Cho Chung Whan, the Acting Foreign Minister, denounced the killings as "criminal acts of murder." If the Indians "do not rectify immediately the evil acts being committed, we shall be forced to take up arms against them." "The Indians profess to be neutral but are acting really as Communists." Cho warned on 4 October in a letter to Maj. Gen. S.P.P. Thorat, Commander of the Indian Custodian troops: The Republic of Korea would "be regretfully forced to drive the irresponsible Indian troops out of Korea unless they mended their ways."
5. The cartoons depicted Indian guards taking prisoners back to the Communist side, thus creating a false impression. One picture was distorted by its caption. The Pacific edition of *Stars and Stripes* carried a photograph so as to pin on the Indians a pro-Communist use of force. A loudly wailing Chinese prisoner of war was shown being carried by two Indian guards to a reception centre, apparently against his will. The truth was that the prisoner was going willingly, but was so overcome by emotion and fatigue that his knees buckled under him and he had to ask the help of the Indian guards.

As the United States Government are aware, the responsibility for ensuring security and order in the area, surrounding the prisoners of war camps, rests with each detaining side. In the case of camps on the UN side, this responsibility rests with the UN Command. The UN Command are also responsible for preventing infiltration of unauthorized personnel from South Korea into the demilitarized zone. In view of the threats which have been held out on behalf of the South Korean Government, the Government of India would be glad to have an assurance that adequate steps are being taken by the UN Command to prevent infiltration and to give full protection to the camps and to the Commission's Headquarters, so as to enable the Repatriation Commission to discharge its responsibilities.

The Government of India are anxious that the difficult responsibility which has been assigned to their representatives in Korea should be carried out successfully. They are aware that it is also the desire of the US Government that no obstacle should be placed in the way of the implementation of the Armistice Agreement. They have no doubt that the US Government will agree that the threats of the South Korean Minister and other anti-Indian activities which are taking place in South Korea must necessarily obstruct the Commission's work and lead to grave consequences. The threat to use armed force is a threat to peace in Korea and the anti-Indian propaganda has had the effect of encouraging indiscipline among the prisoners. The Government of India would, therefore, urge the US Government to use their influence with the Government of South Korea to ensure that these activities are discontinued immediately.

The Government of India would also like to draw the US Government's attention to another matter. The Commission took the view that the prisoners were not adequately informed about the provisions of the Armistice Agreement relating to repatriation. A message giving the correct interpretation of the provisions has been issued to the prisoners. The Commission has also prescribed a set of rules to govern explanations. The prisoners have been informed that they will be required to appear before the various bodies to which explaining representatives will be attached. The view taken by the Commission is that any deviation from this procedure will be inconsistent with the terms of Agreement. The whole purpose of the Armistice Agreement in this regard, was to enable explanations to be given in order to ensure that all prisoners of war have the opportunity to exercise their right to be repatriated. Unless these explanations are given this purpose and the procedure laid down in the Agreement will be defeated.

The Government of India trust that it will be the endeavour of both Commands to establish conditions in which the prisoners of war can cooperate to ensure the success of this work.

4. Cable to Winston Churchill¹

You will no doubt have followed recent developments in Korea which are causing us the gravest concern. India undertook to discharge grave responsibilities there on assurance of UN Command that they would ensure proper and peaceful conditions for the Repatriation Commission to work in.

Prisoners of war in UN camps have behaved in a most aggressive and indisciplined manner and attacked guards. They have attempted mass breakouts from camps. Custodian Force has behaved most patiently, but was compelled on one or two occasions to use force to prevent this breakout from camp. This resulted in two or three POWs being killed and some wounded.

South Korean authorities are continually inciting prisoners of war to rebel and breakout from camps. They are vilifying Repatriation Commission and Custodian Force, and South Korean Foreign Minister has threatened to march his Army against Custodian Force.

Repatriation Commission has explained terms in Armistice Agreement to POWs and pointed out that they are required to appear to listen to explanations. Unless this is done whole purpose of Repatriation Commission will be defeated. It appears that many POWs are anxious to go to Repatriation Commission, but are being coerced and prevented from doing so.

You will appreciate that the situation is a very grave one and Repatriation Commission and Custodian Force are entitled to full support from the nations at whose instance they went there. The honour of India is concerned in this matter; but I would specially lay stress on the consequences to world peace in which you are so greatly interested.

We have addressed the United States Government in this matter and requested their help. I shall be grateful if you will exercise your influence to prevent the rapid deterioration that is taking place in Korea and to enable Repatriation Commission to do its work peacefully.

1. New Delhi, 6 October 1953. JN Collection.

5. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

... Thimayya reports conditions in South Korea worsening. South Korean Ministers encouraging prisoners to further acts of indiscipline. Seoul newspapers publishing damaging cartoons and articles depicting Indian troops bayonetting helpless unarmed prisoners. This may so enrage South Korean population that their troops or volunteers might suddenly attack our troops combining this with mass breakout by prisoners. Thimayya has addressed UN Command drawing attention to Article 2, para 6 of terms of reference² and asking them to take precautionary measures and exercise necessary vigilance.

Our Custodian Force is likely to be placed in precarious position. Either they do not discharge their duties or any force used by them makes position worse. American and UN attitude must therefore be perfectly clear on these issues.

1. New Delhi, 6 October 1953. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts.
2. Under this Article the UN Command was pledged to give protection to the Indian custodian troops if attacked by the South Korean troops in an attempt to set at liberty prisoners under custody.

6. Gifts to Indian Forces in Korea¹

I mentioned to General Rajendrasinhji today your proposal to send gifts to the Indian forces in Korea for Diwali. He welcomed the idea. I mentioned this also at the meeting of the Chief Ministers this afternoon. They were also quite enthusiastic about it.

2. We should, therefore, do something about it. It is not quite clear what should be done. To ask people to send gifts from all over India is not feasible. It would really be better for them to send some money to one central place, say Delhi, from where gifts could be organized and sent through Army Headquarters.

1. Note to Indira Gandhi, New Delhi, 6 October 1953. JN Collection.

3. I think you might discuss this matter with General Rajendrasinhji or General Chaudhury. Some kind of a non-official appeal should issue. It is no good formalising this too much. It would be a good thing if this appeal is on behalf of some women. If you could get hold of half a dozen or more women to join an appeal with you, this could be issued soon. This appeal should, of course, state what should be sent and where.²

2. Indira Gandhi and nine other prominent women issued an appeal on 8 October for Diwali gifts for the Indian troops in Korea. In a short time after the appeal, a collection valued nearly \$25,000 was received, most of the contribution being from school children.

7. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

... This Korean matter affects our honour and self-respect, as well as security of our force in Korea. But most important aspect is its effect on world peace. Thimayya has been functioning in Commission with strict impartiality and so far as we know has had support of Swiss and Swedish representatives. South Korean outcries and threats most objectionable. They merely confirm belief that South Korean authorities completely irresponsible. They deliberately committed breach of Armistice by releasing large numbers of prisoners previously² and they cannot be relied upon in any way. What is peculiarly distressing is the growing belief among many people that American military chiefs in Korea are encouraging or at least conniving at the South Korean activities in this matter.³

1. New Delhi, 7 October 1953. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. On 18 June 1953, Syngman Rhee, President of South Korea, ordered the release of 27,000 North Korean prisoners of war from the camps in South Korea. He justified the action on the ground that it was the only way to avoid the danger of a clash between the Koreans and pro-Communist foreign troops, meaning obviously Indian troops that were to be brought into Korea.
3. To the Indian complaint that the 23,000 prisoners of war in their charge awaiting explanations on repatriation were infiltrated by KMT and South Korean agents and were resisting the whole operation in a highly organized way, the United Nations Command merely replied that the Indians were organizing the operation to the Communists' advantage.

It appears evident that South Korean Government did not and does not want either Political Conference⁴ or success of Repatriation Commission in belief that prisoners will be automatically released. They can thus easily obstruct and prevent progress. This has put our representatives there in difficult and embarrassing position.

You can refer to these matters to Eisenhower and Dulles.⁵

4. After having got through the initial phase of taking over the custody of prisoners of war from both commands the NNRC, according to its mandate, had to refer cases of all prisoners who had elected non-repatriation, to a Political Conference recommended in Article IV, three months after the effective date of the Armistice Agreement, i.e., before 26 October 1953.
5. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, President of the United Nations General Assembly, had a half-hour meeting with President Eisenhower and the Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles on 12 October 1953.

8. Misdeeds of South Korea¹

The Rhee Government has been hurling abuses on the Indian Custodian Force, maligning them and lies about the Indians.

The UN Command must be frank and come out with its open condemnation of the South Korean Government's misdeeds. South Korea does not know her responsibilities. She is not able to distinguish between truth and untruth.

The South Korean Government has created an unnecessary storm over the killing of three prisoners in the firing.

The Foreign Minister of South Korea threatened to use force against Indian Custodian troops and throw them out. We have not gone there to fight. We have not gone there with big arms and tanks. We have a responsibility to discharge. We went there at the invitation of both the sides — the UN Command and the Chinese and North Korean Command.

The South Korean Government betrayed the Armistice Agreement by letting off 23,000 prisoners just four days after the truce was signed. These prisoners were to be handed over to the Neutral Nations repatriation Commission. This is a shameful and condemnable act of the South Korean Government.

We never had any faith on the words of the South Korean Government. But the United Nations is a responsible body in which we have trust and

1. Speech at a public meeting, Mumbai, 9 October 1953. From the *National Herald*, 10 October 1953. Extracts.

confidence. We respect countries like the United States, which is a very responsible member of the UN. We were assured of protection by the UN and the US. But now a difficult situation has been created for us.

South Korea is a small country. But she has an army two or three times than that of India² because she did not spend any money on her armed forces; somebody else spent it for them.

It was made very clear by India that she had no desire in going to Korea except to help establishing peace. Even then, the South Korean newspapers made most disgraceful attacks on the Indian Custodian Force. Cartoons were published making Indian troops an object of ridicule.

The Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission is not merely composed of India but included four other countries. These countries carefully considered and only then accepted the responsibility vested in them. We have no bias whatsoever in the discharge of our duties. Nor can anybody accuse Sweden and Switzerland to be pro-Communist, if that be the case with Poland and Czechoslovakia. If anybody thinks we are partisans in this dispute, he is absolutely wrong.

The South Korean Government is not responsible enough,³ but it is the responsibility of other member nations of the UN, particularly of the US which has the largest share in the Korean war, to see that the Armistice terms are fulfilled.

The Commission has undertaken the responsibility in accordance with the UN resolution and the assurances from the UN Command and the North Korean and Chinese Command that they would abide by that resolution. It is, therefore, strange and very unfortunate that the Commission should be showered with abuses when it is trying to perform its task honestly and truthfully. Such malicious abuses cannot be and will not be tolerated. It is the duty of the UN

2. South Korea, a nation of only eighteen million people, was said to have the fifth largest army in the world—20 trained divisions and a force of about 5,00,000 troops, with tanks, artillery and planes—all meant for attack against North Korea which had a population of only about one-third of that of the South.
3. The President of the Republic of South Korea, Syngman Rhee, had never sympathized with the US and UN policy of seeking an armistice on the existing battle line in Korea. He demanded the complete expulsion of the foreign troops from Korea and the unification of the entire country under the government he headed. He even threatened to continue the war independent of the United Nations. As early as 24 April 1953, the Korean Government had informed the US that it planned to withdraw its forces from the UN Command in case an armistice was concluded which permitted Chinese Communist troops to remain in any part of Korea. In subsequent declarations Rhee had said that he would not allow Communist "explainers" to operate in South Korean territory, and that he would not permit Indian troops to enter his country in any capacity and to avoid this, he might himself release the non-repatriate Korean prisoners on his own responsibility without involving the UN Command.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Command to say in clear terms that South Korea will not be permitted to interfere in the work of the Commission and issue threats against the Indian Custodian Force.

When we are doing our work sincerely and trying to carry out our responsibilities we are described as "so called neutral nations."⁴ This is unfortunate.

There are large numbers of people who do not want peace. They always talk about war and want war. The South Koreans wanted to go on to the North on their own. Many people, although support violence, do not do so openly. The South Koreans openly talk of war.

But let this not swerve us from the path of peace. If we deviate and some others follow us there would be a world conflagration. We must keep our heads cool in this atmosphere and calmly work for peace. We should not think that if anybody does not support us he is our enemy.

People in all countries do not want war because the modern warfare is a frightful thing. It is a few who have a selfish interest in war that want it.

There were various issues relating to the setting up of the NNRC and the problems facing it. When the Custodian Force reached Korea and the NNRC set up its headquarters it found that the explanation huts were not in order and wanted new buildings to be constructed. The United Nations Command wanted 41 days to build the structures while the Commission wanted it to be completed within four days. There were only 90 days for the interrogation of 25,000 prisoners. If 40 days were taken for the construction, only 50 days would be left. Then a request was made to extend the ninety-day limit. This was not accepted by the United Nations Command.⁵ They were not prepared to answer immediately and days were passing making the situation more acute.

The NNRC told the UN Command that if both extension of three-month period and the speedy construction of the new huts were not acceptable to the UN Command, then the coming of the Commission was useless.

The question before the prisoners is to make up their minds whether to go back home or not. The Commission is there to give every opportunity to a prisoner to express his decision without any outside influence or intimidation.

4. At a press conference on 6 October 1953, Dulles said that he was not entirely happy about the "so called" Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission.

5. The Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission anticipated some delay in the start of explanations work as the Rules of Procedure governing explanations and interviews had not been finalized. It approached the two Commands to agree to a postponement in the commencement of explanations and to a consequent extension of time to make up the full 90-days of explanations provided in the Terms of Reference. The Command of the Korean People's Army and the Chinese People's Army and the Chinese People's Volunteers readily agreed to both these proposals, but the UN Command, while agreeing to the former, was opposed to any suggestion for extension of the time limit.

The UN Command wanted their representatives to be present in the explanation room when the prisoners were interrogated. But the NNRC could not possibly accept this.⁶ If it had agreed to this demand, it would amount to breaking of the Armistice terms.

As for the prisoners, they were always ready to create trouble. They were ready to riot at any time. I do not know what discipline has been taught to them by the UN Command.

Some prisoners came to the NNRC stealthily without the knowledge of other prisoners and reported that they wanted to go home but were prevented by others in the camp. Obviously, there was intimidation or pressure. If this intimidation persisted then the mission of the Commission would become futile.

6. On 6 October 1953, Thimayya rejected the request made by the UN Command that observers from its side be permitted to observe "the overall operations" of the prisoners of war camps. He also rejected the demand that representatives of the UN Command be allowed to be present to observe the validation proceedings of the Commission.

9. Cable to Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

Position in POW camps in Korea is relatively quiet at present.² But as soon as explanations begin, there is likely to be trouble, either violent or passive refusal to go before explainers. It is clear that under Armistice terms prisoners have to go before explaining representatives. If they do not go, then whole purpose of Neutral Commission is frustrated. Even accepting US contention that majority of POWs do not want to be repatriated, it is clear that a minority might want to do so. In fact over 120 have already done so. Therefore, full opportunity must be given to this minority to make their free choice.

It is desirable that UN Command should publicly appeal to POWs for all of them to appear before explainers. This would be in accordance with Armistice and would remove suspicion that UN Command encouraging POWs not to appear before explainers.

1. New Delhi, 11 October 1953. JN Collection.
2. In a cable to Nehru on 6 October 1953 from New York, Vijayalakshmi Pandit sought the latest information from Korea and China which would be used in her talks at Washington with Dulles and Eisenhower who had wished to see her.

Appearing before explainers and observers in the presence of Neutral Commission cannot mean coercion. Coercion comes in in preventing POWs from appearing.

It must be remembered that prisoners were for long period in UN custody and were there subjected to intensive propaganda from Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee agents including forcible tattooing of slogans and flags all over their bodies, so that even if they wish to return home, they would not dare to do so. There is no doubt that prisoners are held and intimidated by strong group leadership in camps. When prisoners were being handed over to Custodian Force, UN insisted on this group leadership continuing.

Prisoners were apparently told that they need not appear before explainers and would automatically be released at end of ninety days. Hence encouraged to obstruct and delay.

Thimayya convinced of UN complicity in recent disturbances though direct evidence difficult to produce. Prisoners suspected of carrying pocket radios and in touch with outside parties. Also may possess deadly weapons. UN appears nervous regarding outcome of explanations. Such prisoners as have escaped testify to reign of terror in camps and even murder. Possibility of prisoners staging mass breakout.³

Neutral Commission unanimously of opinion that all prisoners must go before explainers but difference of opinion about degree of force to be used for this purpose.

This is background information for you which you need not repeat to President though you should give some general indication at your discretion. Commission and Custodian Force facing difficult dilemma of either abdicating their functions or using considerable force inevitably with serious consequences.

So far as controversy about rules of procedure is concerned, this is not important and can be easily explained by Commission. Principal thing is attitude of UN Command and whether they encourage POWs recalcitrance and methods of intimidation on some prisoners. Therefore, highly desirable that UN Command should give correct guidance to prisoners and thus clear its own position. We are not interested in controversy but in getting this job done satisfactorily and as soon as possible.⁴

3. The US State Department announced on 9 October 1953 that it had "strongly urged" the South Korean Government to exercise "moderation and forbearance" and prevent any interference with Indian troops guarding anti-Communist prisoners in the Korean demilitarized zone.
4. The White House issued a statement following the conversation. It said the President and Dulles had promised "to do everything possible to facilitate the work of the NNRC." The President expressed "great appreciation" of India's assumption of "a rule inherently subject to criticism from both sides."

10. Cable to K.S. Thimayya¹

In regard to basic question² facing your Commission, it is difficult for us to guide you except in general terms. Position is not static and you will have to take decisions from time to time and sometimes from moment to moment as to measure of force to be used. We rely on your and Chakravarty's³ judgment. As far as possible, it is desirable to have unanimity in Commission on this major issue. Naturally, we want to avoid any development resulting in large-scale shooting or killing, as this, though technically justifiable, will make ultimate solution far more difficult. It is our purpose to help in solution of problem of POWs. Therefore, our policy should be both firm and flexible. Rules have to be followed but approach must be imaginative, appealing to men's mind, and not rigid.

We have had a great deal of controversy during past few days.⁴ In future, it is better to avoid this public controversy though wrong statements and misunderstandings should be cleared. In case of difference of opinion with either Command, it is desirable to discuss matters with them personally instead of having formal communications.

New Chinese proposal to have preliminary talks at Panmunjon in regard to Political Conference might be agreed to by USA and other UN countries. If so, this meeting at Panmunjon might indirectly affect your Commission's work also.

Desirable to start process of explanation as soon as possible even though beginning on small scale. In fact, perhaps preferable to begin in small way and watch reactions. You can choose, to begin with, easiest batch of POWs.

1. New Delhi, 11 October 1953. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52 and 12/64/NGO-52, MEA.
2. Thimayya conveyed to Nehru that the Polish and Czechoslovak members of the Commission insisted that prisoners be forced to attend explanation sessions. Swedish and Swiss members of the Commission refused to allow force. The Custodian Force Commander, Thorat, said that they would use force only if instructed to do so by a unanimous vote of the Commission — which obviously could not be had.
3. B.N. Chakravarty, Vice-Chairman of the NNRC.
4. The US Eighth Army relayed to the Indian Custodians on 5 October 1953 South Korean Government warning that Lt. Gen. Won Yung Dale, Republic Provost Marshal, planned to free the anti-Communist prisoners even if it meant use of arms against the Indian troops. Thimayya, in an apparent reply to this, told newsmen on 6 October that Indian troops could prevent a mass outbreak but would not be ordered to do so "because of the terrible slaughter that would follow." This statement led to some misinterpretation. The Ministry of External Affairs clarified on 8 October that Thimayya's meaning was that the Custodian Force "would not indulge in mass slaughter" in preventing a break-out.

I suppose it is always open to Commission to interview any prisoner or group by itself without explainers though explainers will, of course, come in at some stage. Would like you to consider meeting some POWs in this way previously. This might help to ease situation and make subsequent explaining stage easier.

Try to avoid any major use of force for first few days, if possible, and watch developments. Subsequent decisions would then be based on fuller appraisal of situation.

We agree with you about UN Command's complicity in recent troubles and their attitude being unhelpful and obstructive.⁵ We shall convey substance of your message to our Delegation in New York so that it might be informally conveyed to UN Secretary General. But, without definite proof, it is difficult for us to take up public stand in these matters. On the whole, it would be better to continue to appeal for cooperation of both Commands and not accuse either publicly. Privately, you should certainly bring any objectionable occurrence to notice of Command concerned. You should aim at UN Command publicly informing POWs that, in terms of Armistice rules, they have all to appear before Commission and explainers, there being no coercion and freedom of choice being assured.

It is important that no development should lead to break-up of Neutral Commission.

These are general indications of how we feel. You will keep us informed, of course, and will act according to your discretion.

5. The UN Command was not satisfied with the 23 rules governing "explanations" to prisoners which were adopted by the Commission on 1 October 1953, and had indicated its acceptance of them under protest. Again the UN Command had rejected twice the request of General Thimayya on behalf of the Commission for the extension of the 90 days of explanation. The UN Command did not exercise much restraining influence over the South Korean Government but joined it in making allegations against the NNRC.

11. Cable to Louis St Laurent¹

I am grateful to you² for your message which our High Commissioner in Ottawa

1. New Delhi, 13 October 1953. JN Collection.

2. Louis St. Laurent was the Prime Minister of Canada.

has forwarded to me.³ I entirely agree with you that at least some of the misunderstandings that have arisen can be removed by fuller explanations. I have suggested this course to the Chairman of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission. In fact, in some matters he has already removed some existing misunderstandings.

The Commission has to face an exceedingly difficult situation. The behaviour of the majority of the prisoners of war has been violent and aggressive in the extreme and, according to reports, any person disagreeing with the majority is dealt with in a summary fashion. I have no desire to interfere with the discretion of the Repatriation Commission who will have to use their judgment in meeting the situation as it arises.

3. Nehru had written informally to the Canadian Prime Minister (not printed) on the developments in Korea and the difficulties facing the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission and the Indian Custodian Force.

12. Cable to K.S. Thimayya¹

Your telegram 7063 of 16th October.²

We entirely agree that it was right for Thorat to refer matter to NNRC for their advice. While CFI is perfectly entitled to use any methods, even involving measure of compulsion to bring POWs before explainers, if this means major

1. 17 October 1953. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52 and 12/64/NGO-52.
2. Explanation work was to begin in the South camp on the morning of 15 October 1953, but to bring the recalcitrant prisoners out of their compounds was not an easy task. The NNRC met the "representatives" of the prisoners and assured them, that no POW would be coerced and that those who did not want to be repatriated would be brought back to the same compound from which they went out. But it was not until the Indian troops surrounded the compounds that the POWs ultimately came out. In the short time available, explanations were conducted from one compound only, against the scheduled explanations at two compounds. On the morning of 16 October 1953, when the North Korean prisoners refused to leave their compounds, the Commander, Custodian Force of India, sought a directive from the NNRC whether he could order his troops to open fire if they were attacked in the process of forcing the POWs out. The Commission conveyed its unanimous opinion that as it was not for the Commission to advise him and that he was "free to act as he deemed fit within the limits of the directive given by the Chairman, namely, that no arms should be used for getting prisoners out of the Custodian Force, and (b) an attempted mass breakout.

conflict resulting in heavy casualties, this leads inevitably to important political consequences. It may also lead to some members of NNRC withdrawing and thus Neutral Commission will be broken up and unable to function in future. The whole structure of armistice will collapse. In view of these serious political consequence, burden of decision in such a matter must rest with NNRC.

2. If serious difference of opinion in NNRC, then you cannot, on your own responsibility, undertake any step involving heavy casualties. You can only proceed in this matter if NNRC unanimously supports you. We realize that this may lead to Neutral Commission being unable to fulfil tasks allotted to it under terms of Armistice. Alternative also leads to this result with additional fact of mass-killing.

3. We recommend to you, therefore, to use every method including measure of compulsion, but short of producing major conflict. You can go ahead with Chinese POWs as far as possible and continue trying to get Koreans also. In final analysis, therefore, you should avoid any mass-killing.

4. We are informing Secretary General, United Nations, as well as USA and UK Governments of this position that has arisen.

13. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi

October 18, 1953

My dear Krishna,

I received your letter of the 1st October a few days ago. With this you sent me a statement² made by you for the plenary session. The Indian press had given a fairly good account of your speech.

Your brief note was the first letter I have had from you since you went and this probably is my first letter to you since then. But we have been in constant touch with each other through telegrams. The pressure of work on me has grown so very great that I tend to put off a letter which is not urgently necessary. I felt that, in the matters you were dealing with, there was complete

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts.

2. In this statement on 28 September 1953 Krishna Menon suggested an informal high-level conference of "those most likely" to effect peace. He asked for a UN resolution urging a big-power meeting if the idea was supported by other UN members. He appealed to the Assembly to declare itself in favour of the "non-use" of atomic and hydrogen bombs, despite Russian and US differences on disarmament.

understanding between you and me and there was no need to try to tell you anything more about it.

You write about our "rock-bottom position." I am rather surprised to read this because that is not the description that I would have given of our position. It is no doubt a difficult position, but I doubt very much if most people have that impression. The fact remains that we should deal with it to the best of our ability. The developments at Panmunjon had placed our representative and our Custodian Force there in a very difficult position. I sent you a telegram yesterday about these recent happenings. I do not myself see how we can advise our Custodian Force to shoot down large numbers of POWs. Apart from the sensation caused by this all over the world, this would inevitably result in the Swedes and the Swiss withdrawing from the Commission and the Commission breaking up.³ Short of this, we said that pressure or compulsion can be used. Apparently, the Chinese POWs are somewhat more amenable and slow progress is being made. But the Koreans are tougher.

Anyhow, I wanted you to bring this matter to the notice of the Secretary General of the UN. We sent brief messages to the UK and US Governments also. For the rest, we have to rely upon the judgment of our people in Korea. I must say they have behaved extraordinarily well, with great dignity and firmness....

I hope you are keeping fit.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

3. As the prisoners showed signs of violence and the situation deteriorated, the Commander of the Custodian Force felt that any use of force adopted in bringing the prisoners out would result in about 300-400 casualties. In view of this, he sought a clear directive from the NNRC whether he should proceed with the operation despite the casualties he expected. On a reconsideration of the matter, some members of the Commission thought that it was unnecessary for the Commander, CFI, to ask for any fresh instructions and he should exercise his own discretion. Other members took the view that it was a major issue and they would have to seek instructions from their respective Governments before they could commit themselves — one way or the other. The Indian view was that "in a matter of such importance and magnitude" the Commander should have the unanimous support of the Commission. Consequently, as the Commission could not take a unanimous decision, no explanations were held on 16 October 1953.

14. Cable to K.S. Thimayya¹

Your telegram 7065, dated 19th October.² We agree with you in step you have taken although there is some force in objections raised by Czechs and Poles.³

We are addressing US Government supporting NNRC's interpretation of Armistice Agreement and explanation rules. We have pointed out that group leaders in camps are intimidating other prisoners and preventing them from appearing. This is as much exercise of coercion as anything else. We have suggested that both Commands should advise prisoners to carry out directions of Commission.

Understand you are having talks with two Commands. You should continue these. Position in Washington seems less rigid. Krishna Menon going there to meet Dulles. If deadlock not resolved soon, matter will be raised in UN General Assembly...

1. New Delhi, 21 October 1953. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52 and 12/64/NGO-52, MEA. Extracts.
2. Thimayya reported that the North Korean prisoners had refused on 16 October to meet with Communist persuasion teams despite the NNRC's threats of force. Repeated NNRC efforts to persuade them were rejected.
3. On 19 October, when the Indian Custodian Force had made it clear that it would not resort to force to bring a large number of North Korean prisoners, who refused to submit to explanations, before the explainers, the Polish and Czech delegates of the Neutral Nations Commission staged a walk-out.

15. A Second Aide Memoire to US¹

The Government of India have considered carefully the US Government's Aide Memoire of the 16th October.² They welcome the US Government's assurance

1. New Delhi, 21 October 1953. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52 and 12/64/NGO-53, MEA. This Aide Memoire was sent to G.L. Mehta, India's Ambassador in Washington, asking him to deliver it to the US State Department.
2. The reply of the US State Department to India's first aide memoire (see *ante*, pp.) appreciated the anxiety of the Government of India not to deviate from the Armistice Agreement and not to exercise coercion. It insisted that the dates of 24 December 1953 for the conclusion of explanations and 23 January 1954 for the release of prisoners could not be changed. It blamed the delays on Chinese recalcitrance and suggested that difficulties caused by North Korean prisoners might be partly due to objections on their part to certain rules framed by the NNRC and added that the US Government saw no reason why the rules should not be changed to meet the situation.



ADDRESSING A CONFERENCE OF PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS, NAGPUR, 5 JANUARY 1954



WITH THE MAHARAJA OF BHUTAN, NEW DELHI, 13 JANUARY 1954

that it is the firm intention of the UN Command to carry out its responsibilities for ensuring safety and order under the terms of the Armistice. They have also noted the US Government's statement that moderation and forbearance have been urged upon the Government of South Korea.

2. The US Government have referred to some decisions of the NNRC and have expressed the view that some of the explanation rules and a message which has been issued to the prisoners are "slanted in the direction of persuading anti-Communist prisoners to return to Communist control."³ The US Government have stated that the rules might adversely affect the right of prisoners to make a free choice as to their future disposition.

3. The Government of India have been informed that the message was issued, as the Commission took the view that the prisoners had no adequate knowledge of the provisions of the Armistice relating to repatriation. Both this message and the explanation rules were unanimously approved by the Commission. The Government of India have examined the explanation rules and the text of the message and, in their view, both are in strict conformity with the letter and spirit of the Agreement.

4. The Aide Memoire of the US Government raises certain questions which affect the essential basis of the Repatriation Agreement between the two Commands, which was accepted by the various Governments concerned. The Government of India are especially concerned because they undertook certain heavy responsibilities in this matter, both in regard to the Chairmanship of the NNRC and the Custodian Force. They are anxious that nothing should be done by any of their representatives which may be considered even distantly as a deviation from the letter and spirit of the Armistice Agreement or a breach of any well recognised international procedure.

5. The purpose for which the Commission has been set up is "to ensure that all prisoners will have the opportunity to exercise their right to be

3. In a letter to Thimayya, on 28 September 1953, the UN Command charged that a message distributed among anti-repatriation POWs by the NNRC on 26 September had "been slanted toward unduly influencing prisoners to repatriation rather than to making a free, independent choice." "The UN Command objected to such wording in the message as: "The reason we (NNRC) came here is to assure you of your freedom to be repatriated", "Representatives from the country to which you belong are going to explain to you your rights and privileges" and "inform you of your peaceful life and complete freedom upon your returning home... You are all absolutely, by necessity, required to attend explanation sessions." The UN Command protested against the adoption of the Rules of Procedure Governing Explanations and Interviews and alleged that the Commission had accepted all the suggestions made by the Chinese-North Korean side the intent of which "can be interpreted in no way except as specific encouragement for the POWs to seek repatriation."

repatriated." The Commission has been charged with the responsibility for ensuring that explaining representatives of the nations, to which the prisoners belong, shall have "freedom and facilities to explain to all prisoners depending upon these nations their rights and to inform them of any matters relating to their return to their homelands." This purpose can only be carried out if all the prisoners are given these opportunities. The interpretation of the Agreement rests on the Commission, which has unanimously decided that all prisoners must attend the explanations and interviews. Adequate safeguards have been provided to ensure that prisoners are not subjected to coercion or intimidation and that they have full freedom to decide whether or not they should exercise their right to be repatriated. The Commission has taken the view that, under the terms of the Agreement, an essential preliminary to the exercise of this right is that each prisoner should listen to the explanations, under the supervision of the Commission or its subordinate bodies and in the presence of an observer representing the detaining side. The Government of India are in agreement with this view.

6. Unless the Commission's rules are complied with, the purpose for which the Commission has been set up will be defeated. It is the duty, therefore, of the Custodian Force to carry out the directions of the Commission and produce the prisoners of war in suitable groups for explanations. It was expected that the prisoners would cooperate in this task and come to their decisions freely. This was the unanimous view of the Commission. There was no assumption on the part of the Commission about the wishes of the prisoners. It was only concerned with giving full freedom to every prisoner to decide for himself after listening to the explanations, without any intimidation or coercion. The procedure laid down was meant to ensure this.

7. Ever since the Commission started functioning, some of the leaders among the prisoners of war have made it clear that, according to their understanding, the prisoners need not appear before the explainers and that they would automatically be released at the end of ninety days. This understanding is patently wrong, but it appears to have led to a planned attempt not to appear before the explainers and thus to allow the ninety days to expire without listening to these explanations. The US Government will, no doubt, appreciate that, if it is the view of the UN Command that prisoners can keep away from explanations and will be automatically released at the end of a period, this is likely to encourage these prisoners in their recalcitrant attitude and in their refusal to observe the terms of the Armistice and the directions of the Commission. Various public statements made on behalf of the authorities of the South Korean Government have no doubt encouraged the prisoners to act in this way.

8. The behaviour of the prisoners, ever since they came into their new camps, has been unruly in the extreme and it has been reported to the

Government of India that they have been organized in groups, the leaders of which exercise intimidation on others. These group organizations among the prisoners have prevented many of them, who wish to do so, from coming to the explainers. This attitude is in direct conflict with the spirit and letter of the Armistice Agreement.

9. The Custodian Force, as the US Government are aware, has exercised great restraint in dealing with the prisoners. It has been anxious to avoid any major conflict. This has led to a situation where the Commission cannot perform its functions and there is a deadlock.⁴

10. The Government of India are confident that the US Government are as anxious as they are that this deadlock should be resolved. The success of the work that has been assigned to the Commission depends on full cooperation between the Commission and other parties concerned. In order to ensure cooperation, the Government of India would suggest that both Commands should be requested to help the Commission by giving a clear indication to the prisoners that the various requirements of the Commission must be fully complied with. The Government of India entirely agree with the US Government that there should be no element of coercion, direct or indirect, in the procedures laid down as well as in their practice in regard to the functioning of the NNRC. It appears to them, however, that there is a considerable element of coercion at present among the prisoners themselves, some of whom have even threatened the Custodian Force with violence and are intimidating their fellow prisoners.

11. The UN Command has stated that the period of ninety days fixed for explanations cannot be extended. Nearly a month has already ended and the result can only be that the Commission will not be able to discharge the task allotted to it within this period, which is rapidly expiring. This will also be an encouragement to the prisoners to persevere in their disregard of the Commission's directions.

4. On the issue of the use of force, the Swiss and Swedish Members later informed the Commission that their Governments felt that use of any force against POWs was in violation of the Geneva Convention and, therefore, they were opposed to it. The Czechoslovak and the Polish Members held the view that as prisoners were being forcibly prevented, through the influence of certain interested parties, from attending explanations, it was the Commission's duty (i) to ensure that prisoners were freed from such unlawful influence, and (ii) to provide freedom and facilities from explanation to the side to which the POWs belonged. If, in the discharge of its fundamental duties, the Commission had to resort to use of force, Article 1, para 7 of the Terms of Reference gave the necessary authorization to do so. In view of the threat of the Swiss Member that his Government might have to reconsider its very participation in the work of the Commission if force were used for compelling the prisoners to attend explanations, no force could be used at all for bringing the prisoners out for explanations and the Commission was left with the only alternative of persuasion.

16. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Thimayya reports deadlock virtually continues. No Koreans coming forward for explanations. He has reported accordingly to both Commands. He suggests that situation has reached a stage when he considers it necessary to report to me personally. Therefore wants to come to Delhi, also in order to inform us of full details in case matter goes before UN Assembly.²

I have replied to him that, if he considers visit to India essential, he may come. But, if any strong action is taken against ringleaders of camps, it would be better to take it before coming to India. Otherwise, there would be impression that Government of India has given specific directions about this. Also uncertain when UN will consider matter.

Please inform me about your talks and of likely developments. When is matter to come up before Assembly? Would you advise Thimayya coming here immediately?

1. New Delhi, 23 October 1953. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52 and 12/64/NGO-52, MEA.
2. On 23 October 1953, Thimayya requested Nehru that as the situation had reached a deadlock with no Korean prisoners coming forward for explanations, he must be permitted to visit Delhi to apprise him of details in case the matter was to go up before the UN Assembly.

17. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

Your telegram 318, October 22nd.

Many of the charges made by Chinese about behaviour of group leaders and special agents among prisoners of war are, we believe, correct. They have undoubtedly intimidated or terrorised POWs. We are fully aware of this dangerous and highly objectionable situation and have drawn attention to it of US and other Governments. Also of UN Secretary General.

But, to accuse Thimayya and Thorat of weakness and connivance is wholly unjustified and surprises us.

1. New Delhi, 23 October 1953. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52 and 12/64/NGO-52, MEA.

They continue to deal with this most difficult situation with firmness and impartiality. They have made it clear that they do not accept UN Command's views and have protested against its general attitude.

It is easy to point out grave difficulties of situation, but much more difficult to suggest way out which will not completely break up work of NNRC and endanger Armistice. Thimayya and Thorat are prepared to take all necessary steps, including force, but they are concerned with avoiding this break-up which might become inevitable if any step involving large-scale killing is resorted to. Whole procedure depends upon measure of cooperation between Members of Commission. If any Members withdraw from Commission, there is break-up and Commission ceases to function. While we fully appreciate anxiety of Chinese Government, which we share ourselves, we are sure that Chinese Government does not wish a complete breakdown of Commission and Armistice.

We have expressed ourselves strongly on this subject to US Government, as well as others concerned. We recognize that internal organization of camps under ringleaders is most objectionable and should be adequately dealt with. But any action, though justified, which leads to break up of Neutral Commission and other far-reaching consequences cannot be lightly undertaken.

Just as Chinese Government has protested to us, we have received strong protests from US Government in opposite direction. We have replied to them appropriately and pointed out that it is essential that both Commands must make it clear to prisoners of war to carry out directions of Commission. Further, that UN Command's attitude encourages intransigence of POWs.

We are continuing our efforts. We feel that it would be most unfortunate for a complete breakdown to take place which will play into the hands of those who do not desire peace.

You might convey this orally to Chou En-lai.

18. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

I have received long oral message from Chou En-lai through Raghavan.² In this he points out extreme seriousness of situation at Panmunjon and accuses Thorat of weakness and connivance and compromising attitude towards unlawful

1. New Delhi, 23 October 1953. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.

2. See previous item.

activities contrary to Terms of Reference and Rules of Procedure. He points out that ringleaders and special agents have been allowed to retain their original military organizations in camps and intimidate and terrorise prisoners. They make and carry weapons such as knives. There have been cases of murders. One example is given of San Sei jung who was murdered and his heart taken out and fried by special agents. American side instigating and encouraging Dr. Syngman Rhee's agents. As a result Indian custodian camps converted into revised editions of Chenju and Koje.³ He asks for immediate action to put an end to this situation.

I have conveyed substance of Chou En-lai's message to Thimayya and have sent appropriate reply to Chou En-lai objecting to their statement that Thimayya or Thorat has shown partiality or weakness. We are fully aware of dangerous and objectionable situation in camps. Custodian Force can certainly use force, but they are avoiding any step leading to mass killing and break up of Neutral Commission endangering whole structure of Armistice. I have informed him that we have addressed United States and other Governments on this subject and are doing our utmost. It is essential that both Commands should carry out directions of Commission and advise prisoners accordingly.⁴

3. In May 1952 a serious trouble broke out, involving the killing of some prisoners in a United Nations-held prison camp at the Koje Island.
4. In a postscript Nehru mentioned: For Indiadel New York only: Please keep Vijayalakshmi informed of our messages about Korea including our aide-memoire to United States Government.

19. Cable to K.S. Thimayya¹

Your telegram 7066, October 23. You can certainly come here for consultation, if you consider this necessary. It is not certain yet when this matter will go up to UN Assembly.

2. But one important consideration should be kept in mind. You will have received Pillai's telegram 24122, October 23. In case you intend taking any action, such as, separation of ringleaders or any other action, it would not be

1. New Delhi, 23 October 1953. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52 and 12/64/NGO-52, MEA. Extracts.

desirable to do so immediately after visiting India. Otherwise, impression will be created that Government of India has given specific directions about such action.

3. I am telegraphing to Krishna Menon in New York, enquiring present position of talks and possible date UN reference....

20. Cable to K.S. Thimayya¹

Your telegram 7069. We agree that, when time comes, you should send suitable officer to brief Krishna Menon. This will depend on UN developments. We shall keep you informed.

2. Krishna Menon has telegraphed saying that your leaving Korea at present juncture most undesirable and very unwise. This would be interpreted as heralding end of Commission and would further encourage recalcitrance on part of prisoners. UN opinion is that it is imperative to prevent Commission breaking up. Consequences of and responsibility for breaking up of Commission are very grave. Even deadlock is preferable.

3. We shall await further information from you about steps you are contemplating. As Pillai has informed you, first requirement now is for Custodian Force to establish respect for its authority and not be considered as totally ineffective before ringleaders of POWs. What action you take will no doubt be considered by you carefully.

4. Please telegraph to us substance of communications between you and two Commands and substance of your conversations with Ambassador Allen. Also results of your endeavours to persuade Chinese or North Koreans to attend explanations.

5. US Government has circulated here and in New York copy of letter and report from Hamblen to you regarding circumstances surrounding POW interview at Explaining Point 15 on 17 October. Report appears coloured. Please let us have corrections, if any.²

1. New Delhi, 24 October 1953. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52 and 12/64/NGO-52, MEA.
2. Thimayya complained to US Brig. Gen. A.L. Hamblen, the UN Command's repatriation delegate, on 7 October 1953, that statements of South Korean leaders were "couched in language calculated to incite not only the prisoners, but also the South Korean civilian population."

21. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
October 25, 1953

Nan Dear,

...The Korean situation becomes more and more difficult and intricate. Thimayya is facing up to it pretty well though I cannot say how far he will succeed.² He is undoubtedly one of our outstanding men. In some matters, the Chinese and the North Koreans are unreasonable. But, by and large, the American attitude is bad. No one quite knows what guarantees or assurances they have given to Syngman Rhee. To call Syngman Rhee a puppet of the Americans is not correct. But undoubtedly he has been made by them and he is now handful. Still he could not really go far without being encouraged by them. I expect some developments in Korea fairly soon. The issue has somewhat shifted or, at any rate, another issue is assuming importance. Is our Custodian Force to be entirely ignored and sometimes insulted by the POWs? It is really a scandalous state of affairs.

And yet behind all this lies the terrible question of war and peace. We cannot allow ourselves to be excited because so much depends on what happens in Korea....

With love from
Jawahar

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. The North Korean refusal on 16 October to meet Communist persuasion teams and the latter's refusal to hold substitute sessions with the Chinese resulted in cancellation of persuasion sessions scheduled for 16, 19, 20 and 22 October 1953. Sessions had been resumed on 17 October after a six-hour delay over Communist demands that the NNRC produce North Koreans. The Communists finally relented temporarily and began explanations to the Chinese. But the explanation work had to be suspended again due to the refusal of the "representatives" of Korean prisoners to come out for explanation, till 30 October 1953.

22. Cable to K.S. Thimayya¹

In view of preliminary meeting regarding Political Conference which began today at Panmunjon,² opinion in UN circles is to avoid reference of POW issue to UN Assembly for present at least. It is feared there that acrimonious Assembly debates might come in the way of steps being taken for Political Conference. Even more so, of course, violent disorder at Panmunjon.

Canadian High Commissioner here told us that during last war Canadians had to break up some German prisoner groups who had been sent to Canada. Also, that Americans had to take similar action in regard to German prisoners. If need arises, you might refer to American precedent. We have no details.

1. New Delhi, 26 October 1953. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52 and 12/74/NGO-53.
2. The peaceful settlement in Korea and its unification was to be tackled by a Political Conference recommended in para 60 of the Armistice Agreement. The UN General Assembly had adopted a resolution on 28 August 1953, recommending that the Political Conference envisaged in the Armistice Agreement should be held not later than 28 October and the participants in the conference should be the 16 Member-States who contributed fighting forces in Korea.

23. Security of the Custodian Force¹

I do not attach much importance to what Mr de Costa² has written in the *Eastern Economist* and I do not see why we should worry ourselves about this or about the feeling to which Mr de Costa refers. The *Eastern Economist* may or may not be good in regard to trade and commerce and matters dealing with economics. It would be safer for it not to dabble in foreign affairs about which it knows nothing.

1. Note to Secretary-General and Foreign Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 28 October 1953. JN Collection.
2. E.P.W. de Costa, Editor of the *Eastern Economist*.

There are a good number of newspapers, like the *Pioneer* of Lucknow, the *Janata* and others, who are condemning Government for having sent the Custodian Force to Korea and demanding its immediate return. Evidently some people imagine that there is danger of the Indian troops being attacked by the South Koreans, who might be helped by the Americans, or the Americans may merely stand by and look on. This is nonsensical. No such thing can happen in Korea. It is this thought of the security of the Custodian Force being threatened that worries people and they think that we were wrong in accepting this dangerous adventure. I am quite sure that we were right and I would be prepared to send them today, if necessity arose, knowing what we do now.

The reference by Mr de Costa is obviously to this aspect of the security of the troops and to nothing else. Indirectly, of course, it might be argued that the security of the troops might be threatened because of the developments within the camps. The Foreign Secretary and his party clearly pointed out the internal conditions in the camps and the desirability of breaking up the groups. To some extent, any person acquainted with past history, and even without going to Korea, could have guessed that these POWs were troublesome customers. They had given enormous trouble in the past and there was no reason that they would behave like lambs in the future. Naturally we could not prophesy exactly what would happen and we hoped that they might behave better with neutral and friendly troops. Our hope has been belied, not because of anything we did, but because passions are too strong both among the troops and the belligerents. I do not see whether we are to blame at all.

It is an open question whether it was possible or desirable to break up the camps at the time of taking over charge of the POWs. This can only be considered and decided on the spot by the officers in charge. I am by no means clear even now whether it was desirable then to attempt to break them up. I am inclined to think that that would have led to a good deal of trouble even then and we would have started off on the wrong foot.

Foreign observers generally have praised the conduct of the Indian troops throughout. They are a little more competent to judge these matters than some of our Indian newspapermen here who are less experienced in such matters.

I am quite clear that no kind of statement should be issued by us on this subject. It would have been unnecessary at any time. It would be improper at this stage when some kind of talks are going on at Panmunjon. If I was to hold a press conference — which I am not going to do in the near future — I would not make any reference to these press comments. I would of course deal with the larger question of the problems facing the Custodian Force and how it has behaved. I might even make a reference to this in the course of the next three or four days in some speech in Bihar.

24. Question of the Period of Explanations¹

I do not think it is possible for us to give any definite opinion as to the future disposition of these prisoners at this stage.² Nor should we give any final opinion about extending the period of explanations. Much will depend on the course of events during the next few weeks.

2. Without therefore giving any final opinion, we are certainly inclined to think that the terms of the Armistice Agreement indicate that an opportunity will be given for explanations to all the POWs. If this opportunity cannot be given to them within the stated period of 90 days, one would imagine that the proper course was to extend that period by a few days or a week or two. There can be no question of an indefinite extension. On the other hand, if it is definitely stated that there will be no extension whatever happens, as has been stated by the Americans,³ this itself is a strong incentive to the POWs who are controlling the situation, not to appear at all and wait for the end of the period. Thus they nullify the main object of the Repatriation Commission, that is, to give an opportunity for explanations.

3. So far as an interpretation of the terms of reference is concerned, the Armistice Agreement itself lays down that the Commission will interpret them. We must abide by that clause and there is no reason why we should press any other interpretation upon them. Apart from this, I am not inclined to agree with the interpretation put by the UK Government.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 3 November 1953. JN Collection.

2. The Armistice Agreement had provided that those prisoners resisting repatriation should be turned over to the custody of the NNRC in order to ensure their right to be repatriated, that both sides should be afforded the opportunity to give appropriate explanations to the non-repatriated prisoners, and that the Commission should declare the release from POW status to civilian status of any prisoner who had not exercised their right to be repatriated and for whom no other disposition had been agreed to by the Political Conference within one hundred and twenty days after the NNRC assumed their custody. The Armistice provisions were particularly framed to ensure that neither side would be in a position to delay beyond the agreed period of 120 days the release to civilian status of any prisoners who continued to refuse repatriation.

3. Gen. Mark W. Clark, rejected on 5 October a proposal to extend the time limit for the POW explanations. He said that extension would mean "breaking faith" with the anti-Communist POWs. One reason the UN Command had agreed to the time limit was "for the purely humanitarian purpose of giving each prisoner a definite beginning and end to the period when the Communist explainers could have access to him."

4. It seems to me that, if the Political Conference does not meet,⁴ it does not inevitably follow that the prisoners should be released. This question will then have to be considered in the new context. Presumably a reference will have to be made to the UN Assembly.

5. As regards the use of force, the question has been discussed very fully and the Commission has adopted a certain policy. There the matter remains. It must always be remembered that force can be and is being exercised within the camp also by some POWs or others.

6. As Chairman of the Repatriation Commission, we should not give any final opinions about the various questions that arise at this stage. We are unable, therefore, to support the note of the UK Government which embodies the view of the UN command.

4. Allied and Communist representatives began negotiations in Panmunjon on 26 October to pave the way for a Korean Political Conference. The talks deadlocked almost immediately over a Communist demand that "neutral nations" be invited to the conference.

25. Cable to K.S. Thimayya¹

Your telegram 7089 of 3rd November to Pillai.²

If Dean or anyone else approaches you regarding Political Conference, your answer should be that this is a matter entirely for your Government to consider and you can express no views about it.

For your personal information, we have also heard about this informally from New York. We have indicated that we cannot consider vague proposals. We are by no means sure that we shall accept position of Observer in Political Conference. Anyhow, our decision will depend on circumstances and exact nature

1. New Delhi, 4 November 1953. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52, Vols. XII-XVI and 12/74/NGO-53, MEA. Also available in V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. Thimayya informed N.R. Pillai, that Arther Dean, US representative on preliminary talks on Political Conference, said to him on 3 November, that India should agree to be the Conference Observer, with "all the rights and privileges of a member except that at least in the initial stages, she would not have the right to vote but might later be coopted as full member." Thimayya asked what line he should adopt when Dean would meet him on the 5th after meeting Syngman Rhee.

of offer made. As for selection of our representative, this must be entirely our Government's choice and not someone suggested by any other Government or agreeable to President Rhee. Political Conference will deal with strictly high level political questions and normally our representative for this purpose should be a diplomat and not Military Officer. If question of Prisoners of War comes up before Conference, it may be necessary for Chairman, NNRC, to be consulted.

26. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
November 4, 1953

Nan Dear,

... I have had no news of any particular developments in the UN during the last few days. I have not even had the normal telegrams from Krishna, which are generally fairly long. I take it that not much has happened. Meanwhile, some developments have taken place at Panmunjon.² I think that Krishna will not be quite so aggressive in his approach to the UN Secretary General now as he might have been in the past.³ In this matter, it is never very easy to strike a happy balance. The UN is so terribly dominated, both by geography and for other reasons, by the US that a proper perspective is difficult to obtain. Therefore, it is desirable to bring our point of view rather forcefully from time to time. Otherwise we suffer from default as most other countries are too passive or too frightened of the US or too ignorant to say anything. Therefore, a measure of pressure tactics are desirable, provided they do not go too far.

I do not agree with Hammarskjöld in his opinion that the Government of India as such have little to do with the Repatriation Commission. I think that the correct view is that India is the Chairman and we have nominated a

1. JN Collection. Copy to the Secretary General. Extracts.
2. Allied and Communist negotiators wrangled fruitlessly in Panmunjon in an effort to clear the way for a Korean Political Conference. The stumbling block was the Communist insistence on the question of inviting Russia, India and other neutral nations to the conference as the first item for discussion. Arthur H.D. Clark, the US and UN representative reiterated that agreement on time and place of the conference should precede any agreement over its make-up.
3. Vijayalakshmi Pandit had cabled to Nehru on 25 October that Hammarskjöld, was disturbed about Krishna Menon's talks with him on 24 October. He thought that Menon was treating the Korean situation on a high emotional plane and making it seem more urgent than it actually was. Hammarskjöld felt that Menon's attitude would harm India and the UN.

representative of ours. Therefore, it is for India to make its opinion known fully in these matters. Whether Hammarskjöld wants to put this up before the UN or not is his lookout. But I see no reason why we should passively watch developments and not say anything because the State Department may disapprove of us. Whenever necessary, I have every intention of expressing my disapproval, in courteous language of course, of the State Department, more especially when India is intimately concerned. I do not go out of my way to talk about Germany or about Trieste or about British Guiana or about many other places. But we happen to have got intimately involved in Korea and whatever happens there will have consequences which we shall have to face. Therefore, we have to be wide awake and express our opinions frankly.

The suggestion made by Lodge⁴ to you about the US agreeing to Thimayya being an Observer and not agreeing to Krishna was, if I may say so, quite extraordinary.⁵ Whether Krishna goes or not is another matter, or for the matter of that, whether anybody goes on our behalf or not. But the moment Lodge says this, it becomes difficult for us to put aside Krishna. Are we to choose our representatives at the behest of the State Department? That would be an impossible position.

Thimayya has informed us that Dean approached informally and asked him if the Chairman of the NNRC could function as an Observer at the Political Conference. That was a better way of putting it than Lodge's. I have told Thimayya to inform Dean that this is a matter which can only be taken up by the Government of India and he could say nothing about it. We are not clear whether we will accept a proposal to appoint an Observer.

Allen, the US Ambassador here, who has just returned from Korea, is seeing me tomorrow. Probably he will make a similar proposal. I shall tell him that I cannot give any definite answer till I know how the situation develops there. Normally, we do not appoint military officers for purely political work of a highly complicated character.

Oddly enough, Casey,⁶ who was here some days ago, spoke to me about Krishna and said that Krishna had greatly toned down and improved in this session of the UN and was doing a good piece of work. It may be that this was just meant to please me....

With love from
Jawahar

4. Henry Cabot Lodge, US Representative to the United Nations.

5. In fact, on 29 October, a US State Department spokesman revealed in Washington that the US was considering inviting India to the Political Conference as an Observer limited to the answering of questions of ultimate disposition of POWs who refused repatriation.

6. R.G. Casey, Foreign Minister of Australia.

27. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Thimayya informs us that Dean² saw him and stated that US Government were thinking in terms of proposing that Indian Chairman of NNRC should be Observer in Political Conference. Dean was interviewing Syngman Rhee to induce him to agree to association of India, presumably, in this way.

I have replied to Thimayya that, if question raised again, his answer should be that this matter can only be dealt with by his Government and he could say nothing. For his personal guidance, I have told him that we are by no means sure that we will accept position of Observer in Political Conference. We can only consider any offer in existing circumstances then and when made in precise terms. As Political Conference will deal with matters of high level politics, normally our representative will have to be a diplomat and not military man. It will be for us to choose our representative and not for other Governments to indicate him. In event of any question relating to Prisoners of War coming up before Political Conference, it may be desirable for Chairman, NNRC, to be consulted by them.

1. New Delhi, 4 November 1953. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52, Vols. XII-XVI and 12/74/NGO-53, MEA. Also available in V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. Arthur Hobson Dean (b.1898); practising US lawyer since 1929; Representative for US and 16 nations contributing troops at Panmunjon negotiations; Special US Ambassador to Korea, 1953-54; Ambassador to UN Conference on Law of the Sea, 1958, 1960, to Nuclear Test Ban Negotiations, 1961-62, to Disarmament Conference, Geneva, 1962.

28. Message to Indian Soldiers in Korea¹

Before India was independent, the Indian Army was often employed in other countries at the bidding of the then Government of India. When independence came, one of the first steps that we took was to withdraw the Indian forces from all foreign countries, where they had been serving. We had no quarrel with any country, and there was no reason why we should interfere in other people's affairs in this way. Our policy was, and is to be friends with all countries

1. Message broadcast on the occasion of inaugurating a special radio programme from Delhi for Indian troops in Korea, 6 November 1953. AIR tapes, NMML. A similar message was broadcast in Hindi.

and to be enemies of none. We have endeavoured to help the cause of peace in the world.

For the first time in independent India, Indian soldiers were sent to another country to far-off Korea. They did not go there to fight, but on a mission of peace, and the flag of India which accompanied them was a symbol of peace to all who saw it. This was a unique task and an occasion for service to the larger causes, for which India stands. We undertook it hesitatingly and with humility. It was not our desire to thrust ourselves on others, but when the call of duty came, we could not say no to it.

So our soldiers have gone to Korea, whose people have suffered so terribly during the last three years by war and destruction. We can only have friendly feelings for those long suffering people, whether they belong to the North or the South of Korea. Our soldiers had a difficult task from all accounts. They have borne themselves worthily, and our country has felt proud of the way they have discharged their duties with quiet efficiency and peaceful and disciplined behaviour. They have to face a hard winter, but hardship is a test and training for our men. It will make them all the better to serve their country and the future.

On behalf of myself, of the Government of India and of the people of India, I send them all our good wishes on the happy occasion of the Deepawali, the festival of lights. There is much of darkness in the world, and a great deal of conflict and bitterness and hatred. We want the light of peace and understanding, of forbearance and tolerance. May this Deepawali symbolize this light. *Jai Hind.*

29. Cable to K.S. Thimayya¹

Your telegrams 7097, November 6th, and 7100, November 9th.²

1. New Delhi, 10 November 1953. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52, Vols. XII-XVI and 12/74/NGO-53, MEA.
2. Thimayya reported that, on 3, 4 and 5 November 1953, explanations could not be given by the Chinese-Korean side (KCC) to all the prisoners brought out for explanations, as there were no separate compounds to segregate those who had been explained to from those who had not, and all of them had to be sent back to the same compound. The Chinese-Korean side protested against this violation of Rule 20 of the Rules of Procedure Governing Explanations and Interviews (RPGEI), which specifically provided that "prisoners who have been given explanation and those who have neither been given explanations nor applied for repatriation shall be kept separated in custody." They insisted that there should be segregation facilities on a strict basis of equality.



WITH JOHN KOTELAWALA AT THE SIGNING OF THE INDO-SRI LANKA AGREEMENT, NEW DELHI,
18 JANUARY 1954



WITH B.C. ROY AND ATULYA GHOSH ON HIS WAY TO THE KALYANI CONGRESS, 19 JANUARY 1954

If your efforts to recommence explanations yield no result within next few days, it might be advisable, as suggested to you previously, for you to address both Commands formally explaining the deadlock that has arisen and how Commission is unable to function. Such a message should preferably go from Commission itself. Both viewpoints could be stated in message. It would be better if you do not commit yourself finally to either. Your position should be that you are anxious to get work done and not merely to consider legal interpretations.

When you send such note to both Commands, copy might be sent directly to UN Secretary-General for his information. You do not deal with UN Secretary-General directly; hence what you send will be for information only. You will of course keep us fully informed.

This step should be taken if you are practically certain that deadlock is complete.

30. Stalemate in Korea¹

About Korea, all of you know that so far as the Prisoners of War issue is concerned, there is a complete jam, and since November there have been no explanations. It is said on the Northern Command side that these people—the prisoners of war are very much under the influence of all kinds of agents who have been thrust upon them and have been indoctrinated for the last three years and therefore, first of all, the agents should be separated and then they should be given enough opportunity to explain and go to any group. On the other side, it is said that these explanations take much too long a time or are too painful and they are not prepared to submit to unending explanations and they are not prepared to submit to send that particular group which the Northern Command wants.

The only solution of this might have been a solution by force, that is, bring prisoners by force. The Commission has decided not to use force in that way on a large scale, partly because they don't want to use force which might result in a large-scale shooting down, and partly because if they use all this force to bring people, well, the whole atmosphere of explanations will become so charged with the force used, that the explanations will not really take place.

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 15 November 1953. From the Press Information Bureau. For other parts of the press conference, see pp. 226-227, 424-427, 622-624.

So between the two, nothing is being done, and I am told that the Commission is thinking of placing this position squarely before the two Commands, because it is as a result of agreement between the two Commands that the Commission is functioning.

Question: According to the Repatriation Agreement as far as we understand it, after 120 days those prisoners who have not elected to be repatriated on either side, and who have not been disposed of, will be set free. Is that the position?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Three months of explanations, then one month of holding on and consideration by the Political Conference. Now if the Political Conference takes place, they will consider the matter. If it does not take place, then it is not quite clear what should be done under the terms of the Agreement because an essential part of the Agreement was the Political Conference. If it does not take place, they will come to another agreement about it or will decide unilaterally. The matter is referred back to the parties. It is for them to decide. Nothing automatically follows until particularly they decide, because one big chunk of the agreement — the Political Conference — is not there. If it is there they decide. If it is not there, then the two Commands will consider the matter afresh, and come to some new agreement.

Q: Is there no onus on the Commission to interpret the Agreement?

JN: Yes, but the Commission cannot interpret what should be done if the Political Conference disappears because the terms of reference are something inclusive of the Conference. If the Political Conference drops out, then the Commission, as far as I can see — I am not giving an authoritative opinion on it, it is for the Commission to decide — but the Commission can only point out that a major factor has gone out and ask the Commands, "What about it? We are functioning under your joint agreement. If the joint agreement breaks up, what are we to do now?" Well, it is a difficult situation, and I cannot say what the Commission will do.

Q: The American Ambassador — Mr. Allen — at a press conference has said that after 120 days the camps will be opened automatically to the prisoners. That is according to the Agreement, in the view of Mr. Allen.

JN: Presumably that is the US viewpoint. Of course, I cannot argue the legal position and all that. Let the Commission decide. But it seems to me that if a major part, like the part consisting of the Political Conference drops out, then the matter has to be considered by the parties afresh.

Q: What happens to the Custodian Force? Will they function or will they come back?

JN: That is a hypothetical question. When the time comes then the Custodian Force or we have to decide.

Q: What about the right of any party to enter Korea after....

JN: Don't ask me questions which do not arise.

Q: In that event will not the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission lose all *locus standi*?

JN: How can I say? When the time comes, so many things may happen. I don't worry about what may happen 120 days hence.

Q: Is there a new proposal by the five big Powers and the two Koreas?

JN: I don't worry myself. Let the five big Powers and the two Koreas decide. These are all hypothetical questions being thrown about. Of course, it is not my business to advise the world what they should do. Why ask me to express my opinion about this proposal and that?

Q: We want to know what the Prime Minister of India thinks, because India is the father of this Armistice Agreement in Korea.

JN: I don't know who is the mother.

31. Cable to K.S. Thimayya¹

My reference to Panmunjon talks at press conference on 15th November² has

1. New Delhi, 19 November 1953. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52, Vols. XII-XVI and 12/74/NGO-53, MEA. Also available in V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. See the previous item.

been strongly criticized in America.³ I am therefore sending you correct report of this below.

I see no reason to alter my interpretation of letter or spirit of Agreement. I understand that, while Australia takes US view in this matter, other Commonwealth countries do not do so, but are not committing themselves.

It would be desirable for our representatives in Korea not to give any views or interpretations of a political character. Of course, Commission can express its views whenever it so chooses.

3. Criticising Nehru's press statement of 15 November, Dulles said on 17 November that there should be an automatic date for releasing unrepatriated prisoners and that the Armistice Agreement called for all POWs to be repatriated or released on 22 January 1954 (120 days after they were placed in neutral custody). He said that the deadline must hold regardless of delays in the Political Conference which was to have opened on 28 October and been given 80 days to try to settle the future status of anti-repatriates. Senator Knowland, leader of the Republican Party in the US Senate criticized Nehru and accused India of following the basic line of the Communists in Korea and observed that India should be kept out of the Korean Political Conference.

32. Extension of the Period for Explanations¹

The Swiss Minister² came to see me this morning. He told me that he had brought a message from his Federal Council regarding the POW position in Korea. The Federal Council had come to the conclusion that the Northern Command was deliberately delaying proceedings at Panmunjon and there was no chance of all the POWs going through the process of explanation in the time allotted, which ends roundabout the 23rd December. In these circumstances, the Federal Council is opposed to any extension of the time, and felt that the matter should be referred to the two Commands.

2. I told him that I agreed that the Northern Command had been employing delaying tactics. At the same time, they were not the only persons to blame. It was well-known that in the POW camps there has been a kind of reign of terror. The old organizations under certain group leaders, which were formed

1. Note to the Secretary General and the Foreign Secretary, 20 November 1953. JN Collection.

2. Max Graessli,

even before the transfer of prisoners, continued and terrorised the POWs. There have even been cases of murder which were being investigated. We should also remember that these POWs had been in previous camps for two or three years and during this period everything was probably done to make them afraid of going back home. It is not easy to get over these years of indoctrination. I felt, therefore, that both sides must share the blame for what was happening at Panmunjon.

3. The POW agreement should, of course, be interpreted as correctly as possible. But I was more interested in carrying out the spirit of it rather than in any narrow legal interpretation. The obvious spirit of it was to give as full a chance as possible to each POW to make up his mind after hearing both sides. That had not succeeded. Even if they came for explanations, they could hardly function freely or without fear.

4. As for extending the period for explanations, two facts had to be borne in mind: One, the explanations were meant to last ninety days. In effect, however, they started two or three weeks late. Therefore, it was a legitimate demand that the actual period of explanations should be ninety days, and the previous two or three weeks, during which explanations did not take place, should be excluded from these ninety days.

Secondly, the object in view was to finish this process and deal with all the prisoners, giving them a chance of deciding for themselves. If a considerable number of prisoners had been disposed of in the manner provided, and some, say a few thousand, remained over, I would not hesitate to extend the period of explanations so as to give an opportunity to this remainder also to go through the same process.

5. It is not intended of course, and it would be wrong, to keep these prisoners indefinitely.

6. The question of extension of period only arose when something was happening and there was a chance of completing the work within the extended period. If there was a complete deadlock and nothing was being done, then there was no point in extending the period, which meant prolonging the deadlock.

7. If there was this deadlock, then the only course open to the Commission was to refer the matter to the two Commands, who were the parties to the original agreement.

8. There was also the question of the Political Conference. This was an essential part of the agreement and, normally, this POW issue would have been sent to them after the explanations were over. If the Political Conference did not come into existence, then an important part of the agreement failed, and this would affect the whole procedure. We would again come back to reference to the two parties concerned, namely, the two Commands.

9. The Swiss Minister appeared to agree with what I said.

33. The Status of Non-Repatriates¹

... 2. What I said at the press conference was in answer to questions and was an objective statement of the position, as I saw it. It had no relation to Mr Krishna Menon's reported suggestion. If the Political Conference takes shape and meets, then it seems to me natural for it to consider the POW issue, as it exists then. If there is no agreement about the Political Conference at all, it does not come into existence and, therefore, no question arises of our referring anything to it.

3. If the deadlock continues, as far as I can see, the only thing the Commission can do is to refer the matter to the two Commands. Further, the matter might be considered by the UN Assembly at the instance of the Secretary General or some country. The UN Assembly, in a sense, represents of course the UN Command, but it is also something more than that. In view of the grave consequences arising out of the failure of the Panmunjon proceedings, both in regard to the POWs. and the Political Conference, it would be in the fitness of things for the matter to be considered by the UN Assembly. Of course, the proper way to consider it would be for the major countries concerned, either side, to meet and try to find a way out of the deadlock.

4. I do not understand the question of the NNRC being forced to accede to the demand of the UN Command. It is true that either Command can create difficulties, more so the UN Command, and make it impossible for the Commission to function any more. But when such a situation arises, we can consider it then. We need not worry ourselves about it now.

1. Note, 20 November 1953. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52, Vols. XII-XVI and 12/74/NGO-53, MEA. Extracts.

34. Option after End of Time-limit¹

I am afraid, Lord Swinton² has somewhat misunderstood what I told him. There can be no question of any such proposal, as is mentioned in the High-

1. Note to the Secretary General, 21 November 1953. JN Collection.

2. Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, UK.

Commissioner's³ letter, being put forward. This would not only be rejected immediately by the Chinese and North Koreans, but would create an immediate crisis. The proposal, of course, is entirely outside the range of the POW Agreement which laid stress on full explanations.

2. What I had said to Lord Swinton was that if and when this process of explanations was over and the period allowed for it had also ended, the problem of POWs would probably remain unsolved. What then can we do at that stage? Presumably the parties concerned would be referred to. For another month after the explanation period is over, the prisoners still remain with the Custodian Force.

3. The suggestion was that after the explanation period was over and nothing further could be done in that way, the Commission might, *suo moto*, interview the remaining POW and, in the event of any of them expressing a wish to go home, he should be repatriated. It may be that by this method a small number of POWs might get an opportunity to go home. It is not likely to affect any large number. This is certainly not a satisfactory method and does not meet the situation at all. But, if and when no other way is left, then it is a small way of escape to the few who might want to take advantage of it and who have been unable to get that opportunity thus far.

4. It is always open to a POW himself to tell the Commission that he wants to go home. If the Commission is satisfied, they require no further proof and no explanations are called for. They act immediately, as indeed they have done in the case of individual prisoners who have come to them secretly or otherwise.

5. This does not require the concurrence of any government or any Command. It is entirely in the discretion of the Commission. It is, in fact, continuing to do what they have done in individual cases, but doing so in a methodical way for a larger number of them.

6. It is clear that the possibility of doing this can only arise after the explanation period is over. It is not for the US or the UK to suggest it even vaguely and indirectly. The moment such a suggestion is made, it will be thought as a method devised to sabotage the procedure laid down in the POW Agreement.

7. Therefore, no question arises of taking any step now or, for the matter of that, later till the explanation period is over and the problem, or a large part of it, remains still unsolved. Even then, it will not be for any government to take action.

8. I have tried to make myself clear to avoid any possibility of misunderstanding. Please explain this to the High Commissioner of the UK.

35. Cable to K.S. Thimayya¹

You informed us some days ago that report that you are sending to both Commands would be placed before Commission on 17th/18th November. Please let us know what further steps have been taken.

Korean question is next item on UN Assembly's agenda. Krishna Menon has requested President to delay this item as long as possible so that report to both the Commands and perhaps also report on Panmunjon talks about Political Conference may be available when Korean question is discussed. Delay in considering this question may not be possible as Assembly session will be ending in second week of December. Hence, if your report is to be sent, it should not be delayed unless there is reasonable prospect of resolving deadlock in some other way.

So far as we can see, there is no such reasonable prospect and position appears even to have deteriorated as indicated by your telegram 7117 of November 21st. If even investigation in case of murder is forcibly prevented by some prisoners, then Custodian Force has completely ceased to function and Northern Command can legitimately say so. It appears important that this investigation and trial must take place properly and speedily both to meet ends of justice and to assert authority of Custodian Force.

1. New Delhi, 22 November 1953. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52, Vols. XII-XVI and 12/74/NGO-53, MEA. Also available in V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.

36. Cable to K.S. Thimayya¹

UN Assembly likely to adjourn about December 8. Question of Korea will probably come up there in some form soon. We shall have to refer to deadlock at Panmunjon and explain our viewpoint to avoid difficulties at later stage.

1. New Delhi, 24 November 1953. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52, Vols. XII-XVI and 12/74/NGO-53, MEA. Also available in V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.

2. Para 11 of Chapter IV of Terms of Reference lays down imperatively procedure for disposition of Prisoners of War. Important part of this procedure is Political Conference to which reference has to be made by Commission after appointed period and, later, Commission has to release remaining prisoners to civilian status. If, however, Political Conference does not take place, then structure of agreement breaks down and automatic release to civilian status does not arise. Matter has to be referred back to two Commands who were parties to original agreement. That is, either question is referred to Political Conference or to parties to evolve alternative procedure. If parties fail to do so, then Commission will have to consider what further step it should take in consultation with parties or otherwise.

3. As explanations are not likely to be resumed, the next step for Commission appears to be to inform both Commands formally of deadlock and consequently of inability to give effect to terms of agreement. This is what you propose to do. Matter can then be raised in UN Assembly also by India. But, as this involves delay, there might be reference in Assembly even earlier.

37. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram 389 of November 22nd just received. Shall reply more fully later.

Thimayya informs us that draft report² to both Commands still being discussed by Sub-Committee of Commission where different viewpoints causing delay. Final draft unlikely to be ready before December 1st.

So far as Political Conference is concerned, we should not take any initiative, but leave it to others to do so.

We understand that demilitarized zone which extends right across Korea and includes area occupied by POWs and Custodian Force will continue to remain so even after 150 days unless there is fresh agreement between parties or either party commits aggression.

It is necessary to point out to Assembly at suitable moment nature of deadlock in Korea and that it should be discussed in Assembly. For Assembly

1. New Delhi, 24 November 1953. JN Collection.

2. See *post*, item 44 fn 3 for summary of report.

to disperse without fully discussing this and giving some indication of how it should be dealt with, would be confession of total incapacity and shirking responsibility.

It may not be wholly desirable for us to specify probable line of action at this stage, but various obvious possibilities and developments could be put forward.

It must be remembered that any Member of Commission can, by withdrawing, stop its functioning. Also that at later stage either Command, and chiefly UN Command, can make further continuance of Custodian Force in Korea impossible by withdrawal of logistical support.

38. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Continuation my last telegram in reply to your 389.

2. Provisions in para 11 of Chapter IV of terms of reference are mandatory. But if any important part of procedure laid down, such as Political Conference not functioning, cannot be acted upon, then new situation arises and release to civilian status is not automatic and only course open is to refer back to two Commands. I do not see how we can retain custody of prisoners indefinitely if Political Conference does not meet or if two Commands do not come to fresh agreement. Indeed, in that event, either Command can make our position impossible.

3. From paragraph 11, Chapter IV, it seems to me clear that responsibility for submitting questions of disposition to Political Conference rests with Commission.

4. Under this paragraph also, Commission continues to function for various operations for 150 days. No member can withdraw from it before end of that period on ground that remainder of work is political. If, however, through disagreement some member withdraws and Commission breaks up, then parties can submit question to Political Conference or agree on alternative procedure.

5. Present position seems to be that no further explanations will take place

1. New Delhi, 24 November 1953. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52, Vols. XII-XVI and 12/74/NGO-53, MEA. Also available in V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.

and probably Political Conference also will not be agreed upon. Only course open to Commission thus appears to be for Commission to refer matter back to two Commands for them to decide upon alternative procedure. If no alternative agreement arrived at and no Political Conference, then Commissions or Custodian Force cannot continue indefinitely and will have to decide whether they should release remaining prisoners to civilian status or hand them back to detaining sides. I see nothing in terms of agreement to prevent Commission at that stage from returning prisoners to detaining sides. Of course, if this is done, UN Command would release its prisoners immediately. Result in either event would be release to civilian status.

6. All this need not be stated now. But the UN Assembly might be informed of failure of explanation process and consequently difficulty in implementing agreement. Only course open is either to submit question to Political Conference or for parties to agree on some alternative procedure.

7. Commission will probably send their note to both Commands early in December. That will put burden on those two parties to consider matter afresh. This note should be referred to UN Secretary General by India and matter raised in Assembly.

8. In view of possible delay in this procedure, matter can be raised in Assembly even earlier, whenever opportunity arises, and consequences of deadlock pointed out to avoid difficulties at later stage.

39. Cable to G.L. Mehta¹

Your telegram No. 527. We have made it clear that we are not anxious to serve on the Political Conference. It is only if our services are needed by both parties and we feel we can play useful role that we might consider joining it. We do not think we could play such a role in capacity as Observer. We would therefore not like India's name to be proposed in the manner suggested.

Please convey above message to State Department.

1. New Delhi, 26 November 1953. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.

40. Cable to K.S. Thimayya¹

Your telegram 7122 of 26th November.

2. We agree generally to line of action suggested by you. Not necessary for your delegation to commit itself to either interpretation and matter should be referred to two Commands.

3. What you suggest at end of paragraph 5 and in paragraph 6 is not matter for Commission but for Indian Delegation and CFI. This should therefore not form part of Commission's report to two Commands who should be asked to come to some fresh agreement as to disposition of Prisoners of War. Report can end there. The next question can be dealt with later.

4. I agree that we cannot leave determination of this second question to last moment. That may create position of great embarrassment for CFI. But there is still time for that next step.

5. I do not understand what you have said at end of paragraph.

6. I have not asked you to vote with Czech and Poles on interpretation. I have made clear my interpretation. But it would be better for you not to commit yourself on this question.

1. New Delhi, 27 November 1953. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52, Vols. XII-XVI and 12/74/NGO-53), MEA.

41. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram 400, 2nd December. We approve of your general approach.²

1. New Delhi, 4 December 1953. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52, Vols. XII-XVI and 12(74)/NGO-53, MEA. Also available in V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. Menon wrote from New York that the US "will not oppose recess and recall (of General Assembly) if majority agree, but are adamant against any fixed time or leaving discretion in hands of President."

2. Your para 3. Agree to (a) or (b).¹ We prefer (a), i.e., fixed date with liberty to President to alter date for good reasons.

3. Material sent by Thimayya may be used indirectly without reference to Thimayya. Practically everything in that material has appeared in newspapers in some form or other. As Thimayya's report still being discussed by Commission, it is desirable to avoid direct reference to it. You may say that desirable for Commission to refer matter to two Commands and that you understand Commission considering this question.

4. Your para 7. You may refer to position of prisoners in various contingencies and difficulties that have arisen and may arise in future. Hence, prudent to refer matter to two Commands for settlement without prejudice to Political Conference. Also, that during thirty days after 24th December, it is certainly open to Commission to repatriate any prisoners who themselves ask for it.

5. You should refer to Rhee's recent acts and attacks on us, as they have bearing on our position later.⁴

6. Our interpretation of Agreement as to release should be mentioned as one relevant interpretation, there being another also. We agree that detailed reference to this or to our conduct might be deferred to the recessed session.

3. Para 3 (b) stated: "Leaving date to decision of President according to requirements of future circumstances and developments. We will seek to persuade Assembly on merits of case and on basis of our responsibilities. If we lose and US proposal carries we will be in no worse position than by accepting it."
4. Menon asked whether India should "refer to Rhee's recent acts and attacks on us since they bear on the position of our forces."

42. Cable to K.S. Thimayya¹

Your telegram 7141 of December 11th. You cannot of course oppose proposal

1. New Delhi, 11 December 1953. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52, Vols. XII-XVI and 12/74/NGO-53, MEA. Also available in V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts.

for extension.² But if both Commands agree, then you will also agree. This is unlikely. You should not initiate such a proposal or press for it, more especially because there is not much point in extension unless something is done. Extension of period of inaction is not helpful.

2. It is unfortunate that your report to two Commands has been delayed, as apparently nothing can be done till that step is taken. This should be expedited. We have very little time left before 22nd December.

3. As for further step to be taken by you regarding POWs it is better to wait for further developments before finally making this clear. As at present advised, it seems better to hand over remaining prisoners to detaining-sides and not to release them directly to civilian status on 22nd January. It will probably not be advisable to give this choice to two Commands but to come to decision yourself.

2. The North Korean and Chinese Command had not yet finished their explanation with all the prisoners. The Czech and Polish members of the NNRC suggested an extension of the time limit to enable the explainers to complete the task. The UN Command did not want any extension of time because it feared that the Communists might utilize the time to bamboozle as many prisoners of war as possible into returning to them. The NNRC pointed out to the North Korean and Chinese Command that any extension of the time-schedule presented in the Terms of Reference was possible only by an agreement between the two commands and it had failed to secure the agreement of the UN Command.

43. Cable to K.S. Thimayya

Your telegram 7144 of December 15th to Pillai. Your letter of December 9th not received yet.

2. We have no special comments on summary of concluding chapters of report as given in your telegram.² It is right that you should give facts correctly

1. New Delhi, 16 December 1953. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. In concluding its Interim Report, the NNRC had stated that "the Commission cannot record a finding that prisoners of war in its custody in the Southern Camp (i.e., of Chinese and North Korean prisoners held by the UN Command) were completely free from the influence of the former detaining-side and in particular, of the authorities of the Republic of Korea whose incursions made it impossible for the Commission to come to any other conclusion." As regard the Northern Camp (containing the prisoners of forces under the UN Command) "the Commission had no evidence of any activities of the former detaining-side in respect of the prisoners in that camp."

and objectively. Also in view of Political Conference not meeting,³ only course open is to refer matter to two Commands and await their replies before coming to your own decision. As two Commands are likely to differ, burden of decision will fall on you. It is not necessary to indicate decision at earlier stage, though we are clear that if nothing else happens, it would be better to hand back remaining prisoners to original detaining-sides rather than to release them directly to civilian status....

3. The preliminary talks for the meeting of the Political Conference started on 26 October 1953 at Panmunjon as scheduled, but no agreement could be reached even on the agenda of the preliminary meeting till 12 November and little progress was made thereafter. The talks were suspended on 12 December, when the Chinese-North Korean side charged the United States of complicity with Syngman Rhee in the release of 27,000 prisoners on 18 June 1953. Arthur Hobson Dean, the US representative, said that these references were "calculatedly rude, arrogant and insulting" and insisted on a retraction after which he would be prepared to resume the talks. The refusal of the Chinese-North Korean side to agree to this created a deadlock which could not be resolved and ultimately the talks were suspended indefinitely.

44. Cable to K.S. Thimayya¹

Your telegrams Nos. 7147 and 7148.

... Our general attitude about POWs is that there is no automatic release of prisoners. Matter has to be considered by two Commands, later by us and there are various alternatives. We should be careful in not committing ourselves in anyway about future procedure, more particularly about automatic release.² We do not propose to announce publicly any decision till other steps have been exhausted.

1. New Delhi, 20 December 1953. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts.
2. Thimayya had announced on 15 December that Indian Custodian Force would release all prisoners in the neutral zone on 22 January 1954 unless both sides asked that they be kept. "Either both sides must authorize us to continue or our legal custody ceases." A spokesman of the Ministry of External Affairs said on 17 December that Thimayya's view "does not reflect that of the Government of India."

If your report to two Commands is delayed much longer, it will not serve much purpose. All future steps depend on that report being sent and two Commands replying to it. If agreed report not possible, minutes of dissent should be added....³

3. The majority report adopted by the NNRC's Indian, Polish and Czech members on 24 December charged that "anti-communist" POWs in all 56 compounds were controlled by a secret South Korean Centre in Seoul whose agents coerced the prisoners who wanted to return to communism. It reported no similar control in the Northern Compound. The report asked the two Commands to decide how to dispose of some 22,000 war prisoners still unrepatriated after explanations ended as scheduled on 23 December. A minority report, adopted by the Swiss and Swedish members of the NNRC on 24 December, and delivered to the Commission on 28 December, exonerated the UN Command and blamed the North Korean and Chinese Command for delaying tactics and for the breakdown of POW talks.

45. Cable to K.S. Thimayya¹

Your telegrams 7150 and 7151, December 21st.²

2. Our responsibility is greater than that of other members of Commission both as Chairman and arising from custodial functions. Hence, we have to take the lead in this matter and, if necessary, state and maintain our own position in final report which, we agree should be comprehensive.

3. Not clear who are members of sub-committee who drafted report and whether draft already represents compromise between different points of view. If minority report disagrees on important points, it might be necessary for Indian Delegation to add note expressing any dissenting opinion they may have from compromise draft already submitted. As Chairman, you may also consider meeting points raised in minority report. Further advice will follow.

1. New Delhi, 22 December 1953. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52, Vols. XII-XVI and 12/74/NGO-53, MEA. Extracts
2. In the first cable Thimayya said that while the Czech and Polish members generally supported the draft report, the Swiss and Swedish members disapproved the concluding paragraphs in the report and suggested a memorandum containing a simple chronological account of the explanation work to be presented. In the second cable Thimayya reported that no explanations could be conducted till 21 December, when ultimately the prisoners agreed to come out in batches of 250.

4. Although access to prisoners by explainers of two sides will terminate on 90th day (unless both sides agree to extension of period, which is unlikely), the right to repatriation and facilities for same continue so long as prisoners are in custody. Therefore, right of access for prisoners to Commission continues and prisoners should be informed of their rights and given facilities to exercise this...³

3. In fact explanations were continued on 22 and 23 December when the work of explanation officially came to a close.

46. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

Your telegrams 387-388, December 22nd,²

2. Please inform Chou En-lai that we are fully seized of situation. We expect Repatriation Commission to report to both Commands very soon. This report not likely to be unanimous, but Chairman will bring out various factors of delay and obstruction which caused breakdown of explanations and set out our position.

3. It must be remembered that Chairman is not Thimayya in personal capacity but as representing India (for your information).

4. We shall make statement on our part at appropriate times and places. Government of India saying anything directly now before Commission's report would lead to difficulties.

5. For your personal information. There is deep cleavage among members

1. New Delhi, 23 December 1953. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52, Vols. XII-XVI and 12/74/NGO-53, MEA.

2. Raghavan reported that in his interview with Chou En-lai on 21 December the latter had dwelt with (i) the difficulties and obstructions placed by the UN Command during the explanations work which were impossible to overcome; (ii) certain actions that could have been taken by the NNRC were done too late and time was lost thereby; (iii) murders and active encouragement of secret agents was rife; (iv) that although 90 days of explanation were provided, only seven days were actually made available and so explanation period should be extended. Chou En-lai protested against the NNRC's refusal to use force to make unwilling anti-Communist POWs attend explanations. He said force was necessary to overcome South Korean and Nationalist Chinese agents under American direction who dominated anti-Communist compounds. He wanted Nehru to issue a statement in conformity with his views.

of Commission over report. There will probably be minutes of dissent by Swiss and Swedes. Report likely to be finalised on 26th.

6. Shall communicate more fully later.

47. Cable to K.S. Thimayya¹

Your telegram 7152, December 22nd.

2. You should enquire from General Hull² what precisely he intends doing on 22nd January.³ We should like to know this in some detail so that we can consider it. Apart from principles involved, on which we must come to our own decisions, obviously even mechanics of termination of custody requires careful thought and planning. You should not commit yourself in any way at this stage. In effect, India is Chairman and burden of decision rests on Government of India, especially in view of nature of Commission's composition.

3. I have received message from Raghavan after his return to Peking and long conference with Premier Chou En-lai. For your personal information, Chou En-lai while appreciating your work and that of Custodian Force and difficulties you had to face, nevertheless, thinks that Indian Delegation took up weak and vacillating attitude in regard to several matters and hence encouraged obstruction from other side which has led to present deadlock and fact that most prisoners have had no chance of explanation. Chou En-lai has asked us to issue immediately statement giving full facts and proclaiming India's attitude. I am informing Raghavan that Commission will be issuing report very soon which will give full account. Some members may disagree and give minutes of dissent. Chairman, representing India, will state facts fully and frankly in this report both in body of it and, if necessary, in separate notes.

1. New Delhi, 23 December 1953. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52, Vols. XII-XVI and 12/74/NGO-53, MEA. Extracts.
2. General John Edwin Hull succeeded General Mark Wayne Clark on 1 November 1953 as UN Supreme Commander and head of the US Far East Command.
3. Hull, in a letter to Thimayya denied the report's charges that the UN Command used "agents provocateur" in anti-Communist compounds. Hull blamed the breakdown in prisoners of war explanations on Communist obstructionism caused by the Communists' "severe disappointment" at the few prisoners who chose to return to communism. He reiterated the Allied stand that unrepatriated prisoners would become civilians on 23 January, under the terms of the Armistice Agreement, and must be released.

48. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

Your telegram 388, December 22nd.²

I spoke at length in Parliament yesterday about Korea and expressed opinion that it would be desirable for extension of time for explanations. It is clear, however, that in existing circumstances, even if Thimayya so desired, he could not continue explanations. Prisoners would not cooperate and facilities provided by detaining-side to explainers from other side to visit camps may be withdrawn.

As for what will happen on 23rd January, we shall send our instruction to Thimayya. Whatever might happen then, Custodian Force might cease to have right to retain custody of prisoners, unless parties agreed.

Shall communicate more fully later.

1. New Delhi, 24 December 1953. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52, Vols. XII-VI and 12/74/NGO-53, MEA. Also available in V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. Raghavan stated that Chou En-lai feared that the report that the NNRC was preparing might not place the blame on the Americans for the failure of the incomplete repatriation of the prisoners of war. Thimayya must present the full facts like murders and sabotage and justify the Chinese and North Korean stand.

49. Cable to K.S. Thimayya¹

Following analysis might help you:

1. Our position in regard to explanations has been that period should have been extended to make up for time lost, but extension required consent of both parties and could not be done by NNRC or Chairman, as Clause 11 mentions 90 days from day of custody in precise terms. Also, Chairman declaring continuance of explanations period by use of his vote would not have resulted

1. New Delhi, 25 December 1953. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52, Vols. XII-XVI and 12/74/NGO-53, MEA. Also available in V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.

in POWs coming forward and might even prejudice interviews of POWs by NNRC proposed to be carried out in next 30 days.²

2. Regarding future, custody must terminate on 23rd January unless there is agreement for extension. We must seek to achieve such termination without violence breaking out from any quarter. In absence of Political Conference, Repatriation Agreement cannot be carried out fully either in letter or spirit. Stages succeeding ninety-day period, in so far as they affect CFI and NNRC, as set out in agreement, are absolute and not depending on achievement of Political Conference stage. NNRC must, therefore, dissolve itself on 21st February; CFI must terminate custody on the 23rd January and depart from area by 21st February.

3. Based on above reasoning, our present thinking in regard to future is that we would be best advised to hand over unrepatriated prisoners a day or so before end of 120-day period to original detaining-sides. If we continue to the full period of 120 days, the question of our having to declare civilian status arises. At present, we consider that such declaration by us would be right only if the Political Conference had met previously and disposed of issues as provided in Agreement. We are not entitled to "release" prisoners anyhow and would not like onus of breaches of agreement or allegations of same. This leaves us only one alternative, that is, to return prisoners to original detaining-sides. This we can do, but only if prisoners still have status of POWs. This they will have until 23rd January in term of Clause II.

4. We would have to negotiate agreements with detaining-sides about the actual process of handing back, which may take several days. We are considering political problems involved in this. We would, however, like your preliminary views whether such handing over, if decided upon, could be accomplished peacefully.

5. Delivery cannot take place in neutral zone, nor can we or should we ourselves deliver into South Korean or North Korean territory. We would have to arrange with Commands possibly for neutralised "aprons" adjoining neutral zone border, and march prisoners to border, hand them over and obtain receipts. Can Military Police of Command concerned help in this process in neutral zone? Also Red Cross.

6. All above is for your information only and should not be communicated to parties or to Commission, even informally. When we have come to a decision

2. The NNRC rejected by a 3-2 decision on 23 December a demand by the North Korean and Chinese Command that prisoners' interview sessions continue. India, Switzerland and Sweden opposed Poland and Czechoslovakia in the vote.

and inform you, you would have to put it to the Commission and either obtain agreement or use your decisive vote.

7. We are considering steps we have to take in respect of two Commands and by diplomatic procedures prior to arriving at our decision.

50. Cable to K.S. Thimayya¹

Your telegram 7183.² We will telegraph text of further communications to be made to each Command, with covering note for your guidance.²

2. Meanwhile, for your information, the course we have decided on is to restore to the respective former detaining-sides the custody of non-repatriated prisoners, setting out facts of situation and reasons for decision. No question of "release" or declaration to civilian status is considered by us as correct.

3. Restoration might begin, say, on 20th January and be effected at border of demilitarized zone. We should obtain receipts and effect restoration according to established procedures and Geneva Convention. How long, in your opinion, would it take to complete restoration?

4. We should try to obtain agreement in the Commission on this course. If none is forthcoming, we would, as Chairman, have to make decision, which then becomes Commission's decision. Since this matter is thus only reaching

1. New Delhi, 8 January 1954. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52, Vols. XII-XVI and 12/74/NGO-53, MEA. Also available in V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. These communications drafted by Nehru for Thimayya are not printed. On the basis of these drafts Thimayya addressed the two Commands on 14 January 1954 notifying them of restoring the prisoners to the respective former detaining-sides. He also stated that he was doing so "because I can neither retain custody of prisoners of war nor further implement the Terms of Reference, nor release them. I am not doing so to establish any alternation in their status, or to effect the final disposition of prisoners of war." Further, the Commission, "in pursuance of its functions and authority to interpret the Terms of Reference, is of the view that the alteration of the status of prisoners of war either by declaration of civilian status or disposition in any other manner requires the implementation of the procedure of explanation and Political Conference to precede it; such procedures being pursued to their legitimate termination as prescribed in the Terms of Reference, unless the two Commands agree on alternative procedures or course of action in regard to status and disposition of prisoners of war. Any unilateral action by any party will not be in conformity with the Terms of Reference."

finality, should be kept within the Commission. We are making no releases or statements here on the subject.

5. If either Command refuses to take back prisoners, we can inform such prisoners that our military custody will cease at particular time and they are at liberty to go. But if they stay on, we shall look after them till further arrangements are made. We can only do so as long as we remain there and we have to leave, at latest, before the 150th day. Presumably, there will be no difficulty about logistic arrangements in such cases. Please treat this as confidential and as guidance to you in case such a situation arises.

6. We shall inform you about shipping arrangements later.

51. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

Please refer to my telegram 22139 of 24th December.

2. The NNRC sent letters on January 2nd to the two Commands, posing four questions relating to extension of explanation period, prospects of Political Conference, consideration and agreement by two sides about alternative procedures in view of Political Conference not meeting and continuance of custody.

3. We have received answers as anticipated. The UN Command have firmly declined extension of explanation and custody and consideration of discussions on alternative procedures. They have also stated that it is "extremely improbable" that Political Conference will be in session before 22nd January. Northern Command have insisted on extension of explanation and custody and of reference to Political Conference when it meets. They have also stated that the failure of the Political Conference is fault of the US....

5. Confronted by the situation that we have not completed our assigned tasks and are incapacitated from doing so, as there is no agreement between two parties, the NNRC must make its own decision. This is being conveyed to both Commands in letters, draft text of which we are sending to Thimayya today....²

1. New Delhi, 9 January 1954. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52, Vols. XII-XVI and 12/74/NGO-53, MEA. Also available in V.K. Krishna Menon Papers. NMML. Extracts.

2. See the next item.

52. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

Please refer your telegram 22, dated 10th January.

1. Course of action we decided on after very anxious consideration is the only one open to us, as both release and declaration of civilian status would have meant acceptance that failure of explanations and Political Conference were inconsequential and that we agree that prisoners of war status had terminated in respect of non-repatriates.

2. We cannot continue custody of prisoners (a) without being prepared to inflict large scale violence in preventing break-outs, which is contrary to the purposes for which the CFI undertook responsibilities in Korea, (b) without grave risk of bringing about anarchic violence, (c) without the logistic support of respective Commands, which UN Command would doubtless terminate. In any case, custody without agreement on explanations would not have resulted in any progress in repatriation procedures. It would also mean clashes with our troops.

3. We are not "handing over" prisoners in the sense of restoring them to be released by the former detaining side or regarding the rights of POWs to repatriation as having ended.

4. Please explain to Chou En-lai

- (a) we think explanations and repatriation processes should have been continued in conformity with the purposes of Repatriation Agreement and that the present situation has arisen and the present solution forced on us by the refusal of the UN Command to agree to it;
- (b) that we have at all times made it clear to Northern Command and Chinese Government that we cannot resort to procedures which would lead to large scale violence as, firstly, it would have brought about the immediate dissolution of the Commission and then we would be acting without status or legality; secondly, such violence would be against the basic spirit and purpose of Geneva Convention and, thirdly, that our own public opinion will not permit the use of large scale violence against POWs.

1. New Delhi, 11 January 1954. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52, Vols. XII-XVI and 12/74/NGO-53, MEA. Also available in V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.

- (c) that the Commission cannot by itself revise or introduce new procedures to extend explanations and custody. In fact, even if it did so, it would not be able to operate them.

5. Please inform Chou En-lai:

- (a) that our position in regard to the question as a whole is indicated in the interim report of the Commission and that we have not failed to adhere to impartiality and correct courses even though there was great opposition.
- (b) Important : Having received your message No. 22, dated 10th January, we immediately instructed Thimayya to hold up actual handing over of messages to two Commands. We then instructed Chairman to add further paragraphs to clarify our points of view beyond all doubt and to meet Chinese position somewhat. This will definitely show where responsibilities rest.

We have proposed to Chairman, NNRC, to include in his letters to the two Commands statements to the effect:

- (a) that the restoration of prisoners to custody of former detaining-side has been forced on us, as we can neither keep POWs, nor release them;
- (b) that restoration is not a further phase of the repatriation exercise but merely a step which will enable the two to adopt procedures conforming to the purposes of the Repatriation Agreement and spirit of the Armistice Agreement which would enable POWs to exercise their right of repatriation;
- (c) that we hope that the course we have adopted and the views we have expressed will be acquiesced in by both sides;
- (d) that we are even now prepared to accept and adopt any course that the two Commands can agree upon and to obtain which agreement we have ceaselessly endeavoured;
- (e) finally, that we consider that such restored prisoners are not entitled to release or can be treated in any way contrary to the Geneva Convention by the former detaining-sides, and that further steps as to the disposition must be essentially matters of negotiation and agreement. Unilateral action, in our view, could be unlawful and contrary to the purposes of Agreement.

6. Kindly assure Chou En-lai of our *bona fides* and objectivity and that course proposed would best assist in forcing the issue of the Political Conference and prevent outbreak of hostilities and violence. We shall make our position clear beyond all doubt when the Assembly resumes, we hope, in early February.

53. Cable to K.S. Thimayya¹

We heard from Raghavan² this morning that Chinese were very upset over restoration of POWs and regard it as violation of armistice and take very grave view of it. They would prefer that POWs should break out rather than be restored. We have again considered all this. Breaking out, or indeed any other procedure, would lead to violence and even endanger CFI personnel. We cannot agree to these anarchic procedures. We regret Chinese reaction though we understand it. Hence, we are adding paragraphs to the letters to the two Commands as set out in the immediately following telegram.

2. If there are no serious objections and it is permissible under agreements, there may be no objection to restoration being made to UN Military Police instead of delivery on border. This might prevent restoration being accompanied by jubilation ceremonies simultaneously, making restoration look like release. This may be considered.

3. In view of attitude we have taken regarding termination of custody, you are likely to have some difficulty with Members of Commission on both sides.³ You will, I am sure, handle situation so that position we have maintained is kept intact.

1. New Delhi, 11 January 1954. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52, Vols. XII-XVI and 12/74/NGO-53, MEA. Also available in V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. On 10 January N. Raghavan saw Chou En-lai and conveyed to him the position of NNRC in regard to POWs. When he appeared very upset and pleaded for revision of India's decision to hand back POWs, he reiterated that NNRC had competence to declare extension of explanation period and should do so.
3. The Czechoslovak and Polish members of the NNRC opposed and protested against the proposed restoration of custody of the prisoners of war. Although disagreeing with the reasoning contained in Thimayya's letter and objecting to his taking action unilaterally, they thought it reasonable, on humanitarian and practical grounds, that the prisoners should be restored to the respective detaining-sides, in view of the earlier rejection of the Commission of the Swedish proposal for release of the prisoners to civilian status. The UN Command, while expressing willingness to take over the custody of the prisoners affirmed its determination to "release" them on 23 January 1954. It maintained that the NNRC had a "solemn obligation" to fulfil its responsibilities by itself releasing the prisoners to civilian status on that date and that failure to do so would amount to a "deliberate avoidance of an important element of the Terms of Reference". Therefore, it would not accept custody of the prisoners "in accordance with the terms" of Thimayya's proposal, i.e., not as prisoners of war, but only as civilians. The UN Command also held that the proposed return of the prisoners would be regarded by it as a failure of the NNRC to discharge its duties.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

4. Presumably, political aspect of POWs retention will be settled soon and only mechanics of delivery, etc, will remain. Haksar⁴ can return to India as soon as this political aspect is disposed of.

5. We have asked for reconvening of UN Assembly to consider Korean question.⁵ Assembly will probably meet early February. During this session, burden will fall on us to explain events in Korea both in relation to Commission and CFI and what has happened within POW camps. It will be necessary, therefore, for Advisers for both these proposes to attend that session. Krishna Menon will be in charge. I think that Haksar will have to go from India to New York. Someone else, fully acquainted with CFI work and POW camps, will also have to go to New York, preferably via India. Some of our responsibilities will continue during February and Thorat should remain in Korea

5. We have asked for reconvening of UN Assembly to consider Korean question.⁵ Assembly will probably meet early February. During this session, burden will fall on us to explain events in Korea both in relation to Commission and CFI and what has happened within POW camps. It will be necessary, therefore, for Advisers for both these proposes to attend that session. Krishna Menon will be in charge. I think that Haksar will have to go from India to New York. Someone else, fully acquainted with CFI work and POW camps, will also have to go to New York, preferably via India. Some of our responsibilities will continue during February and Thorat should remain in Korea with some troops till dissolution of Commission. Kaul,⁶ as your Chief of Staff, should also remain there till then. Therefore, you might choose someone who is fully acquainted with conditions in POW camps, to go to New York. Haksar knows kind of work to be done at UN.

6. Your telegram 7185, dated January 11th.⁷ We are taking immediate steps to arrange shipping. Process of sending back our forces can begin from next week of January, if possible. But we should keep about 1,500 for last phase.

7. It is better to avoid American ships unless circumstances compel us to use them later. It is not desirable at this stage to accept UN offer of US ships to you to carry away all our troops in January.

4. P.N. Haksar was Counsellor, NNRC Secretariat.

5. In fact, on 30 January 1954, UN member nations rejected India's proposal to reconvene the General Assembly on 9 February to discuss the Korean problems.

6. Brigadier B.M. Kaul was the Chief of Staff, NNRC.

54. Cable to K.S. Thimayya¹

Your telegram 7187 of January 12th.²

1. Your second alternative by itself is wholly inadequate, as it does not explain our position as clearly set out in letters we have sent you. It is most important that position should be clearly stated with full reasoning, supporting it as set out in our letters to two Commands.

2. Since, however, you have already tabled resolution,³ you should add these letters as integral part of decisions taken and of communications arising therefrom. In resolution, word "retain" towards end is wrong. This should be "restore", and "regulates" in first sentence should be altered to "governs".

3. If your present resolution is not supported by either section in the Commission, there will be no point in your pressing it and it may be withdrawn. The letters alone can then go. They will probably be opposed by both sides. If, however, it happens that Swedes and Swiss abstain on the letters and the others oppose, you would have to take the view that, with your vote, the communication has not been opposed by majority. On the other hand, both sections may abstain, or oppose for contrary reasons, in which case your vote becomes decisive.

4. You must appreciate that course of action that we are suggesting is forced upon us by compulsion of events. We cannot continue custody after 22nd January; at the same time, we cannot release or declare civilian status. Nor can we take any step which is likely to result in anarchic conditions and violence, which might even endanger our own men.

1. New Delhi, 13 January 1954. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52, Vols. XII-XVI and 12/74/NGO-53, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Thimayya stated that regarding sending letters to both Commands as per drafts received by him on (see *ante*....) he had two alternatives for introducing them before the NNRC: (1) Circulate the letters to all members seeking their support; (2) introduce a resolution at a meeting of the Commission proposing the return of the POWs to the former detaining-sides as POWs before 22 February 1954 so as to restore *status quo ante*. He selected the second alternative to avoid opposition from the members and introduced a resolution on 12 January.
3. The resolution read:- "NNRC, considering that paragraph 11 of Terms of Reference regulates relief of POWs from POW status to civilian status, considering that different opinions have been expressed within Commission as to purport of above mentioned paragraph 11 of Terms of Reference and that no such interpretation is acceptable to Commission, resolves that POWs in custody of Commission be returned as prisoners respectively to former detaining-sides before 22nd January 1954 so as to retain *status quo* obtaining at time prisoners were taken into Custody by Commission."

5. This course of action does not mean exercising any compulsion. Indeed, compulsion is ruled out under Geneva Convention as well as Terms of Reference. We can neither retain custody under compulsion, nor hand over any prisoners against his expressed will. Therefore, any prisoners, who are opposed to being handed over and wish to stay with us, will have to be kept under our protection till their cases are decided later. They may be considered in same category as prisoners who have expressed wish to go to neutral nations.

6. This position should be made clear to prisoners, that is, that those who are opposed to being handed over may remain with us for time being. It is true that, in existing circumstances, it may be difficult for such prisoners to express their wishes. That difficulty has faced us throughout. You can take such steps as you consider proper to give this opportunity to prisoners to opt to stay on with you. Even, at the last moment, if they refuse to be handed over, they have right to stay on. We should not knowingly or wilfully "hand over" anyone who does not wish to go to the side to which he is sought to be handed over.

7. Time at our disposal is very limited and, therefore, quick decisions have to be taken. Two extra paragraphs that we added to letters to two Commands indicate importance we attach to our position being clearly stated. There should be no alteration which varies and confuses issues and reasoning as stated in them.

55. Cable to N. Raghavan¹

Your telegrams 24, dated January 11th,² and 27, dated January 12th. We have

1. New Delhi, 13 January 1954. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52, Vols. XII-XVI and 12/74/NGO-53, MEA.
2. Raghavan reported that Chou En-lai during the meeting on 10 January agreed that NNRC could not release prisoners or declare civilian status but it should have extended explanation period and if it was not competent to do so, it was also incompetent to hand over the prisoners to their former and respective detaining-sides. If by continuance of custody, obstruction difficulties and withdrawal of logistic support took place, the UN Command would be responsible for the same and not NNRC. He felt that if custody continued there would be possibility of South Korean Army marching inside camps and abduct prisoners leading to violence and loss of life but handing back the POWs would deprive them the chance to return. He said that China would not be a passive spectator of such handover. He wanted India to ask for UN meeting to resolve stalemate at Panmunjon negotiations for holding the Political Conference on Korea.
3. See *ante*,

given most careful consideration to what Chou En-lai has said and to every aspect of this question. Indeed, as we informed you, we informed Thimayya to hold up letters addressed to two Commands and added paragraphs to them in order still further to emphasise our position. This indicates our desire to meet Chou En-lai's point of view, as far as possible, and you should make this clear to him.

2. Governing factor for us is that we cannot legally or practically continue our custody of POWs after 22nd January except by agreement of two Commands, which is not available. Also, we cannot allow anarchic conditions to develop, which would anyhow be bad and would endanger even our troops. We have to consider our public opinion also, which will never tolerate this.

3. If we cannot retain custody after certain date, we have to help in bringing about some orderly change. There is no question of act of violation on our part. We act under compulsion of events which cannot be ignored.

4. We have made it clear to Thimayya that, under Geneva Convention as well as Terms of Reference, there can be no compulsion in handing over prisoners to detaining-sides. Therefore, any prisoners who object to being handed over will be kept by us till their future is determined later. They will be treated on same footing as prisoners who have expressed wish to go to neutral countries, that is, they will be under our protection at their own desire.

5. It is true that it may be difficult for prisoners to express their wishes in this matter. That difficulty has faced us throughout, but we are instructing Thimayya to inform prisoners and to give every facility for them to say that they do not wish to be handed over. Even at last moment, if any prisoner so wishes, he will not be handed over.

6. You will thus see that we have done our utmost, within limitations imposed upon us, to meet Chinese wishes in this matter. Please explain this fully to Chou En-lai.

7. We have mentioned in our letter to President of Assembly, asking for reconvening of Assembly, that the Political Conference stands deadlocked and that progress in Korea towards settlement stands arrested and should be considered by Assembly.

8. You might also mention to Chou En-lai that the news about renewal of talks at Panmunjon would have some effect on above, as it would be argued by those against debate that talks are still continuing. We would, therefore, like to know the exact position of these talks from time to time.

9. Also, that even if some agreement about convening Political Conference were reached before 22nd January, it would not make any difference to custody and explanation, unless this is part of the agreement between the negotiators, as the UN Command will persist in their view and we shall continue to stand incapacitated.

56. Cable to K.S. Thimayya¹

For your guidance, I am noting down some points which may prove helpful.

2. Both sections in Commission may oppose our proposals (resolution or letter), for different reasons, placing us in a minority of one and forced to take executive action.

3. Present position is that Swedish proposal² is rejected and our proposal is presumably before Commission. Assuming ours is also defeated, as said in previous paragraph, we shall have to take up position that there is no agreement in Commission but totally opposed views instead, that our proposals are based on two sets of majority views, that, on the one hand, custody and life of Commission cannot be extended and, on the other, that release and declaration of civilian status is not permissible or correct. That, as there is a deadlock now in regard to action that must follow and time is running short, it is our duty to make a decision to which each member can, if he wishes, record his reasoned dissent to explain his views or vote.

4. If a Czech-Polish proposal is considered and rejected before ours is put to vote, then also ours can be put forward as the only solution possible.

5. We have mentioned in our letter to President, UN Assembly, that an interim report has been made by NNRC and "No doubt the Commission will make its final report". When Assembly meets and debates, this final report should have been made. We hope, therefore, that you will submit final report³ covering period till end of custody and restoration and send it with Haksar or, at any rate, make it available to be sent to New York before 9th February.

1. New Delhi, 14 January 1954. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52, Vols. XII-XVI and 12/74/NGO-53, MEA.
2. The Commission rejected on 12 January a Swedish proposal, which was supported by the Swiss delegation, that the NNRC should declare on 22 January the relief from the prisoners of war status to civilian status of these prisoners who had not exercised their right to be repatriated.
3. The Final Report of NNRC, a supplement to its earlier Interim Report was unanimously adopted by the Commission on 18 February 1954. The Final Report covered the NNRC's activities from 24 December 1953 - 20 February 1954.

57. Cable to K.S. Thimayya¹

Following is text of letter which should be sent immediately to UN Command in reply to their letter of January 16th² :-

(1) I have the honour to refer to your letter of January 16th.² In paragraph 7 of this letter, you have said that in view of my "stated intention to release POWs unilaterally starting January 20th, the UN Command must necessarily be prepared to arrange for their accommodation and disposition." I feel that the request made in my letter of January 14th has been misunderstood by you. I am taking this opportunity to clarify the request and the reasons which have impelled me to make this request.

(2) In my letter of January 14th, I have pointed out that NNRC has come to the decision that it has no competence, in existing circumstances, either to release POWs, or to declare relief from POW to civilian status, or to continue custody beyond January 23rd. In view of this decision, I, as Chairman and Executive Agent, and having custody of POWs have come to the conclusion that only correct, lawful and peaceful course open is to restore POWs to the custody of former detaining-sides immediately prior to January 23rd. I am, therefore, requesting each detaining-side to accept restoration of custody as from January 20th at 0900 hours.

(3) I have stated in my letter that I am making this request, as Chairman and Executive Agent, as I can neither retain custody of POWs, nor further implement the terms of reference, nor release the POWs. I have made it clear that it is not my intention to establish any alternation in the status of the POWs, or to effect their final disposition.

(4) I have also stated in my letter that NNRC, in pursuance of its functions and authority to interpret the terms of reference, is of the view that alteration of the status of POWs, either by declaration of civilian status, or disposition in any other manner, requires prior implementation of the procedures of explanation and Political Conference, unless the two Commands agree on some alternative procedures or courses of action in regard to status and disposition. I have pointed

1. New Delhi, 17 January 1954. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection. This letter was sent to UN Command by K.S. Thimayya on 18 January 1954.
2. US General John E. Hull, Allied Commander, said in a letter on 16 January to Thimayya that all prisoners returned to the UN Command would be freed as civilians on 23 January. The Koreans were to remain in South Korea. The Chinese were to go to Formosa.

out that, in NNRC's view, and unilateral action by either party concerned in regard to change of status or disposition, will not be in conformity with the said Terms of Reference.

(5) In requesting you to accept restoration of custody as from January 20th, I venture again to express the confident hope that any further steps which might be taken by the two Commands in relation to status and disposition of POWs who will soon be restored to their custody will be inspired by an earnest desire to further the purposes of the Armistice Agreement.

58. Cable to K.S. Thimayya¹

Your telegram 7195 dated January 18.²

You have now made your position perfectly clear. You should, therefore, hand over prisoners as previously decided upon to UN Command whatever their interpretation or views might be about future. Responsibility for any future action will be theirs and not ours. It is presumed that they will accept prisoners.

Presumably Northern Command will not accept prisoners.³ They will, therefore, have to be kept under your protection till their future is settled. Nature of their custody will change after 22nd January.

1. New Delhi, 18 January 1954. File No. 12/62/NGO-52, vols. XII-XVI and 12/74/NGO-53, MEA.
2. As the UN Command would refuse to accept custody of the unrepatriated prisoners in accordance with his proposal, Thimayya asked for Nehru's further instruction as to how he should proceed in this matter.
3. The North Korean and Chinese Command in its reply to Thimayya's communication of 14 January protested against the proposed restoration of custody of the prisoners and demanded the continuance of the explanations and retention of custody by the NNRC.

59. Cable to K.S. Thimayya¹

Your telegram 7194 dated January 18.² We should wait till after January 23 before taking any steps in regard to prisoners who want settlement in neutral countries. There may possibly be more of them. As we have told you, no prisoner should be handed over against his will. If he refuses to go, you have to keep him and every chance should be given to prisoners to be able to refuse to go should they so desire. Possibly therefore you may have many more prisoners at your disposal. They will be under your protection and general control but not in custody as previously. Entire position will be reviewed then and future action decided upon.

2. This may well be a question to be considered by UN General Assembly when it meets in February. You should report to us full details of prisoners left over with you after handing over as many as choose to go and are accepted.

3. We do not at present propose to accept any prisoners in India.

1. New Delhi, 18 January 1954. JN Collection.
2. Thimayya in this cable gave details of some POWs wanting to settle in neutral countries. He wanted Nehru to consult the concerned countries chosen by the POWs to find out if they were willing to accept the prisoners.

60. An Impartial and Objective Role¹

This Congress expresses appreciation of the policy pursued by the Government of India in regard to the Korean situation. It was largely due to this policy that active warfare ceased in Korea and a ceasefire was proclaimed. Subsequently, in discharging the heavy burden of the Chairmanship of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission and maintaining a custodial force in Korea, India has sought to fulfil its obligations in an impartial and objective manner, always trying to further the cause of peace and a settlement in the Far East. It is highly regrettable that, because of various circumstances, the processes laid

1. Resolution on Korea drafted by Nehru on 20 January 1954, was adopted by the Kalyani Congress. File No. G-55(D)/1954, AICC Papers, NMML.

down in the Armistice Agreement between the two Commands could not be fully carried out. At the same time, the custodial force could not continue its custody of the prisoners of war beyond a certain date without the consent of the two parties. This consent being lacking, the custodial force had no alternative but to terminate its custody, though it could not release the prisoners of war or declare them of civilian status.

The Congress trusts that the Political Conference envisaged in the Armistice Agreement will be able to meet soon to decide such question as still awaits decision.

The Congress expresses its appreciation of the work of the representatives of India and the custodial force in Korea.

61. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Position in Korea regarding POWs is now as follows. After restoring most of prisoners to original detaining-side, we have now remaining with us in both camps 470. Of these 349³ are in North camp, who have not been taken back by Northern Command. We are giving them protection. But our control of POW installations must end on date of dissolution of Commission, latest date being 23rd February. There is possibility of Commission ceasing to function earlier, because Swedes and Swiss might go away. All we can do is to ask Northern side to accept prisoners along with installations when we leave. If they still refuse, we shall have to leave prisoners where they are, informing both sides.

2. Then there are 104 POWs under our protection who have expressed

1. New Delhi, 26 January 1954. File Nos. 12/62/NGO-52, Vols. XII-XVI and 12/74/NGO-53, MEA. Also available in V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. The message was sent through the High Commissioner in London.
2. The Custodian Force, in accordance with the Commission's decision, restored by 21 January to the UN Command 21,805 prisoners of their side. During the transfer of custody, 72 Chinese and 32 Korean prisoners sought protection of the Custodian Force, and 92 desired repatriation. It also retained custody of 12 Chinese and 89 Korean prisoners who had, from time to time, escaped from their respective compounds and had expressed their desire to go to neutral countries. Subsequently, 15 Korean prisoners changed their minds and were restored to the custody of the UN Command on 4 February 1954. the remaining 12 Chinese and 74 Korean prisoners were sent to India in February with the first contingent of troops of the Custodian Force "to remain under the protection of the Government of India pending a decision on their final disposition."

desire to go to other countries. Some countries mentioned, for instance USA, are not neutral. Should countries mentioned be approached directly by Chairman of Commission or through Secretary General, UN? Former course appears preferable, but no such reference can be made to Governments of belligerent countries. If no decision made before we leave, only course is to hand these prisoners along with POW installations to detaining-side.

3. Thirdly, there are 17 prisoners in South camp,³ who are being tried for murder. UN Command have refused to give facilities for these trials and have even refused entry to personnel from other side who have to take part in proceedings. It is evident that proceedings cannot be continued without UN Command's cooperation. Thimayya proposes to lodge strong protest and release correspondence to press. We will continue to keep these prisoners; but if nothing happens, we shall have to leave them where they are.⁴ This matter might well be raised in Assembly session, if it meets.

4. We are making arrangements for withdrawal of our forces in stages, keeping some till the very end.

5. Please let us have your views about matters mentioned above. You might also ascertain British views.

3. These were 10 North Koreans and 7 Chinese prisoners of war.

4. The NNRC on 22 January and 27 January 1954 requested the UN Command to make available the witnesses required by it for carrying on the trial of the 17 POWs. The UN command instead of complying with the request offered NNRC on 30 January to take back those prisoners for returning them to the concerned governments. After making another futile appeal to the UN Command on 1 February the NNRC handed over the 17 POWs to the UN Command on 18 February 1954.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(i) General

1. Afro-Asian Group in UN¹

I had a fairly long talk with the Foreign Minister of Indonesia² this morning. He referred to the meeting of the Asian-African Group in the United Nations and suggested that we might take some step to consolidate this group a little more. His idea was that representatives of the countries in that group should meet in a place other than New York, in some kind of a conference, to discuss common subjects. He mentioned that the group had become bigger now with the inclusion of Thailand, the Philippines, Ethiopia and Liberia. He did not suggest that the conference should be held in India but, probably, that was his intention.

2. I told him that I had welcomed the formation of this group in the UN and I would myself like to make it a firmer group than it was. It might be possible to hold some kind of a conference at a suitable time. But two or three matters had to be borne in mind. The larger the number of countries in the group, the vaguer would be their common ground. Thus, while Thailand and the Philippines might agree with the others on one or two matters, they were not likely to agree on others. Secondly, such a conference should be preceded by a good deal of preparation.

3. I told him about the previous attempts at building up some machinery for cooperation between these various countries, which followed from the Asian Relations Conference held in Delhi in 1947. Subsequently we had tried to push forward this idea in Paris at the time of the UN meeting there. Also when Indonesian Conference was held in Delhi, we discussed these matters. There was always general agreement but when it came to any specific proposal, agreement was lacking. Our past experience was, therefore, not particularly encouraging. Probably subsequent developments had made this a little easier, more especially the functioning of the Asian-African Group at the UN. Nevertheless, we must remember that that group was much too amorphous and vague and was pulled in different directions. It was naturally influenced considerably by what was called the cold war. Some countries were very closely tied up with the US, such as the Philippines and Thailand. Others wanted to adopt a more or less independent foreign policy. India's foreign policy was

1. Note to Secretary-General, Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary, 12 October 1953. JN Collection.

2. Sunarjo.

fairly well-known and we tried to steer clear between the two rival groups of powers, though we maintained friendly relations with both. It was essentially based on avoidance of war and on judging each matter independently on the merits. We were naturally against colonial domination of any country. Probably most, if not all, countries in this Asian-African Group were also against colonial domination and in questions like Morocco etc. there would be a considerable measure of unanimity. But I rather doubt if that would extend to Indo-China where also the question of colonial domination arose.

4. The real test appeared to me to be a country's reactions to the cold war. Was it aligned with any particular group or did it wish to pursue an independent policy trying to avoid war and even to keep out of war if it was declared.

5. I pointed out that while a large group, cooperating together as far as possible, was good the larger the group, the less cooperation will there be. We could have a large group certainly even though the basis of cooperation was very limited. At the same time there could be more cooperation between a smaller number of countries.

6. The Foreign Minister generally agreed with what I said. He seemed to be anxious to develop closer relations with India and some reference was made to what Dr. Soedarsono³ had at one time stated, that is, that the relations of India and Indonesia were not as warm as they used to be. I told him that we would welcome the closest cooperation in foreign affairs or anything else. Our Ambassador in Djakarta⁴ could keep in close touch with the Indonesian Government and the Indonesian Ambassador⁵ could do the same here.

7. Reference was made to Korea and the proposed Political Conference. The Foreign Minister said that there should be some neutral members on the Political Conference. I said I entirely agreed. We were not at all anxious to be in it, but we did certainly feel that it was desirable to have neutrals there. We had got entangled in Korea in various ways and we were anxious not to add to our burdens. But if peace was to be sought, the presence of neutral nations there was desirable.

8. The Foreign Minister said that his Government was thinking of putting an end to their union with the Netherlands. This came in their way and there was a good deal of sentiment against it. This led to some talk about India's relationship with the Commonwealth. He agreed that this relationship was quite different from Indonesia's relationship with the Netherlands.⁶

3. First Ambassador of Indonesia to India, 1950-51.

4. Bhagwat Dayal.

5. L.N. Palar.

6. After achieving freedom in 1949, Indonesia continued to remain associated with the Kingdom of the Netherlands on a voluntary and equal basis, because part of its territory, i.e., the isle of New Guinea still remained under Dutch control. This union was dissolved by mutual consent on 10 August 1954.

2. To B.G. Kher¹

New Delhi

November 5, 1953

My dear Kher,²

I have received three letters from you dated the 24th, 26th and 28th October. I have read your observations in the letter of the 28th with interest. I am at present reading Panikkar's new book.³ I think it is a very good summary and should be read by our Foreign Service Officers. I shall try to get the other book you mention.

About Bertrand Russell's note, I agree with him entirely in his analysis of the situation.⁴ The only thing that is not clear to me is how India can do much good or be at all effective in adopting the course he suggests, that is to have "a neutral investigation of the evils to be expected from a world war." There is a great deal of resentment and even jealousy at the part India, almost against her will, is playing in world affairs. There are plenty of intrigues going on to create trouble for us just to show us that we are not so big as we imagine. If we try to come out in the world stage in the way Bertrand Russell suggests, the first reaction would be one of greater resentment that we are trying to queer the pitch of others and appearing to be better than others. Unfortunately, moralising seldom improves the morals of anybody.

In effect, of course, all our policy tends the way Bertrand Russell points out. If opportunity offers, we shall certainly like to do more in that direction.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Kher was Indian High Commissioner in London.

3. *Asia and Western Dominance: A Survey of the Vasco Da Gama Epoch of Asian History, 1498-1945*, published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd. London, 1953.

4. See *post*, pp. 663-664.

3. Policy Towards West Asia¹

In matters relating to the Middle Eastern countries, Mr Panikkar's² views must be given first importance. He speaks not only with personal knowledge of those areas but also with a wide acquaintance of the history and backgrounds of these areas. In fact, it is our intention that Mr Panikkar should have some kind of overall interest in these Missions of the Middle East, even though they are separate and independent Missions. Our Ambassadors or Ministers in these other places should remain in touch with him.

2. It is clear to me that Lebanon should not be attached to Syria. Lebanon would not like it.

3. The assumption in Mr Thivy's³ note that Syria might include Lebanon in future as well as Jordan is a dangerous assumption and certainly we should not work for it. Indeed, we should be very careful in not even mentioning this casually.

4. As for Jordan, whether it should be connected with our Mission in Syria or Iraq, I am not quite clear. Mr Panikkar himself at one stage, stated in the notes above, was of opinion that the Minister in Syria should be concurrently accredited to Jordan. This seems to be a convenient arrangement. Probably Mr Panikkar has changed his opinion because of his feeling that Mr Thivy might work for a greater Syria inclusive of Jordan. This idea has somewhat upset him. But this can be made perfectly clear to Mr. Thivy. We are not working for a greater Syria and it will be completely improper for any representative of ours to play the game which the Great Powers have been playing for a long time past. So far as we are concerned, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan remain as they are, separate countries and we recognize the independence and individuality of each. This should be made perfectly clear to Mr Thivy.

5. While we recognize this individuality of all these countries, the fact remains that Middle Eastern politics are largely governed by what happens in Egypt. It is for this reason that Cairo is one of our most important centres. It is developing an interest in Africa which is good, and we should encourage this interest. But essentially it looks towards Western Asia. Our main approach to the Middle East is, therefore, through Egypt. Egyptian newspapers go all over the Arab world. Mr Panikkar was sent to Cairo because he is one of our

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 15 November 1953. JN Collection.

2. K.M. Panikkar, Indian Ambassador to Egypt and Minister concurrently to Lebanon, Jordan, Syria and Libya.

3. J.A. Thivy, Commissioner for Government of India in Mauritius.

seniormost and most experienced diplomats whose judgment we value. Our other Heads of Missions in the Middle East should always keep in touch with him and even consult him when necessity arises.

6. Mr Panikkar should be told that we agree with him about Lebanon, but he might be reminded of his previous opinion regarding Jordan which we think has logic behind it. He should also be told we agree with his general appraisal of the Middle East situation and what Mr Thivy said in regard to it was not correct and we are informing Mr Thivy accordingly.

7. A reply from Mr Panikkar should be awaited in regard to Jordan.

8. I think on the whole it will be desirable for Mr Thivy to come here, before he leaves for Damascus. A copy of Mr Panikkar's comment on Mr Thivy's note should be sent to him, together with some extracts from this note of mine.

4. To Heads of Indian Missions¹

New Delhi

November 22, 1953

Dear...

I have received messages of greetings and good wishes on the occasion of my birthday from the Heads of our Missions abroad on their own behalf and on behalf of the members of their staff. I am deeply grateful to them and I hope they will convey my thanks to every member of their staff.

For the last six years and more, I have been associated with our Foreign Office and our Foreign Service. We have seen this Foreign Service grow up from small beginnings till it covers a considerable part of the world. During these years, we have had to face difficult problems and have often had to make difficult decisions. Whatever the wider policy might be, a great deal depends upon the manner in which we give effect to it, and therefore a considerable responsibility has attached to those who have the honour to represent this great country in foreign lands. How far we have succeeded, it is not for us to say. History will judge us later.

But few will deny that the prestige of India has increased greatly during these six years. We have avoided, as we should always avoid, playing a flashy role in international affairs. We have tried to the best of our ability to adhere to the aims and objectives of our policy. This can only be done satisfactorily if

1. JN Collection. Copies were sent to Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary.

there is a full appreciation of that policy and, above all, if we attach importance to the means we employ. Even right ends do not justify wrong means. Gradually, an appreciation has grown in other countries of our sincerity of purpose, even though there has been disagreement.

I should like all those who are connected with the work of our Missions abroad, from the Head of the Mission to the humblest employee, to feel and work as a happy family, cooperating with each other. That is our ideal for India, where we want no class distinctions to subsist. We should, therefore, bring this about, in so far as we can, in our work in our foreign Missions.

We are engaged in a great adventure and are all partners and comrades in the same undertaking. Let us be worthy of this high enterprise.

I thank you again and send you and all the members of your staff my good wishes.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Major Issues of Foreign Policy¹

I beg to move:

That the present international situation and the policy of the Government of India in relation thereto be taken into consideration....

...The compulsion of events or, if you like, some conspiracy of fate or circumstance has forced us to become actors on the world stage. It was no particular desire of ours to play a big part in international affairs that thrust us to that position, but circumstances were such that we could not escape that responsibility. And year after year our responsibilities have grown and we have to face these problems. They can only be faced if this Parliament supports the policy that is being pursued, and if the country does. May I say, in this connection, that sometimes people outside this country discuss with some warmth the question as to how far India is, as they put it assuming the leadership of some part of Asia, how far would I, in my capacity as the spokesman of India

1. Speech while moving a motion in the House of the People, 23 December 1953. *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People)*, Official Report, Vol. X, Pt. II, 7 to 24 December 1953, Cols. 2964-2988. Extracts.

in regard to foreign affairs, represent Asian opinion. I do not understand this question, nor do I understand why this particular matter worries people so much outside.

So far as I am concerned, I speak primarily for the Government in which I am. I speak, I think, also for this House which has repeatedly confirmed that policy, and I speak, I think, for the great majority of people in India. I cannot say that I speak for every one even in this House—obviously not—for some do not agree with us for this reason or other, I cannot say I speak for every one of the 360 millions of people in India, but I do claim that I speak in this matter, by and large, for the vast majority of the people of India.

I make no claim to speak for anyone outside India. I have repeatedly said that we do not desire what is called the position of leadership of Asia or anywhere else. We do not believe in that kind of leadership, we believe in the cooperation of nations, big and small. We have had far too much leadership in this world. Therefore, let there be no mistake about it. We make no claim to speak for others in Asia or to lead others, or to have any position of leadership anywhere. We do claim to have the right to speak for ourselves, and to act according to our thoughts in this matter.

There is some talk, often, of what is called "Asianism". Not a very beautiful word, but still, I do not quite know what people have in their minds when they talk of "Asianism", because I am not at all clear what it means. Here is this mighty continent of Asia, divided up into great countries and small. To put them together into one basket and call it "Asianism" has no meaning to me, but it has a certain meaning to me when I think along different lines. It so happens that, apart from geography which brings these countries nearer to each other, apart from the fact of contact, cultural and other association, sometimes extending to two or three thousand years or more, which naturally has brought us nearer to each other and made us to some extent understand each other, there is the major fact of common experience for a long period of time for these countries of Asia—common experience, common suffering, being subject to domination for a long period. And this common experience during the last two hundred years naturally brought about certain common reactions which we all know. Because of this long intercourse during millennia of our history and the history of other countries of Asia, because of this common experience, especially during the last few hundred years, or what might be called the colonial era in Asia, we have drawn mentally, you might say psychologically and morally, nearer to one another.

Therefore, we can to some extent understand each other better, even though we might be completely separated from each other by language and other ways of living. Because we can understand each other's reactions somewhat, it is easier for us to interpret each other's reactions. Therefore, if I venture to express an opinion in regard to the reactions of other countries, it is possible that I

might be nearer the truth than some countries and some people who have no such common bond of understanding, of experience, of common suffering, of common domination in struggles for freedom and liberty. It is only in that sense that I say that we are in a somewhat better position to express an opinion which is likely to be held by our neighbouring and other countries of Asia. But it may not be so occasionally. I do not say that any particular view of ours necessarily is the view of other Asian countries.

With that preamble I come to two or three subjects which I want this House to consider today, and as I have, with all respect, suggested, the discussion that follows might also be confined to those two or three important subjects and not roam over a wide field which normally is the case when we discuss foreign affairs in this House.

One of the subjects of high importance is what is happening in Korea. It is important not only because it is intrinsically so and it might well affect peace or war in the world, but it is important especially for us because we have got tied up to that in a variety of ways. We are there now in several capacities. India is a member of the Repatriation Commission. That is one capacity. India is further the Chairman of that Commission, and, thirdly, India is in charge of the custody of the prisoners of war.

In regard to the first, there are others too who are members of the Repatriation Commission, but the other two capacities, that of being Chairman and of having custody of the prisoners of war are our responsibility alone, and it is a difficult responsibility, as honourable members must know, if they have followed the history of the last ninety days. Ninety days—they end today. Today, therefore, is a turning point in a sense, in these developments in Korea...

...Who is then to consider the fate of these prisoners of war who have not gone home? The Political Conference had to do so. It is not there. So, obviously, something that was an essential part of the agreement between the two Commands has not taken shape. There is a big breach in it. How is it to be covered up?

It is a difficult question, and there have been various answers and various interpretations of the agreement in regard to this. And people argue sometimes in a strictly legal way, sometimes in other ways. On my part, if I may say so, I cannot and I do not propose in this matter to give interpretations of this agreement. But I am simply putting before the House some broad approaches to this problem.

If two parties make an agreement, and if difficulties arise in the carrying out of that agreement, then obviously it is up to the two parties concerned—in this case the two Commands—to consider that matter and to vary that agreement or come to a fresh agreement. Because, otherwise something that was intended has not taken place and I see no other way out. To presume that something will happen automatically, in spite of the fact that various important factors of that

agreement have not been given effect to, seems to me not quite a correct approach—this automatic happening. What should happen is a fresh consideration by the parties concerned to this problem, and then, let us hope, a fresh way of approach or a variation of the existing agreement to suit the circumstances. That will be a right thing. In this matter, after the thirty days, after the Political Conference period, comes the next thirty days, during which period, according to the terms, the Indian Custodian Force can remain there.

In fact, it is its duty to remain there to dispose of certain other matters. After the end of the 150 days, according, again, to the terms of the agreement, the Indian Force there has no business to continue remaining there unless, again, there is an agreement by the parties concerned. According to that agreement it may or may not stay, because it is a question of their agreement plus our agreement too. Now that is the position.

Our viewpoint in these matters has been that while, of course, agreement should be given a correct interpretation, nevertheless the main objective should always be kept in view, the main objective being, well, ultimately a settlement, but primarily minor settlements leading to a major settlement, immediately the settlement of this question of prisoners of war.

Imagine, if, as appears to be the case now, large numbers of prisoners of war had not thus far been given a chance of explanation or, you may like to put it, they have not gone through that process, they remain ever, what has to be done with them? It is not an easy matter to be decided even by interpreting this agreement, because the agreement presumes that some processes will take place before the final decision was taken. Those preliminary processes have not taken place.

What is going to happen? If you say that on a certain date, that is on the 20th day, 23rd January or so, according to the terms of the agreement, these prisoners of war revert, or whatever the word is, to civilian status, whatever that may mean exactly, what is going to happen overnight between 23rd December and 23rd January? There are twenty or twenty five thousand persons. We may perhaps, if that is the decision, simply withdraw our Custodian Force. Or, do we push the prisoners out of this camp where they are, which is a demilitarized neutral area, or do we hand them over to somebody? All kind of extraordinary and difficult questions arise. It is not a simple matter even apart from the principles involved...

The Repatriation Commission, as the House knows, is constituted in a special way and India is supposed to be the neutral Chairman of it: I repeat, India. General Thimayya functions there on our behalf. General Thimayya is not the Chairman in his personal capacity. India is the Chairman of that Commission and therefore, the responsibility for this falls on India, not on merely General Thimayya, who has performed this very very difficult work with considerable ability and patience. We have to shoulder this responsibility.

At the same time, we have tried not to interfere in this matter during these intervening stages. At some stage or other, it may be necessary for us to express our opinion definitely as the Government of India. At some stage, at the proper time and the proper place, we shall no doubt do so. But, we have not thought it desirable or proper to intervene or interfere, in any sense, with the proceedings there. We understand that the Commission propose very soon to make a report to the two Commands about this 90 days' period, point out the difficulties that they have had, how they have been unable to discharge fully the responsibility that was cast upon them and ask them to vary the old agreement or come to some agreement or express their opinion as to what should be done. It would be an easy matter, of course, if the two Commands agree to any course of action. There would be no difficulty either for the Commission or for US. Difficulties arise when the two Commands do not agree. Difficulties might arise within the Commission too. If the Commission is not of any unanimous opinion, the burden of decision then falls on the Chairman, that is the present position.

I hope that even at this stage, it may be possible for the two Commands to come to some agreement as to how to proceed now, whether to extend this period somewhat or in any other way, so that we might get out of this deadlock and might not have to face all kinds of intricate and difficult problems a month hence or later. Possibly, the United Nations General Assembly will meet either on the 9th February as they have fixed up or, if necessity arises, it may be sooner. And, no doubt, there as well as earlier, the Government of India's views in regard to all these matters will be expressed fully.

At the present moment, I expect in the course of a very short period, two or three days perhaps, that the Commission will present their report to the two Commands. That is in so far as this Korean question is concerned.

The second question I wish to deal with is, the proposals or the talks in regard to the giving of military aid by the United States to Pakistan. This question has naturally aroused a great deal of interest in India, and not only in India, but all over Asia, and, if I may say so, in countries outside Asia also. Anything of this kind that may happen in a neighbouring country, whatever that neighbouring country might be, would be of great interest and concern to us. Having said that, I should like to add that I do not view this matter, and I do not want this House or this country to look at it in an alarmist way, for a variety of reasons. First of all, I do not want this House to consider any matter in an alarmist way, whatever it be. We have been used to many ups and downs in the course of even our recent history in the present generation and we do not, I hope, easily get perturbed by any developments.

It is not such from the point of its reaction—direct reaction—on India, which of course is obvious that I would like this House to consider this matter, but from a larger point of view. May I say that it is rather difficult for me or

any of us to know exactly what has happened or what is happening? There have been so many statements on this subject by men in authority and in high position, both in Pakistan and in the United States of America, that one would have thought that full light had been thrown on it. As a matter of fact, the effect of all these statements, taken together, is to darken the atmosphere rather than to throw light. They do not quite fit in with each other. But for my part, I am perfectly prepared to, and I do accept, the statement of the Prime Minister of Pakistan in regard to this matter. He has stated that there is no talk of any American bases being established in Pakistan, or of any military alliance between the two countries, but that there have been talks, formal or informal, about military aid being given to Pakistan. Let us take it at that and no more.

The first thought that occurs to me is this. When I think of any military aid freely given from a country of the West, or any country, to a country of the East, the past history of Asia comes up before me, the history of the last three or four hundred years, the history of colonial domination gradually creeping in here and establishing itself. Then I see in the present period in which we live, after all these three or four hundred years of subjection and domination by others, the countries of Asia freeing themselves and becoming independent nations; and then I see some development being thought of which seems to me to reverse this process of liberation and freedom of Asia, which again brings to my mind that period when foreign armies came to Asia. They came in small numbers, they grew. They utilized our own people whom they trained for the purpose.

I do not like that thought. This may not be applicable in the present circumstances, because you cannot repeat history, but the analogy is not a very distant one. I remember how, even in our country, our own people were made into soldiers serving foreign masters; how they were sent to other countries to help in enslaving other people. I do not like it. I react very strongly against anything that brings back that old process even though it may be in a small measure. It is a bad thing. So far as I am concerned, and I have not a shadow of a doubt that I speak in this particular matter for every single Member of this House—we will not tolerate any foreign soldiers now. We want no protection from others. We want comrades, we want colleagues, we want friends, and we have worked for the friendship of other countries. But we do not want any people to protect us with their armies and navies and air forces. Because we know by long and bitter experience that such protection becomes something else later.² Because even the act of asking for that protection, seeking it, disables us, makes us weak and feeble, and dependent upon others. If India is going to survive, India will survive by her strength and self-confidence, not by relying on others.

2. Algu Rai Shastri interjected: And degrading too!

Our own struggle for freedom has taught us one or two things. We sought the goodwill of others, and we seek the goodwill of others, and we shall continue to seek that goodwill. But we are not going to ask any country to defend us with its armed forces, whether we have enough or not, I do not know, if a contingency like that arises. But, perhaps, we have something else which might stand us in good stead, and that is the spirit of man. But it is a dangerous thing if, in relying upon others, we lose that spirit. If India loses her soul, what will it profit her, who defends her?

If that is our attitude in regard to India, in regard to our own country, I should have liked this attitude also to be that of our neighbouring countries, of all countries of Asia, not only India. And I say that about Pakistan in all friendliness. We have had many troubles, many conflicts with Pakistan, and some continue. We have found it difficult to resolve them. Nevertheless, whether the conflict has continued or not, it has been our firm policy, and I do submit that is the only logical and reasonable policy for our country, to have to work for friendly relations with Pakistan, because I see no future, no good future, for India or Pakistan except on the basis and foundation of friendly relations.

That being so, if I react in this way, it is not for lack of friendly feeling for Pakistan, but rather as I would react to something happening to a friendly nation which I greatly regret, something, which will not, as I said, prove security and strength to Pakistan, but will weaken her in the real matters in which national strength lies. I entirely accept, as I said, the Prime Minister of Pakistan's statement that there are no bases given, that there is no military alliance. But once you permit military aid freely coming in like this, it inevitably brings about certain consequences. And for the moment, I would say that it does not matter, what the quantum of that aid is, little or more, it does matter in a sense, but, essentially, it does not matter, because once that type of aid comes in it has made a qualitative difference to the situation.

I say that I accept the Prime Minister of Pakistan's statement that there are no bases. But when military aid comes in, the whole country becomes a base, not a question of an odd base here and an odd base there, but the whole country can be utilised for other purposes laid down by other countries and other people. Therefore, it is a dangerous step to take, dangerous for many countries, for us, for Pakistan, and more especially for Pakistan. I do submit that such a step, instead of giving security to Pakistan, actually hampers the work for peace.

What has been our policy in India? I have often stated it in varying terms and language here in this House. I am talking about our basic international policy. I have said, we want friendship with all countries. We work for peace in so far as we can. We have no pretensions about our strength to do this or that. We are a country struggling, after independence, to consolidate ourselves, to strengthen ourselves economically, politically and in other ways. We are not strong enough to play fast and loose with other countries. So when I say we

work for peace, I do not mean that we make a very mighty difference to the world's history, and it was not in a spirit of boastfulness that we said so. But we did work for peace, and we passionately sought peace, and seek peace, because we think, both from our point of view and the world's that it is essential. Therefore, in so far as we can, we have to throw our weight for the avoidance of war, and the search of peace. And naturally, because we thought that it was a right policy too, more especially, for our neighbour countries, our friends round about us. And on many matters, as this House knows, we have cooperated with them, either here or in the United Nations.

A kind of group arose there, called the Asian-African group; there was no compulsion in it, but there was a good deal of friendly cooperation in that group, and we welcomed that, we welcome this cooperation in other ways too, and we found that these other neighbour countries of ours, and often, I may say, Pakistan also, cooperated in that group. So, in these larger measures, we found that these neighbour countries of ours more or less thought alike with us. Why? Not because we were leaders and they were followers, but because they were conditioned in the same way as we were conditioned by our past history and events and other things. It may be, of course, that the pressure of events may force them to do something else. That is a different matter. Some pressure of this or some pressure of that, when applied to them, may make them function in a different way. But they reacted in the same way, and it was our hope—and it is our hope—that thus there would be an evergrowing area where war will not take place, even if the catastrophe and misfortune of war comes in some parts of the world.

People talked about a third force and all that. I venture to point out that it has no meaning, and no logic, there is no force in it, you may have the third force or the fourth force, but it is no force, because it is all created out of nothing. But I do say, that it is desirable to have an area where peace might, perhaps, subsist, even if war was declared. That would be good, of course, to the countries there, but would be good for the world too, because that area would exercise some influence, when a crisis came, on avoidance of war. Also, if by some mischance, war came with all its terror, if a large area is outside the scope, it may play a useful role, even afterwards in bringing about peace.

I want this House to consider this fact, namely, if in the world, there was no country left, which was not lined up with this big group of powers or that big group, that is, there was a perfect and absolute division into these two groups, all over the world, whether that will be a factor conducive to peace or war. I say definitely that if that is so, war would be terribly near, and war would take place. The mere fact of a number of countries even though they might not be militarily powerful or financially strong—that do not want to do anything which helps war, do not, if I may say so with all respect, talk about security and peace, in terms of heavier and heavier armaments, will act as a

brake; if there are such countries, they are, in some measure, a brake on war.

Therefore, those people who seek peace, who welcome the idea that certain parts on the world's surface do not want war, and do not propose to go in for war, even though others go in for it, should have welcomed our policy. But anyhow, whether, they welcomed it or not, this was a policy which can be understood and appreciated by our neighbour countries in Asia. They did appreciate it. If it is so, if military aid comes from the United States of America to Pakistan, obviously there is a breach in that peace area, it is not an insurance of peace that it brings about, but it lessens the chances of peace, undoubtedly, and I have no doubt in my mind.

To talk of security, in this connection, seems to me to look at the picture from the wrong end completely. Our friends in Pakistan have protested against what I have said and what some of our Indian newspapers have said about this matter.

But look at the reactions of Asian countries. I do not know how far honourable Members have read these reactions of the press of many countries in Western Asia, in South or South East Asia. Almost in every country, almost without exception, these reports of military aid, etc. coming to Pakistan from the United States of America have been viewed with concern, and they have all, in a friendly way, advised Pakistan not to enter into any such agreement, because of the obvious consequences that flow from it.

Pakistan is an independent country, and as an independent country, it can do what it chooses. It is not for me or anyone else to limit its independence. But just as I cannot limit Pakistan's independence in this or any other matter, I cannot limit my independence to deal with the matter or to refer to the matter when it has such large consequences. In every country, I say it is an interesting factor, whether it is our neighbour Ceylon or even Indonesia or Burma or Iraq or Egypt or other countries — I am only speaking of the countries whose press I have read; others I do not know, I cannot read all the newspapers of Asia — but I have been surprised, and pleasantly surprised, if I may say so, at the common reaction in almost all these countries. And those countries, mind you are friendly to Pakistan, very friendly; there is no question of any hostility to Pakistan. But they sense the danger of this thing; they sense the danger, even as we sense the danger to Asia, by this return of the tide if I may say so, of Europe or America using armies even for the defence of these countries.

So, that is the position. That is why we have drawn the attention of the Pakistan Government to this matter. Because I would have thought, as a matter of fact, that in a matter of such an import, in such a matter, it would have been desirable for the Pakistan Government even previously to keep us informed of what they were doing, whether or not they accept our advice, because it is a matter which concerns neighbour countries. But if they did not do so, it would be utterly wrong for us not to inform the Pakistan Government of our reactions,

and all the possible consequences of that action. Therefore, in all friendliness, and at the same time, in all firmness, we have pointed out these consequences.³

Now, look at another aspect of this question. Obviously, if military aid comes to Pakistan from the United States of America, it upsets all kinds of balances, the present, existing equilibrium and all that. We have been considering many questions with Pakistan in the past, gradually, rather warily, going step by step forward towards some agreement on this issue or that issue. All those questions were considered in a particular context which existed then, and which exists, if you like, even today. Now all that context changes; all that background and context change when one of the greatest powers of the world sponsors military aid to Pakistan. And again, I say, it is a matter of little consequence how much that aid is; it is the sponsoring of aid that makes all the difference in the world. So the whole context of our considering these problems had changed, and I want the House to realize it...

...I shall now refer briefly to the third matter; that is a certain very unfortunate reversal of the process of the withdrawal of colonialism. I do not suppose that this reversal can have long effect because conditions in the world do not encourage that. But, it will be a matter of deep regret that attempts should be made to perpetuate or lengthen the days of colonial rule. In this matter, it would not be much good to me or, if I may say so with respect, to other members, merely to proclaim some high principle and expect some things to be done overnight. I do not expect it, but I do expect a certain direction to be followed and, if it is not followed, I fear grave dangers.

In this business of colonialism, of course, the question of racial discrimination comes in. In regard to racial discrimination, I have said there can be no compromise of any kind. I realize that one cannot put an end to almost age-long customs quickly and suddenly. But, there is such a thing, first of all by law and constitution putting an end to racial discrimination and then trying one's best to put an end to it in practice in social affairs. We put an end to untouchability here by the law of the Constitution and my colleague the Home Minister is bringing in a Bill to make untouchability a crime. Well and good. I realize that I have by law ended untouchability, but even now, here and there social practices may continue, but let us fight them.

But this kind of legal, constitutional and every kind of recognition and perseverance in maintaining this racial discrimination, racial suppression, is something that is absolutely intolerable.

As I said, I can understand somebody misbehaving somewhere; I can condone it or punish it. But, if Governments misbehave like that, it is intolerable. I express my deep regret that when we consider the case of the South African

3. See *ante*, pp. 413-417, 434-438.

Union, which is the most flagrant example, when this matter comes up, as it does annually, before the United Nations Assembly, it is a matter of surprise and deep regret to me that there are nations and great nations at that, which support South Africa or at least abstain. There is no question of abstention when this monstrous evil comes up for discussion. There is no question of anybody taking shelter under any legal quibble, whether this is a matter to come up there or not. This is a matter which vitally affects hundreds of millions of people all over the world. It is about time that others realized it; and, laws or no laws, this racial discrimination in Africa or Asia or anywhere in the world will not be tolerated. It is an amazing thing to me.

The other day, a question arose, I believe it is a minor affair, no it is not a minor affair. Some very respectable citizen, I think, of Bermuda was not allowed in a hotel or a club or somewhere I forget now, I think it was an Attorney-General or somebody.⁴ This was, of course, deeply regretted. But, it was said, unfortunately, if he was allowed in that hotel tourist traffic might suffer. That was the excuse given, so that in the balance of things, tourist traffic was more important than the self-respect of hundreds of millions of people in this world.

This is the kind of thing which is more dangerous and more explosive in this world than almost anything I can think of. And I am surprised that some people in Europe and some people in America do not realize this. It angers us. I realize difficulties; when I refer to these colonial territories, I realize that questions are complicated and delicate. But, however difficult, one tries to solve them; he does not go back.

Recently, the House will know that in the course of the court martial in Kenya, certain evidence was given which showed a state of affairs which was shocking. It may be of course that officers were not responsible for it; but, when one plays about with a country under colonial domination in that way, this kind of thing happens. It has happened and, during almost a year now, in Kenya conditions have been painful and distressful in the extreme.⁵

If you go to Africa, the real bright spot of Africa has been the Gold Coast and, to some extent, Nigeria, where progress has been made and will be made⁶

4. Coloured people in Bermuda were kept out of the State dinner to the Queen who had visited Bermuda at the time of the "Big Three" conference.
5. Vast tracts of fertile land had been reserved in Kenya for the benefit of its white settlers and the bulk of the native population had been allotted some reserves which were inferior in kind and restricted in area. Africans who could not make a living on the reserved land were forced to go out as labourers to the white man's land to work on meagre wages and suffer indignities based on colour. Many natives who strongly objected to this state of affairs had organized themselves in opposition—the Mau Mau Movement—which was proclaimed by Britain to be terrorist in character.
6. In the Gold Coast (Ghana) and Nigeria the handing over of power by an imperialist government to a national government was peacefully taking place at this time.

I hope. I am surprised that while this policy has been pursued in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, a contrary policy has been pursued in other parts. The House knows also about Uganda,⁷ the Central African Federation. It is a very good idea to have Central African Federation⁸ and it is not my concern to interfere with it. But, if anything is imposed against the will of a large number of inhabitants, it is a bad thing and it will not last. We used to talk about authoritarianism and fascism and the like. If a small or a comparatively small racial group perpetuates its authority over a large nation, especially of a different group, well, I do not know what the difference is in that type of fascism and this.

Recently in the Sudan, elections have taken place. And, to some extent, we in India were connected with them in that we sent one of our senior officers to conduct those elections.⁹ Fortunately, these elections took place peacefully and successfully and very soon, I suppose the Sudan will function with a very large measure of independence; not quite that, because that will come, I believe, according to the schedule, two or three years later. This development in the Sudan is, if I may say so, of historic significance. That is to say, in the heart of Africa an independent State, I will not for a moment refer to its full context, for it may choose to have contacts with other countries like Egypt, but the emergence of such a State in the heart of Africa is of great importance for the whole of Africa.

Close to Nigeria in importance now, the Sudan comes into the picture because whatever might be happening in Asia in regard to colonialism, which is on a small scale and is bound to end, the real issue of colonialism is in Africa, it may be in other places like British Guiana, but it is really Africa that counts in the future, and I think in the next few years, this question of Africa

7. The Kabaka or King of Buganda had been sacked by the Colonial Office because he opposed the plan for East African Federation consisting of Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika and asked for independence for Buganda within the Commonwealth.
8. In October 1952, Britain ushered in a Federation in Central Africa consisting of Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The motive for the creation of the new political unit was Britain's economic need to exploit the three federating colonies to greater purpose and move effectively by means of a central agency than was possible with three separate governments. The federation did not involve diminution of political control that the British settlers exercised over native population's. All talk was about the development of the colony, not about the improvement to be effected in the living conditions of the bulk of the inhabitants.
9. Elections in the Sudan took place in November and December 1953. Sukumar Sen, Election Commissioner of India, had been lent by the Government of India to the Government of Egypt to serve on the election commission in the Sudan.

will become ever more important and if it is not settled peacefully and cooperatively, it will give a tremendous amount of trouble.

We see in Africa, as I said, the bright spots of Gold Coast and Nigeria suddenly emerging. We see trouble in the north, Morocco, Tunisia and elsewhere. We see in fact that we are going through in Africa a revolution against colonialism, or colonial revolution, call it what you like. It is a very major thing of the age, just as the emergence of Asia is a major thing of the age, and so I would hope that the great countries responsible for these matters will consider them in their true perspective, not imagining that they are going to profit by carrying on these policies, which cannot possibly continue for long. These are the three matters that I venture to place before the Members of the House, Sir, and I am grateful for their patience in listening to me.

6. A Realistic Approach to Problems¹

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the House was good enough to show me so much indulgence yesterday by the patience with which it listened to my long address. But I feel I will not be justified in taking much more of its time. This is the last day of the session and much work has to be done. Nevertheless, I should like to say a few words, more particularly with reference to what has been said by honourable Members.

Most Members, in so far as foreign policy is concerned or the present developments in this policy are concerned, have not really, in effect, challenged me. They may have emphasised some aspect of it or the other. That is a matter for gratification to me. I must confess, however, that when Mr V.G. Deshpande said that he saw a silver lining in my policy. I began to feel some doubt as to whether I was quite right, because, normally speaking, we are far apart, and what he considers right, I consider wrong and *vice-versa*. However, there has been undoubtedly a very great deal of agreement on the broad lines of policy, and in fact, many of the criticisms that have been made have been made outside the matters that we were really discussing yesterday. Perhaps some honourable Members felt their style cramped because I had requested them to confine

1. Reply to a debate in the House of the People, 24 December 1953. *Parliamentary Debates (House of the People)*, *Official Report*, Vol. X, Pt. II, 7 to 24 December 1953, Cols. 3079-3097.

themselves to the two or three subjects which I had mentioned. Normally, sometimes when these debates take place, speeches roam over a wide field; they cover the entire world. And so, because we were supposed to confine ourselves more or less to particular matters, here was this slightly baffling and cramping effect.

My honourable friend opposite, Acharya Kripalani, whose words are always listened to with respect by all of us, had not caught up to the fact that we were discussing foreign affairs. He started discussing the Preventive Detention Act and all that. Now that is my difficulty, that in this changing dynamic world honourable Members opposite do not catch up to events. They still live in a past age, a good age, a very good age, but not of today, without attempting to face the different problems of today. The language, the arguments and the slogans and the reasoning of yesterday do not apply today. It is obvious. It is a patent thing. Yet the same old things are said, the same old arguments are trotted out, whether they have any reference to the discussion or not. Normally speaking, one very favourite argument, when these debates take place, for honourable Members opposite, is the Commonwealth, the Commonwealth connection. Altogether they cannot get rid of them.

If instead of referring to it so much, they spend a little time in understanding what it is, perhaps our paths would be easier and their paths too. But, everything that is ill is traced to the Commonwealth connection. The Commonwealth connection may be good or bad. I think it is extraordinarily good; I stand by it. I still stand by it without agreeing in the slightest with the policy of any country in the Commonwealth or disagreeing with it. It is not that, but, when I am told, 'Oh, this has happened and that has happened because of the Commonwealth connection', it has no connection, no relevance because the thing might have happened without the Commonwealth connection, or with it. You can discuss that matter independently whether it is good or bad, but don't say that a certain condition is caused by this.

However, I was very glad to find the honourable Members opposite, Prof. Hiren Mukerjee studying the *Gita*.² And, I hope he will continue those studies and reach that part of it in which a question is put by Arjuna,³ and Krishna

स्थितप्राज्ञस्य का भाषा समधिस्थस्य केशव ।

स्थितधीः किं प्रभाषेत् किमासोत् ब्रजेत किम् ।।

2. *Bhagavad Gita*, the Song of God, is a text forming part of the *Mahabharata* and consisting of a dialogue between Arjuna and his charioteer, Sri Krishna.

3. In the *Bhagavad Gita*, chapter II, verse 54, Arjuna puts four questions to Sri Krishna: 'What is the definition (mark) of a God-realized soul, stable of mind and established in *Samadhi* (perfect tranquillity of mind)? How does the man of stable mind speak, how does he sit, how does he talk?'

answers⁴ it in noble language, that famous part. I hope, all of us in debate or in the rest of our lives will remember these noble words and try to live up to the best of our ability, to that ideal.

I do not propose to say much about the major subjects that we discussed yesterday; I have said enough. But, some points that were mentioned, not really relating to those subjects, I shall refer to.

Aeharya Kripalani complained that we do not consult other parties in regard to foreign affairs; and he said that in other countries foreign affairs is a national policy in which, to a large extent, all parties agree. I am not personally aware of these other countries where in foreign affairs all parties agree, except in certain countries where other parties are not allowed to exist. But, normally speaking, there is a great difference. It is all right in the old days when foreign affairs was looked upon, if I may say so, from a narrower angle, but nowadays, when foreign affairs is entangled with economic affairs and other matters, that is the very subject on which parties disagree; whether it is any country in Europe, or even in England—a country which shows a great measure of discipline in such matters—there is a great deal of difference in outlook, not in everything of course, and indeed policies change when Governments change, and even, to some extent, when foreign Ministers change.

Perhaps, the honourable Members had in mind, what is often called in the United States of America, the “bi-partisan policy” of the United States. I am not competent to say what that “bi-partisan policy” is. I find it difficult sometimes to understand that. But, however, that may be, even in that “bi-partisan policy” there are considerable differences as between one Government and the other. I only point out that it is not quite correct to say or to think that a nation, and the various groups and parties in the nation must necessarily have one policy. I should like to have it, not that I am opposed to it, but I ask honourable Members opposite whether all of them agree to any single policy. Leave out us, I put it to them. There are leaders of parties opposite and several parties; do they agree to any single policy in regard to foreign affairs? I would submit, they do not. In some matters they may agree, in others, they do not. but by and large, they have no single policy. I want to consult, undoubtedly, and one should consult and in times of crisis or difficulty or when grave issues

4. In verses 55, 56, 57 and 58, Sri Krishna describes the mark of a person possessed of a stable mind by saying that he has no cravings and desires; is satisfied in the self, requiring no external means of enjoyment; remains unperturbed in sorrows; is devoid of thirst for pleasures; is absolutely free from passion, fear and anger; remains unattached to everything and neither rejoices nor recoils when meeting with good and evil, and withdrawing his senses from sense-objects keeps them under complete control.

are being considered, it is right that the nation should hold together and that there should be the greatest consultations possible. I agree entirely; but, to say that in developing a foreign policy, one must take always into consideration a large number of heterogeneous ideas and proceed on the basis of consulting numerous groups with different viewpoints, would be to make foreign policy a question of debate between differing groups. As a matter of fact, that type of debate, while it may not yield results in times of crisis, it is still more likely to create difficulty. If war is considered a time of crisis, it was said by Macaulay that while wars have sometimes been won by bad generals, it is not known in history that a debating society ever won a battle.

It is suggested that we should reduce the conduct of these high affairs relating to foreign policy to frequent consultation and debate, not debate in this House I mean, I am all in favour of consultation as far as possible, but somebody must shoulder the responsibility for that policy; otherwise, we will find that nobody is responsible and the outcome will be a bit of this and a bit of that, without any coherence, without any logic, and trying to satisfy all parties. It is better to have a slightly different policy, a coherent policy and not a policy without any coherence.⁵

Acharya Kripalani said that he is all in favour of the policy of nonalignment, but that we, who proclaimed it forgot it and do not practise it. I do not know what he had in mind. It is perfectly true that we happen to live in this work-a-day world and have to cooperate with our neighbours, our neighbour in the street, our neighbour in the town and our neighbour internationally. We have not, as a nation, or as a Government, taken to *sanyasa* yet. We have to cooperate with the world; we have to give and take. We have to accept many things that we do not like just as others have to accept from us much they do not like. So that, to say that we must consider ourselves as irreproachable, as blameless, and guiltless and must not touch anybody who does not come up to the particular ideal of ours, whether right or wrong, is a different matter, and is not a realistic approach to anything. We go to the United Nations; all kinds of countries are represented there, and, in our heart of hearts, we like some of them more than others. We meet some parties, we go there, we confer and when we confer in the United Nations or anywhere else in any Committee, there are compromises. We do not say, 'You must take my word, yes or no, or I go out.' Countries do not behave like that; even individuals, normally do not. So that, often enough, in these matters, whether in the United Nations or elsewhere, we have to compromise about many matters which come up. It may be true that when we support, the process of compromise, there is some danger, that we do not

5. J.B. Kripalani here remarked: I am 'sorry. I withdraw my suggestion. Let the foreign policy be one man's policy.

compromise too much; we do not go the slippery path; it may be so. But, there is no help for that; you have to face that and guard against that. You cannot say, 'I would not talk to anybody who does not take my word completely; or I go out'.

Let me put it in a rather crude form. I say, I will only talk to people who talk my language, say Hindi. Of course, for a time, for a moment it may have a good effect. But, I may be cut off from the rest of the world, the entire world. Of course, my saying that is severe; but it comes to the same thing in regard to ideas. Suppose, I say I would not talk to anybody who does not hold my ideas, who does not accept my ideas. Again, I cut myself off, because there has to be communion of ideas, there has to be give and take about it, there has to be an understanding in this dynamic, everchanging world of today.

Leave out the world; take your own country. The people of this country, whether in the North East of India or right down in Cape Comorin, live in all kinds of conditions, and yet they are essentially identical, essentially the same. There is a very strong identity, uniformity in the whole of the country, but yet there is a richness of variety, which is a great thing. We welcome that richness of variety; we cannot drive anybody and everybody with a single stick, with a single idea. We have to adopt ourselves and we have to give them freedom to do things as they do.

Therefore, in international affairs, we cannot take up this attitude, 'Oh, you must agree with me, or I would have nothing to do with you'. The result may be that you can sit in your isolated conditions separately and have nothing to do with others. That is not possible. Even if we wanted it, that is not a possibility.

Today, we live in a world—whether you like it or not—we live in the beginning of the atomic age, of the jet planes, and all those kinds of things that rush us past at several miles a minute, and therefore, when we talk about agreeing to something, which may not be quite upto our way of thinking or something that we dislike, it may be, that often happens, that others agree to many things that we do but which they do not like. That is the only way to do things. The point is whether we agree to something basically wrong, whether that upsets the basic policy that we pursue or other things which are of secondary importance in life.

In foreign affairs, especially, what counts is what you place first. Priorities count, and it counts a great deal whether you give a certain thing the first place, or the second place or the third place. If you are always thinking in terms of something in the third order of priority, your first and second go overboard. Therefore, in order to take the first thing, which is most important, you have things to put away the second and the third, in spite of the pain that it may cause you.

Acharya Kripalani said that we should not have gone to Korea and we

should not have referred the Kashmir matter to the United Nations. I find that the policies of many of my honourable friends opposite are normally a policy of negation, 'what we must not do'. Am I to argue in the year 1953 what we should have done or not done in the year 1947? Can we ever come to the present in our talks for the understanding of these problems? I can argue that point what was done in 1947? After all, we are considering the situation today and that is; if I may say so, my difficulty, that honourable Members opposite cannot come to the present. They are so wrapped up in the past events. Let us assume for a moment that we committed not one but a hundred mistakes, two, five or seven years ago. What about it? We have to face the situation today, or else we shall never come to the present.

Honourable Members opposite asked about Korea. Why did we go to Korea? Was it to gain honour, glory and prestige that we went to Korea? We went to Korea because, if we did not go to Korea, the first thing was that there would have been no truce, no ceasefire in Korea, the war would have gone on with all the dangers of that war expanding. Regarding our going or not going, I cannot speak, of course, with the prophet's certainty, but as we saw the problem then, and subsequent events have justified it, The only way at that time to get that Resolution through in the United Nations first, and subsequently between the two Commands, was for India to fill a gap, which no other country could fill. I am not talking in terms of any virtue of India but it is a factual statement that no other country was agreeable to fill that particular gap. If that gap was not filled, then the agreement did not come off. If that agreement did not come off, then the ceasefire did not take place and that terrible war went on. I am not going into the merits of the war—that presents a different story. Therefore we had to face the problem with the utmost reluctance. We accepted the job and I would accept it not once, but a hundred times again, because I owe a duty not only to my country but to others, and I was amazed to see, not only in this House, but for the last one month or two people say or write in the newspapers, 'Call back immediately your troops from Korea'. It surprises me that when they say these things, they do not consider the question with the least degree of responsibility.

We are not a great military nation, nor a rich nation, but we have certain standards by which we act as a people, I hope as a nation. Because somebody says something, because President Rhee says something that we do not like, can we call back our troops and upset the whole apple cart, war or no war, massacre or no massacre? That is the height of irresponsibility. We are not going to do that. So far as we are in charge of the affairs, we are going to discharge the work to the best of our ability. Our ability may be limited, but in so far as we can do it, we shall do it and we shall discharge it with fairness and impartiality...

Then, Mr. Mookerjee referred to foreign experts. Naturally, I cannot discuss

the question of any individual expert, good or bad. But I do not understand this business, he objects not to foreign experts but to a particular nationality of a foreign expert. Obviously he does not object to foreign experts as such. It is quite clear that we want to develop our industries, our technique, our sciences. We want to develop them. Obviously, in developing them we want expert guidance. We may conceivably develop without expert guidance too; but only you will take ten times as much time; instead of two years, we would take fifteen or twenty years for the same. It is obvious that every country has done it too. We want the best technical advice possible. Let there be no mistake about it. It is not patriotism or nationalism that counts in this matter. If we want a technical expert from abroad, we ought to get him from abroad — it does not matter whether your man is thrown out of his job or not. We cannot get a second-rate man for doing a first-rate job. Technically considered, you may have, although it is not good, a second-rate administrator, but you just cannot do it if you want a second-rate technical man to do a first-rate technical job. It would not be done, simply.

Therefore, we must have the very best men — we may make a mistake in choosing a person. But the sooner we get high-class technical experts, the sooner we can ask them to start the plants. It is part of their business to train our people, and it is not a question of 'lecture' training, but training by experience in doing big jobs.

We have undertaken in this country some of the biggest jobs that are being done in the world. There are the river valley projects. Some honourable Members have seen them, and often they have criticized them. That criticism may be right or wrong in a particular matter, but the fact of the matter is that they are magnificent jobs magnificently done, taken as a whole. Anybody who sees them realizes it. It is not a question of argument. Anybody who sees them, whether he comes from any part of India, or from Russia or China, realizes that it is a magnificent job magnificently done, in spite of all the mistakes that have been committed.

Then, to do big things, we have to look and consider them in a big way and remove all trivial failings. You remember the bigness of the job. You do not do a big job in a pettifogging way. So, we will not entrust them to any persons who are not absolutely top-ranking. In that particular respect, from the point of view of experience, I am sure even in the present generation our engineers are very good; they have been exceedingly good; they are improving, that is to say, they are getting experience of these big jobs and they can do the biggest job, I am quite sure, after a few years' time. But, for the present, it does help us to have good experts from abroad. From the point of view of finance, sometimes it does not matter what you pay him, because he saves you so much. So, the question of foreign experts must be viewed in that light...

Now, Dr. Lanka Sundaram gave some facts which rather surprised me.⁶ I do not know where his information comes from about the happenings on the Indo-Tibetan border. He said that 100,000 or, I forget 50,000, troops are concentrated there. I have a few sources of information too, but I have not got that information. I should be very happy if Dr. Lanka Sundaram will supply me with some information on that subject so that I can verify it. I am in intimate touch this way and that way on the border, on both sides, and those figures which he mentioned, so far as I am concerned are completely wrong, and far out from truth. I would like to say further that in a way, in the way in which Dr. Lanka Sundaram put it, there seems to be some connection with our talks with China which are going to take place in the course of the next week in Peking, some connection between them and the recent developments in regard to the proposals for US military aid to Pakistan.⁷

It was not your intention, I know, but Members might have thought so. As a matter of fact this question of our talks in Peking has been under correspondence for the last many, many months, and ultimately, I should think, about three months back, we suggested to the Chinese Government that we would like to have some talks with them and that we could have them either in Delhi or in Peking. Thereupon they agreed to Peking. We asked our Ambassador to come here. We have had talks with our Ambassador and now he has gone back; and one or two other officials of our Foreign Office are also going there. I think that before this year is out the talks will begin. But they have no relation to any other problem, except these problems in regard to Tibetan trade, pilgrimage and such like problems.

Dr Lanka Sundaram also referred to some maps and Chinese claims to suzerainty, and the McMahon Line and all that. I cannot speak for the Chinese Government, of course, what they may have in their minds or not. But I know what has happened in the course of the last two or three years. Repeatedly we have discussed with them these problems, in regard to Tibet especially, because India has some special interests in Tibet, trade, pilgrimage, etc. At no time has any question been raised by them or by anybody about frontier problems. This House knows very well that I have declared here in answer to questions, in

6. During the debate Lanka Sundaram (Independent) referred to the news about "percolation" of the Chinese troops on the Indo-Tibetan border across various passes. He claimed that 60,000 to 100,000 Chinese troops were poised across the Himalayan border, and expressed concern over the Government's inadequate security measures. He also pointed out India's special responsibility towards Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal and Tibet, and referred to the existence of a note in the External Affairs Ministry in which it was mentioned that China was disinclined to accept the McMahon Line. He moved an amendment pressing for the strengthening of the national defence. The amendment was later withdrawn.
7. Lanka Sundaram said here: "It was not my intention."

foreign affairs debates, repeatedly that so far as we are concerned, there is nothing to discuss about the frontier. The frontier is there: the McMahon Line is there. We have nothing to discuss with anybody, with the Chinese Government or any other Government about it. There it remains. The question does not arise. So our people have gone there not to discuss the frontier problem. It is not an issue at all to be discussed.

Dr. Lanka Sundaram also referred to some leaflet of the External Affairs Ministry in which something was said about an undefined border. Now I speak from memory; but, so far as I remember, that refers to the border with Burma. Especially in the Naga territory, there is an area which is not really defined and there have been vague talks with the Burmese Government. So far as the McMahon Line is concerned it was fixed long ago. It is true that having fixed it on the map, it is not fixed in the sense of putting down pillars and the like, there may occasionally be some doubt.⁸

I cannot say anything about that, though it is possible....

Maybe. Well, since the days of the Constituent Assembly our Historical Division has given a great deal of thought to these matters and we know much more about it and this question has not troubled us at all. But as I said, there is a certain undefined area as between Burma and India and there were various proposals too for not merely defining it but also slight exchange of territory to adjust things. But they have remained where they were...

I entirely agree with honourable Members who say that we should not be dependent upon other countries. Of course, nobody can be utterly and absolutely, hundred per cent independent. Some dependence for something remains and should remain: there is no harm in it. But you must not be dependent to the extent of being enfeebled or unable to function properly because of that dependence. It takes time to build these things up, to build industry up. If you look to other countries, whatever they are, you will see that they took a mighty long time to reach the level they have done now. And I think that the progress we have made in this matter during the last five or six years is very far from negligible.

One thing I should like to say. Mr. Deshpande repeatedly referred to our going about with a begging bowl asking for aid of American or some other countries. At no time has any of us ever gone with a begging bowl to any country, I want to make this perfectly clear, and at no time are we going to do it hereafter. We welcome aid on honourable terms, because it helps us to speed our process of change to industrialization, whatever it is. But, normally speaking, aid has come to us: the initiative even has been on the other side. We have

8. Lanka Sundaram interrupted: "The memorandum I quoted was from Mr. Ramadhyani and the comment was of our External Affairs Ministry to the memorandum. This was submitted to the Constituent Assembly and dealt with the Tibet-Assam border and the Burma border."

welcomed that; we have discussed it and we have agreed or disagreed, as the case may be, in regard to a particular matter. There is no question of 'begging-bowl attitude' which is bad for the giver and for the taker.

Also, I did not say that if Pakistan takes military aid that makes war inevitable. I made no such rash suggestion. What I said was that this kind of thing hampers peace. It comes in the way of peace: it is a factor against peace. It is not by itself so important as to bring war or peace, there are many factors which ultimately govern events.

I think, Sir, that I have dealt with most of the important points that were raised in this debate. I agree entirely with the hope expressed by many honourable Members about the unity of the country and the consolidation of the country. That is obvious. That is our purpose and that should be our effort. Anyhow, apart from any crisis that might arise we have to do that. I do not want this House or the country to imagine on account of the various developments that have taken place, which should make us wary that something is happening which should create any kind of fright or panic. We have to be wary, we have to be vigilant and we have to be united and work together. And in working together, ultimately, it is not so much the number of armed soldiers that counts....

I am grateful to the House, Sir, for the indulgence with which it has received my motion.

7. The Indo-Tibetan Frontier Issue¹

Mr. Chairman, I shall only endeavour to say a few words in regard to some of the points raised in the course of the debate.² An honourable Member, Mr. C.G.K. Reddy, said many things which to some extent answer themselves, because he has the habit, in the course of a few sentences, of contradicting himself many times. It is not really necessary for me to add anything in reply to that bundle of contradictions, but I do wish to understand what is meant by the phrase "national foreign policy" which is being bandied about. I am all for a national foreign policy. I would gladly consult as many people and as many

1. Reply to a debate in the Council of States, 24 December 1953. *Parliamentary Debates (Council of States)*, Official Report, Vol. V, Nos. 18-25, 16 to 24 December 1953, cols. 3590-3599.
2. Nehru's speech while moving the motion on foreign affairs in the Council of States, is not printed. The speech was on the same lines he spoke in the House of the People on 23 December 1953.

groups as possible and also the leaders of groups, whenever an opportunity arises. But first of all a national foreign policy must necessarily mean some measure of agreement on that policy, on the broad principles of that policy. Of course, consultations there may be. I find in the honourable Mr. Reddy's speech a very great gap between his way of thinking and mine on this question. Does a nation lie somewhere in between the honourable Mr. Reddy and myself, and where does it lie? Do we go half way or if I give up something³.....

I wish to understand, because here, from the very speech that the honourable Mr. Reddy made, probably there is not much agreement on the national foreign policy. How does one get it? There are certain matters and certain emergencies when there is a large measure of agreement, because the smaller points are out of the way. That is true. I suppose personally, if I may say so, that the policy that the Government have been following by and large — I am not referring to details — is what I would call very much a national foreign policy, which, I do submit, has received a measure of support from the people of this country which hardly any country can show in regard to its foreign policy. However, we should remain in touch with others in regard to the leaders of other groups. I certainly welcome that, and, to some extent, I will try to give effect to that.

Then the honourable Mr. Reddy talked a great deal about something, about a wave of hysteria encouraged by me and my colleagues. In particular, he referred to some circular issued by — presumably he referred to — the All India Congress Committee.⁴ Now, I should have thought that the honourable Mr. Reddy perhaps is more excited about this matter than I am. Certainly, I am not and let there be no mistake about it. Far from hysteria, I deprecate hysteria at any time, but it is true that the All India Congress Committee issued some kind of a circular. I might confess here that I have not seen that circular, as yet. But, leaving that aside, the position is — not the wording of it — the idea of it was at my instance, I admit that. So far as I know, that circular contained some advice about holding meetings to consider this problem, not processions and the like — I am not a believer in processions — the whole point being that public opinion should be informed so that it may not merely go astray by listening to rumours and other things and it may be positively informed about the very important developments. That is the function of every intelligent party, to inform public opinion according to its own way of looking at things about these developments. It depends how that is done — it may do it the wrong way or the right way. We happen to be a very live and dynamic party and we approach the public and don't sit at home.⁵

3. C.G.K. Reddy interjected: "I do not ask him to consult me and I don't think he will condescend to do so."

4. See *ante*, pp.

5. C.G.K. Reddy here asked whether the meeting held in Delhi was in line with the advice that Nehru had given.

I hope so. I was not present at that meeting. I am told that it was a very good meeting and very good speeches were delivered. I was not present to hear every word but my colleagues were there and they reported to me that it was one of the best meetings that Delhi had where speeches were moderate and very good.

He also said, I mean the honourable Mr. Reddy, I did not quite get his words — something about our Consul in Sinkiang being withdrawn. I don't quite know if the honourable Mr. Reddy knows anything about recent history. In fact some changes have taken place in the last two years. Some major changes have taken place there. As a result of those changes, which have nothing to do with India at the moment — leaving that out — internally there many things have happened. It is perfectly true our Consul went there—I speak from memory—probably in 1948, may be even later, in 1949. But when these changes, revolutionary changes took place there, it is perfectly true that the Chinese Government, when they came to Tibet, told us that they intended, that they wanted to treat Sinkiang as a closed area. They told other State Governments, too. Well, nothing happened. Our Consul remained there. But because of those changes, because of many factors — among them being what happened in Kashmir — the trade ceased. Sinkiang was important to us, or rather Kashgar. Let us use the word Kashgar and not Sinkiang. Kashgar is important to us as a trade route. The trade went over the Karakoram, passed through Ladakh and Leh on to Kashmir. Various factors, including developments in Kashmir led to the stoppage of that trade. While on the one hand the Chinese Government said that they wanted to treat that area as a closed area and did not wish to encourage foreign missions there, on the other hand, this trade stopped. The result was, our Consul remained there for some time, till recently. But the Indian merchants there, the trade having stopped, gradually disappeared, and so far as I know there is hardly a single Indian merchant left there — may be there are one or two. And so our Consul said, "I am doing no work at all. There is now no work to be done." So we advised him to come away and he did come away. There is some property, but that is not the point. But it is a fact that the Consul, if I may say so, ceased to function, particularly, if you like, because of certain developments in Tibet and, again if you like — because of the Chinese State absorbing Tibet practically, not merely theoretically. This question of Tibet was referred to, I believe by the honourable Dr. Kunzru also. Well, I do not know what was expected or what is expected of us to be done in Tibet — I would say with a certain acquaintance with the position of Tibet during the last, let us say, 50 or 60 years or so that at no stage in Tibet's history, to my knowledge — and I have studied it fairly carefully — was the suzerainty of China denied. Sometimes some Tibetan groups denied it. But no foreign country at any time ever denied the suzerainty of China over Tibet over the last many, many generations. That is the position. There is no doubt

about it. Some people want us to go out on a kind of crusade for the independence of Tibet or for proclaiming something which in international law, or in the position then existing, had not been put forward by anybody.⁶

We sent many notes — not one.⁷ We are constantly sending notes. What is the protest about? I don't know what he means by protest. We are sending many notes, but at no time did we in any way challenge the suzerainty of China there. We have not, because for the last so many years, when the British Government was here, they had recognized the suzerainty of China over Tibet. As long as 50 or 60 years back, when the British were rather dominant in Tibet, even in those days, and subsequently in 1911 or thereabout, when talks took place between the representatives of China, Tibet and India, even then the suzerainty of China was recognized. At every stage it was recognized. But the British Government in those days, and we subsequently for a short time, recognized the autonomy of Tibet under the suzerainty of China. That was a recognized position, the autonomy of Tibet under China. Now, if that was so, if it is the practical aspect of the question, it is not clear to me how we can go about intervening in Tibet either constitutionally or in any other way. I just do not understand.⁸

I am not aware of the massing of troops across the border. Perhaps the honourable Mr. Reddy has greater sources of knowledge. I really do not know. We have no such sources. I do not pretend to have complete knowledge of what is happening in every part of Tibet. It is difficult. We have not got our own representative nor do the newspapers report these things, so that it is difficult to know all about these things. Much of the news that is published in the papers comes from Kalimpong, and Kalimpong contains many people who send news which is of most unreliable variety. It is very frequently, I think, completely unreliable and such news should not be accepted at all. I cannot give any exact figures but I am quite sure in my mind that there is no massing of troops anywhere—North, South, West or East—anywhere. In fact, my own information is that such troops as were there have been lessened for the simple reason that it is very difficult to feed them. Tibet is a most inhospitable country and is a

6. Devaprasad Ghosh interrupted to ask whether the Government of India had sent a note of protest to the Chinese Government.
7. When on 21 October 1950, the Government of India drew the attention of the Government of China to the harmful effects of the latter resorting to military action to "liberate" Tibet, as such action might lead to the postponement of the admission of the People's Government of China to the United Nations and to unrest on India's borders, it received a reply criticizing the Government of India" as having been affected by foreign influences hostile to China in Tibet."
8. C.G.K. Reddy interrupted here: "Prime Minister himself had protested against the complete subjugation of Tibet and that some people had been talking about it. I only mentioned Tibet regarding the massing of troops across the border and asked him whether it was not a geographical compulsion."

most difficult country to live in, to cross over, to travel over — for anything.⁹

Tibet is part of the Chinese State and the Chinese State can send its troops anywhere it likes within its boundaries. The honourable Member seems to live in a world which has no relation to reality of today. I just do not understand this question. People talk about foreign policy. Let us know something, the A B C about these things.

The honourable Member asks if China has got troops in Tibet. Of course, China has kept troops there. Certainly they have troops there. I was telling you that actually, so far as my knowledge goes — it is not absolutely accurate as far as the numbers are concerned — the number of troops they had there originally had to be lessened; troops had to be withdrawn because of difficulties of feeding them there. The troops had to be fed and they could not be fed from the soil. Partly the food had to come from China and it is very difficult to send food across the Gobi desert and through a good bit of China.

I have no doubt — again I cannot give exact information, but I have no doubt — that airfields are being constructed in other parts of Tibet. It is a very natural thing to construct airfields. You may not like it. You may be slighted as far as that is concerned — it is another matter — but the only way of getting across to Tibet, as is the only way of getting across to many of our North Eastern Frontier areas, is by air. air traffic has got to be developed. We are building airfields in most of our North-Eastern Frontier areas wherever we can and we are getting helicopters to go there. That is the only way.

The airfields can be used naturally for offensive purposes as well as for defensive purposes and also for trade and for normal traffic. all these things may happen. I am no prophet and I cannot see into the future as to how airfields can be used but if there is any suspicion that there are some preparations being made in Tibet for some kind of invasion of India, some kind of attack on India, I think that is completely mistaken and I think there is no basis for it. I cannot say what the distant future may hold, but I do not hold from my own point of view, and practically I am voicing the opinion of many others, that there is the least chance of even an attempt at such an invasion of India, and I think, apart from any uncertain factors, the mere factors of geography and various other factors make that exceedingly difficult, and then, in the final analysis, if any such thing takes place, we shall resist it. Why shout about it and why get afraid of it? I do not understand this outlook. But, whatever may happen in the rest of the world, war or no war, this question of our Himalayan border being crossed is exceedingly unlikely. If something happens and an aeroplane comes and throws an atomic weapon on us, well, that depends on our policy rather than on anything else, on our friendship or hostility to other countries not other factors. Nobody can gamble with the future. But our relations

9. Devaprasad Ghosh asked whether Tibet was still under effective Chinese occupation.

with the Chinese State at the present moment are friendly. We do not agree with them in many matters and they do not agree with us on many matters, but our relations are friendly, and in the course of the next few days, possibly within the next week, talks will begin in Peking. These talks relate chiefly to certain special rights that have developed in the way of trade, etc., the pilgrimage that we have developed and some things relating to posts and telegraphs. Not one of them really is of vital importance.

I think the honourable Dr. Kunzru mentioned the question of the frontier. So far as we are concerned no question about our frontier arises and we have nothing to do with it. We have got a frontier which we know well, which is marked there and there the matter ends. We are not going to discuss it with anybody and we do not propose to admit anybody's right to come across that frontier except in a friendly way.¹⁰

Nepal, the honourable Member knows, is an independent country and I cannot supply information about it except to say that we have an Ambassador there and some other people there helping the Nepal Government. Some officers are lent. We have got at present a small number of our troops to train their air force, about a couple of a hundred, I think. I cannot give you exact information, but, broadly speaking, politically, Nepal has been, in the last few months, in a somewhat fluid state, not in a very satisfactory state, and we have always had difficulties to face. We do not wish to intervene in the affairs, at the same time we are very much concerned of course with the stability and peaceful progress of Nepal and we have given advice from time to time when asked for. We have offered our help in the shape of experienced officers, though not many. A few have gone. The King of Nepal meanwhile fell seriously ill and the King was advised to go to Switzerland for treatment. He went there. He is much better now. He is convalescing and it is possible that he may be back within the next ten days or may be a fortnight. I hope that on his return we will see some further developments there towards stability. But the point of the honourable Dr. Kunzru was probably in reference to the stories about infiltration from Tibet, etc. I cannot give any precise answer to that. All I can say is that if there is any, it can be only on a small scale. It is nothing. It is not on a big scale. Obviously, I cannot say whether a few persons have come across — what they do in more or less unknown territory across the border — but it is not, to my knowledge on any substantial scale.

That is all I have to say. I do not wish to take up more of the time of the House except to express my gratification at the general way honourable Members have expressed themselves and especially the hope they have expressed that if new difficulties come to us we shall face them with unity and courage.

10. H.N. Kunzru said that he asked for information about Nepal and not about the North Eastern frontier.

8. An Independent Foreign Policy¹

India's thought and cultural and historical background have inevitably led her to pursue paths of peace. Even in her own national struggle for Independence, she adopted, under the guidance of her great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, the path of non-violence. On the achievement of Independence, her policy, flowing from this past history and background, led her to devote her energies to the promotion of international peace. She sought the friendship of all nations and, at the same time, avoided any alignment or entanglements which might result in her being hostile to any country. Any other course would have been a deviation from the policy she had proclaimed and a betrayal of the principles she had long stood for. It would have meant also a surrender of her freedom of action to the dictates of others.

From long and bitter experience she had learnt that a nation desiring freedom must basically rely on itself and dependence upon others meant a limitation of that freedom and an abandonment, to some extent, of the spirit and individuality of a nation, which give it strength, vitality and purpose.

The Congress is well aware that there are great and powerful nations, far more advanced in many ways than India, and these nations are sometimes pressed by the urge for expansion and the desire to make other countries fall within their orbit of influence. India cannot and has no desire to compete with them in strength of arms. At the same time, she cannot and will not surrender her way of thinking or action to pressure exercised from outside. She will continue to offer her friendship to all countries and cooperate with them to the best of her ability, but she will resist any aggression or any attempt to compel her to function against her own wishes. The principles she has endeavoured to follow are based on the pursuit of peace and the conviction that means are always important and must not be sacrificed to ends; in particular, that war today is likely to be a horrible calamity and an irretrievable disaster and must be avoided. Every step that increases tensions between nations and the climate of war must also, therefore, be avoided.

The Congress reiterates its conviction that India must continue to follow an independent policy in international affairs and not align herself with any group of nations against any other group.

1. Resolution drafted by Nehru on 20 January 1954 and adopted by the Kalyani Congress. File No. G-55 (D)/ 1954, AICC Papers, NMML.

(ii) Nepal

1. American Activities in Nepal¹

It is difficult to follow the tortuous intrigues in Kathmandu. Why the Prime Minister or the Government does not take any action, is beyond me.² The Prime Minister had definitely made me understand that within a week or so of his return from Bombay he would finalise his Cabinet and go ahead. He has not done so yet. Perhaps he is waiting for Mahabir Shamshere.³

2. I am more and more concerned with American activities in Nepal.⁴ I believe we have previously said something about this to the American Ambassador. I think we should take this matter up again. The US Ambassador is not here but the person in charge should be sent for by you. You should tell him quite clearly that we are greatly disturbed at the continuous reports that we receive of American activities in Nepal, more especially their association with certain anti-Government and perhaps subversive elements in Nepal. I think you should mention Mrigendra Shamshere⁵ and his visit to America and say that he keeps in close touch with Americans in Kathmandu and is reported to be distributing large sums of money to various people.

3. You should point out, what has previously been said, that India is very

1. Note to Secretary-General, MEA, New Delhi, 24 October 1953. JN Collection.
2. A care-taker Government under M.P. Koirala, leader of the newly-formed National Democratic Party, was formed soon after the King's proclamation terminating the Counsellors' regime. Other political parties did not join the new government. The Nepali Congress leader, B.P. Koirala charged that the ministry was undemocratic and a product of conspiracy and palace intrigue. M.P. Koirala tried to expand his Cabinet, the sanction for which had been accorded to him by the King, but all his efforts to include some political leaders and independents did not succeed. He was reported to be willing to accommodate the Nepali Congress. But the Working Committee of the National Democratic Party feared that if any such opportunity was extended, B.P. Koirala was certain to create difficulties for the ministry.
3. Major General Mahabir Shamshere Jung Bahadur Rana was the Minister for Planning and Development in the Government of Nepal.
4. As per reports the schools and hospitals opened by the American Diplomats and their agents were becoming centres of anti-Indian propaganda and India's desire of non-interference in the internal affairs of Nepal was exploited by B.P. Koirala and the Gurkha Parishad, by developing contacts with the Americans. See also *Selected Works*, (second series) Vol. 20, pp. 479-482.
5. A close adviser to the King of Nepal.

pecially interested in Nepal and obviously cannot tolerate disorder there or any attempts at violence or forcible upsetting of Government. We do not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of Nepal, except in so far as our help is required for development or other purposes. But the stability of Nepal is of the utmost importance to us and any challenge to that stability will necessarily have to be met by us. This challenge may come from the Gurkha Parishad or from B.P. Koirala and his associates. Any association, therefore, with these people indicates that subversive elements are being encouraged.

4. By treaty and understanding, Nepal's foreign policy is conducted in consultation and in association with India's. Therefore, we expect other friendly countries to appreciate this position.

2. Cable to B.K. Gokhale¹

In view of progressively deteriorating situation in Nepal, it seems to me imperative that early decisions must be arrived at and action taken on them.² Please inform Prime Minister of telegram I sent to King yesterday and convey to him following message from me:

You will remember that when we met in Bombay I urged upon you the necessity of quick decisions and action to implement them. Unfortunately there has been considerable delay since then and the situation continues to be unsatisfactory. I fully appreciate your difficulties. But I would like you to consider that delay in decisions will not solve any difficulty and is likely to make conditions worse. Because of this I sent a message to Switzerland to His Majesty the King³ yesterday urging him also to expedite decisions and action. May I suggest to you that you might communicate with the King telegraphically to avoid further delay? To send some one to Switzerland would not only delay matters, but might also create further complications.

1. New Delhi, 23 November 1953. JN Collection. B.K. Gokhale was the Indian Ambassador in Nepal.
2. See the preceding item.
3. Tribhuvan Bikram Shah, the King of Nepal, reached Switzerland on 31 October 1953.

Should you wish us to forward any message to the King through our Ambassador in Berne,⁴ we shall gladly do so.

I understand that you have asked for a number of advisers from the Government of India. We are arranging to send them according to your wishes.

The decision of your High Court has undoubtedly created an embarrassing situation.⁵ *Prima facie* it is an extraordinary decision. We have already sent you senior Law Officer. I hope that in this matter also early action will be taken.

Will all good wishes.

Jawaharlal Nehru

We shall be sending all the advisers asked for except the Police Adviser as no specific request has come for him from the Nepal Government. As soon as such a formal request comes, we shall send the policeman also.

4. Y.D. Gundevia.

5. On 21 September 1953, a city magistrate asked B.P. Koirala, President of the Nepali Congress, not to leave Kathmandu till he answered a charge that he was fomenting disaffection among the Government servants. On 11 November, in response to Koirala's appeal, the Pradesh Nyayalaya held that the order was *ultra vires* under Article 18 of the Interim Constitution and ordered his release. The judgment restricted, by implication, the executive powers of the monarch as head of the State and brought to the surface the conflict between the Executive and the Judiciary.

3. Cable to B.K. Gokhale¹

I have received telegram from King through our Consul-General at Geneva. After saying that his health is steadily improving he says that no matter has been referred to him from his Ministers and in fact he has not received a single letter from his Prime Minister since he went to Switzerland. He himself is anxious for firm decision soon and is repeating his advice to this effect.

Please inform Prime Minister on my behalf of this message and express my surprise that he is not keeping in touch with the King and all this delay is taking place when firm and early decisions are essential.

1. New delhi, 29 November 1953. JN Collection.

4. Cable to the King of Nepal¹

I am happy to learn that Your Majesty is now in much better health. I hope that after a few days' rest in south of France you will be fully recovered.

Conditions in Nepal are very unsatisfactory and peculiar difficulties have arisen because of Nepal High Court's judgements which raise constitutional issues of importance and which make functioning of government rather ineffective. Your Majesty's early return is desirable to meet this new situation that has arisen and to finalise changes which have been contemplated for some time. Delay in these changes has been most unfortunate. I hope, therefore, that Your Majesty will return as soon as your doctors permit you to do so. With all good wishes.

1. New Delhi, 10 December 1953. JN Collection. This was conveyed through H.S. Malik, the Indian Ambassador in France.

5. To B.K. Gokhale¹

New Delhi
December 21, 1953

My dear Gokhale,

Your telegram of December 20th. Also your previous messages.

I do not know what I can do to induce M.P. Koirala to make up his mind and go ahead. I have tried to make it clear to him that delay is very bad. I have also said so to the King. The King replied to me that, in view of my message, he will return earlier than he had intended at first. He has now gone to Nice in the south of France.² According to his message to me, he will remain at Nice only for a week and return to India and Nepal. It is possible, therefore, that he might return by the end of the month, though I am not sure.³

1. JN Collection. Copies were sent to the Foreign Secretary and T.N. Kaul. Extracts.
2. King Tribhuvan arrived in Paris from Zurich on 7 December and reached Nice on 19 December.
3. He reached Bombay on 5 January 1954 from Cairo after his eleven week stay abroad for treatment.

I do not think there is likely to be any reaction adverse to Nepal in our Indo-Chinese talks in Peking.⁴ We have instructed our representatives fully on the subject. So far as we are concerned, the question of Nepal will not be raised at all. If it is mentioned by the other side, we are going to say that Nepal is an independent country, but in regard to foreign affairs and defence, we have close understandings and we are naturally greatly interested in them. In fact, we are going to make it clear that we have a special position there by virtue of these understandings. But, as I have said above, we shall not raise this question. We do not propose to raise the question of the frontier either, because we take it for granted. If the question of the Indo-Tibetan frontier is raised by the other side, our representatives will tell them that they are not at liberty to discuss it as that is a settled matter. Our main talks will be about our trade, our trade posts there, our trade agents and the facilities to be given to them and pilgrimage.⁵ We shall, of course, agree to withdraw the small number of troops that we keep there for guarding the routes. Then there is something about posts and telegraph arrangements.⁶

You can inform M.P. Koirala of the line we are adopting....

Subarna Shamshere came to see me in Calcutta. We had a brief talk for about ten or fifteen minutes. He told me that they had been perfectly willing to cooperate with M.P. Koirala and had made their offer, but MP could not make up his mind. I said little to him except that this matter should be settled as early as possible.

You refer to American activities in Nepal and especially about Muslims infiltrating there. I have little doubt that Americans have been behaving badly there. But I just don't see what a few Indian Muslims can do there. Kathmandu is a place full of rumour and we have to be very careful to check rumours. We must not accept every report that reaches us.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. On 31 December a Government of India delegation led by N. Raghavan, the Indian Ambassador in Beijing, opened negotiations with the Government of China.
5. In the Conference, India was interested in securing more unrestricted facilities for trade and elimination of undue harassment to pilgrims visiting Manasarovar in the Himalayas.
6. The telegraph lines were expected to be handed over to China on payment of compensation if the Chinese expressed willingness to maintain and operate the lines.

6. To B.K. Gokhale¹

New Delhi
January 28, 1954

My dear Gokhale,
I have your letter of January 24.²

It is hardly necessary for you to point out the importance of Nepal to us. We are prepared to help Nepal to the utmost of our capacity. But it is absurd for the Nepal Government to ask us for help if they cannot help themselves even in small matters. I have no sympathy for a Government which has functioned as the Nepal Government has functioned during the last few months. Nobody can come to a decision there and if decisions are arrived at, nobody implements them. I have never seen anything more futile in my fairly long career. I do not wish to express myself more strongly about this matter, but I feel pretty well disgusted.

I met both M.P. Koirala and B.P. Koirala at Kalyani and told them what I thought of all this. B.P. Koirala said that he had accepted the advice I had given him some months ago completely and offered his cooperation without any conditions, but nothing had happened. M.P. Koirala gave various totally insufficient reasons for the delay. He said, however, that in the course of the next few days matter would be settled.

Something like this was said three months ago also, but nothing was settled. I should like to see the thing done before I am convinced.

The so-called broad-based Government need not necessarily be a bright and energetic one, though I hope it will be.

I shall see Bhatia³ when he comes here, but I am only here for two or three days more and they are very full.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Copies were sent to Secretary-General and Commonwealth Secretary.
2. Gokhale had written that the Indian attitude towards Nepal and her people should be more generous and sympathetic than its attitude towards border areas. Secondly, it was important to launch a comprehensive development programme in Nepal "with a view to showing demonstrative and quick results before frustration sets in and people lose all confidence in democracy and democratic methods."
3. K.B. Bhatia (b. 1907); joined Indian Civil Service, 1929; served U.P. Government in several capacities, 1933-55; on deputation to MEA, as Director of Aid Programme, Nepal, 1956.

(iii) Bhutan

1. Growing Friendship with Bhutan¹

Apart from the fact that we are very happy to have welcomed you with due respect, we also welcome you with very great warmth and affection. I want to stress the fact that not only have Bhutan and India been very good friends and have had many types of ties, we have a special tie, personal tie, we are all the children of the Himalayas.

In the last few years, India as well as the entire world has gone through many changes and upheavals and we have tried to face our problems with courage. As for their Highnesses the Maharaja² and the Maharani,³ who are both very young and who have their entire life before them, I am sure that they look forward to a life of work for Bhutan and her people with great pride, hope and courage.

I very much hope that we have both expressed to you the sentiments that are uppermost in our mind, of warmth and affection for the people of Bhutan and for you Your Highness and Her Highness. You will have been impressed by the affection lavished on you by all those who have come into contact with you. I also hope that you will carry memories of affection of the peoples of India. I also hope that you will come here not once but many times over again and that we shall have the opportunity of welcoming you.

I would like to tell you, Your Highness, that as far as India is concerned, it is a large country and is an ancient land and that in the past also we have always extended the hand of friendship to our neighbouring countries but today we are always there to help in every way not only materially but to help you with affection and understanding of your problems. In helping you, we will be helping ourselves because cooperation is the essence of everything these days.

1. Address at a banquet in honour of the Maharaja and the Maharani of Bhutan, New Delhi, 13 January 1954. From the Press Information Bureau.
2. Jigme Dorji Wangchuk (1928-1972); third sovereign in succession since the establishment of hereditary monarchy in Bhutan in 1907; ascended the throne in 1952.
3. Ashi Kesang Wangchuk.

2. Coordination between India and Bhutan¹

I had a long talk with the Maharaja of Bhutan after dinner to-night. The Maharani was asked to join us after some time at the instance of the Maharaja. According to him this was desirable as he did not always understand what I said and the Maharani's knowledge of English would help.

2. I expressed my pleasure at their visit to India which had enabled us to know each other better and also given them an opportunity of seeing a bit of India. I was sure that this would lead to greater understanding and fuller co-operation.

3. The Maharaja entirely agreed and thanked me for all the friendliness shown to him here. He said that Bhutan's relations had been friendly with India even in British times, and now they were friendlier.

4. I then mentioned very briefly the difficulties and tensions of the world and the possibility of even distant countries being affected by them. Bhutan had kept an isolated existence in the past and, for my part, I thought that this was a wise policy then, otherwise the British Government would have interfered a great deal. But conditions were very different now because of various happenings. The world was a much tighter place to live in, and the Tibet-Bhutan-India frontier was much more important now. We had, therefore, to take a broader view of the present as well as the future and it would become progressively more difficult for Bhutan to remain isolated. We had no desire to interfere in the internal Government of Bhutan, though we were, of course, interested in Bhutan's progress and the well-being of her people. But, we were very greatly concerned with anything affecting foreign affairs and defence of Bhutan. It was for this reason that in our last Treaty it had been mentioned that the foreign affairs of Bhutan should be conducted with the guidance of India.² Foreign affairs were intimately connected with defence. A wrong step by Bhutan in either of these matters might land us in difficulties. Therefore, there has to be the fullest co-ordination between Bhutan and India in regard to foreign affairs and defence.

5. In so far as Bhutan was concerned, the only two countries that affected her were India and China (or Tibet). We were friendly with China and there

1. Note to Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and Joint Secretary, 30 January 1954. JN Collection.

2. Article 2 of the Treaty signed on 8 August 1949 stated: "The Government of India undertakes to exercise no interference in the internal administration of Bhutan. On its part the Government of Bhutan agrees to be guided by the advice of the Government of India in its external relations."

was no reason to think that between India and China there would be any conflict. Nevertheless, one must not leave things to chance and it was in the interest of India and Bhutan both to co-ordinate their defence and foreign policy. I mentioned that, even in the case of Nepal, this was our understanding. Indeed, India's real defence lay in the Himalayas. Any intruder coming into Nepal or Bhutan would weaken that defence and we could not tolerate it.

6. I developed this point rather fully. The Maharaja said that they quite understood that in regard to foreign policy India should be interested and they would give every consideration to what India said in this matter. I again pointed out that this was a vital matter for India.

7. I referred to our previous suggestions about having an Agent in Bhutan and said that this would help greatly in furthering our cooperation. It would be helpful to Bhutan in many ways and, in any event, we would be in direct contact which was so necessary. The Maharaja referred to past history and said that his National Assembly had not viewed this with favour but he was prepared to consult them again. He said that he was in constant touch with Mr. Kapur.³ I said that this was right, but it would be advantageous to have an Indian Agent in Bhutan. I had no desire to press this against the will of the Maharaja and the Bhutan Government. But I did not understand why the Maharaja or his Government should be apprehensive in this matter. That showed a certain lack of confidence in us. We should proceed on a basis of accepting each other's *bona fides* and having confidence in each other. I left it at that.

8. I discussed internal conditions in Bhutan, the land system, the Nepalese there etc. The Maharaja said that there were no big zamindars there and land was owned by peasant proprietors who were happy and prosperous. There was no trouble with them. There was also no trouble with the resident Nepalese in the valleys, though two or three outsiders had come and tried to create some trouble.

9. I referred to the survey of the Manas river. He said that this matter had been raised in his father's time who thought that if a dam was constructed, the backwash of it would be injurious to Bhutan. I pointed out that the first step was a survey. Nobody could say now whether this survey would lead to the construction of a dam, and, in any event, no such decision could be taken without the consent of the Bhutan Government. As for a survey, he said that permission had been given within a limited area. I said that this was not good enough and that the survey should have to take into consideration broad areas. He said he would consider this matter further.

10. I then referred to the foreign exchange question and said that we had

3. Major B.K. Kapur, Political Agent of India in Sikkim, had to make periodical visits to Bhutan.

to be very careful about this so as not to waste it. Generally speaking, Bhutan should be able to get her requirements from India. Where this was not possible and something was specially wanted from abroad, there would be no difficulty in our arranging for foreign exchange. I suggested that we might have a minimum figure (I did not mention the figure) for foreign exchange. Any addition to this, if necessity arose, we would consider favourably.

11. The Maharaja referred to the necessity for free trade between Bhutan and India. He said that this had been more or less agreed to by Mr Harishwar Dayal⁴ at the time the last Treaty was framed. It was then said that this might be left out of the Treaty but would nevertheless hold good. As a matter of fact, there were toll gates right near the frontier with West Bengal, and each truck was charged at the rate of Rs. 5/- for round trip. This affected contractors on the Bhutan side. I told him that I knew nothing about this and no mention of this had been made previously. This question had better be discussed with our officers.

12. This was the substance of my conversation. Towards the end, the Maharaja again expressed his happiness at having come here and established personal contacts.

4. Political Officer in Sikkim at the time of signing the Indo-Bhutan Treaty in 1949.

(iv) China and Tibet

1. Cable to Chou En-lai¹

I have the honour to acknowledge Your Excellency's message in reply to my message of 2nd September, 1953.² This was conveyed to us by our Ambassador Raghavan on October 16th.

1. New Delhi, 22 October 1953. JN Collection.
2. On 16 October 1953 Chou En-lai in his reply to Nehru's message (See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 23, pp. 485-486.) said "the existing situation of Sino-Indian relations in the Tibetan region of China were the vestiges of the process of the past British aggression against China. For all of these, the Government of India was not responsible. Special rights which arose from the unequal treaties between the British Government and the old Chinese Government were no longer in existence. Therefore, the relations between new China and the Government of India in the Tibetan region of the China should be built up anew through negotiation."

I should like to reciprocate the sentiments expressed by Your Excellency for the traditional friendship and cooperation between the peoples and Governments of our two countries in upholding the cause of peace in Asia and the world. I have no doubt that this friendship and cooperation will grow and further our mutual interests on the basis of equality and respect for each other's territorial sovereignty and independence.

In pursuance of this spirit of friendship and cooperation, I welcome Your Excellency's proposal that our two Governments should hold discussions in December, 1953, in Peking on the problem of Sino-Indian relations in Tibet.³ Your Excellency has referred to certain matters in your message. Since discussions are to take place soon, I do not wish, at this stage, to go into the details of all pending matters which were mentioned in a note presented to Your Excellency's Government on the 2nd August 1952, at Peking. I am confident that all pending matters between our two Governments can be solved to our mutual satisfaction in the spirit of friendship and cooperation based on equality and respect for territorial sovereignty.

Accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.⁴

3. Negotiations between the representatives of the Governments of India and China on the relations between India and Tibet began on 31 December 1953 in Beijing and, though expected to take only about six weeks, dragged on for four months. An agreement on trade and commerce between India and Tibet was signed on 29 April 1954.
4. Nehru conveyed this cable to Chou En-lai through N. Raghavan. In a postscript Nehru added: "Chou En-lai's message to me raises some controversial points and there are a number of inaccuracies in it. However, I have not discussed these in my reply, as they are relatively matters of detail. We should like you to come to Delhi for consultation before these discussions begin in Peking. We shall indicate the time later."

2. Friendly Policy towards China¹

I agree with Mr Panikkar's general approach in this matter. For Mr Sinha² to talk about China's designs itself indicates that he is not taking quite an objective

1. Note to Secretary-General, Foreign Secretary and Joint Secretary T.N. Kaul, 25 October 1953. JN Collection.
2. S. Sinha, who was the Officer in charge of the Indian Mission in Tibet in 1950, was Officer on Special Duty in the Ministry of External Affairs at this time.

view of the situation but has started with certain presumptions. I do not rule out the possibility of such developments in Tibet, on our border or elsewhere. But we must take a balanced view.³

2. We cannot support feudal elements in Tibet, indeed we cannot interfere in Tibet. Having come to that conclusion, we should abide by it and not pine for a different policy, which anyhow is totally outside our reach.

3. On our border tracts, we should not interfere with local customs, etc., but gently we should encourage liberal forces without siding too much with any group or party. In the main, we should develop these areas. The first thing to be done is development of communications.

4. As for our frontier, it is our well-declared policy that the line is a settled one and not open to argument or discussion, except perhaps with regard to minor tracts here and there which might be doubtful. I cannot go into people's minds, much less into the Chinese mind, but I can judge from circumstances. It is completely impracticable for the Chinese Government to think of anything in the nature of invasion of India. Therefore I rule it out. It is not impossible for some infiltration to create local trouble. We must guard against that.

5. There is danger in Nepal, but this too is due to internal chaotic conditions than to outside interference. As a matter of fact, the outside interference that is troubling us is American and not Chinese.

6. We must realize fully that our policy in regard to China is one of friendliness and co-existence, allied with firmness in regard to any interference with our basic rights. Ultimately the basic right is the preservation of the frontier. There are also some other rights and customs which are not very controversial. We shall not give up any basic right. For the rest we shall deal with the Chinese in a friendly manner. It is important today, and even more so in the long future, that India and China should have friendly relations and not have a dangerous frontier. The best way to ensure this on our side is to develop the border regions on this side not only in the sense of roads, etc. but in the sense of winning people there to the conception of India.

3. Sinha had put up a note with a heading, "Chinese Designs on the North East Frontier of India" which drew attention to various possible dangers in the situation. This note was sent to K.M. Panikkar for his comments. Panikkar's views were: that the issue was not one of Chinese, or Chinese-inspired military adventure against the borders of India. It was a question of developing settled conditions within India's border, in areas where the administrative position was weak and the political position was only growing. He suggested a policy of firm friendship for the people of the area, of non-interference in their social life, of making available to them the advantages of modern developments and of taking advantage of the contradictions of Chinese policy in Tibet.

7. Mr Sinha's references to an invasion of Nepal appear to me to indicate much too imaginative an approach. Such an approach vitiates his argument and the conclusions he comes to.

It is perfectly true that the post of Political Officer in Sikkim is of importance. That officer must clearly understand our policy not only in the region of the frontier and in Tibet but in its wider aspect all over the world.

9. It appears that Mr Sinha does not appreciate our policy fully. He should be enlightened.

3. The Beijing Conference¹

I agree generally with this note for the discussions at the Peking Conference.²

2. I agree about the attitude we should take up in regard to the frontier. We should not raise this question. If the Chinese raise it, we should express our surprise and point out that this is a settled issue. Further that during the last two years or so, when reference was frequently made about Indo-Chinese or Indo-Tibetan problems, there has never been any reference to this frontier issue and it is surprising that this should be brought up now. Our delegation cannot discuss it.

3. We should avoid walking out unless the Chinese insist on taking up this question.³ If such an eventuality occurs, the matter will no doubt be referred to us.

1. Note to the Secretary General, 3 December 1953. JN Collection.

2. This note presented the main points that were to arise during the discussions at the Beijing Conference: 1. the question of India's frontier with Tibet; 2. Indo-Tibetan trade and trade agencies, 3. freedom of movement of Indian and Tibetan traders and pilgrims, 4. passports and visas, 5. telegraph, post office and hospitals 6. security guards and escorts and 7. special position of Bhutan.

3. K.M. Panikkar had suggested in his note on the proposed Beijing Conference that if China insisted on reopening the whole issues of the frontier, the Indian delegation could walk out of the conference and break off the negotiations.

4. Regarding the village of Minsar in Western Tibet, which has belonged to the Kashmir State, it is clear that we shall have to give it up, if this question is raised. We need not raise it. If it is raised, we should say that we recognize the strength of the Chinese contention and we are prepared to consider it and recommend it. But the matter will have to be referred to the Kashmir Government. It can of course be referred by telegram through us. The point is that we should not come to a final agreement without gaining the formal assent of the Kashmir Government.

5. There are references in the note to certain disputed areas in Ladakh, Hunza, etc. I imagine that some of these are in the Pakistan-occupied territory, like Hunza. If so, we can hardly discuss these with them and we can point out that all this area is under dispute with Pakistan.

6. Regarding trade, I agree with the Commerce Ministry that we should not restrict trade between India and Tibet. Tibet is our natural market and we should develop it normally.

7. As regards prohibited articles, this prohibition should generally continue. But we might be a little more generous in regard to petrol, etc. A few thousand gallons does not make any difference to us, nor does it make any great difference on the other side from the military point of view. But, as a bargaining counter, we might agree to relax our rules to a small extent in regard to POL.

8. The question of free transit of foreign goods from India can hardly arise, except perhaps in theory, as China hardly purchases foreign goods. It would be interesting if China claimed the right under the Barcelona Convention, of 1921. That itself would slightly weaken China's attempt to bypass or reject old conventions and customs. Anyway, it is clear that it is physically impossible for us to use the Sikkim route to any large extent.

9. I do not know that it will serve any useful purpose for us to ask for the restoration of the old trade route between Sinkiang and Kashmir. That route passes through territory held by Pakistan. It is exceedingly unlikely that we shall get back this territory. However, there is no harm in mentioning this.

10. I agree with what is said about our trade agencies. Gertok is important. Yatung especially, and, to some extent, Gyantse are likely to become more important as trade between India and Tibet increases. They are on the main route. Therefore, it is eminently reasonable that we should have some trade agents there or at least at Yatung.

11. If Bhutan is mentioned in any way, we should make it perfectly clear that External Affairs of Bhutan are under our direct guidance. We should not raise this question. But inferentially, this fact should be brought out and further that the Chinese will have to deal with us in regard to External Affairs relating to Bhutan.

(v) Myanmar

1. To U Nu¹

New Delhi
30 October, 1953

My dear Maung Nu,

...I find that one of our Finance Ministry officials is going to Rangoon² to discuss the question of the debt. Naturally, he cannot enter into any political or like aspects of the problem. He can only find out what the facts etc. are. That in itself, of course, is helpful. But the major aspects are different and can only be considered at much higher levels. I need not tell you that it is our desire to go as far as we can to help Burma and to reduce any burden on her. We shall try to do that. But it is perhaps not fully realised that we are functioning under great strains, chiefly financial. I believe that our deficit this year is round about Rs. 200 crores and that is a very substantial sum. It is true that a good part of it is being used for developmental purposes.

Whatever we do has to be justified before our Parliament and, therefore, we have to move cautiously. You can rest assured, however, that we are giving this matter the most earnest consideration, taking in view the peculiar circumstances and difficulties in Burma. We are fully conscious of them.

You have been fighting a hard fight against great odds and we have admired the strength, persistence and courage that you have brought to this task. It is my belief that India and Burma, and perhaps some other nearby countries also, have to cooperate in a large measure, both in political and other fields, for their mutual advantage. Otherwise, each will suffer...

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Copy to K.K. Chettur, Ambassador of India in Myanmar. Extracts.
2. In November 1953, M.V. Rangachari, Joint Secretary of the Finance Ministry, visited Rangoon to negotiate a settlement of Myanmar's Rs. 70 crores debt to India. The debt comprised mostly railway and telegraph assets left by the Government of India when Myanmar separated from India in 1937. Myanmar paid regular instalments on the debt up to 1942, which were discontinued following the Japanese war.

2. To C.D. Deshmukh¹

New Delhi

November 2, 1953

My dear Deshmukh,

Thank you for your letter of November 2 about the Burma debt. This has given me some idea of the problem.

I entirely agree with you that our position is quite different from that of the UK or Pakistan. Also that the nature of the debt is different.

We might meet and consider this matter to enable me to send U Nu some kind of a reply. While your argument appears to me to be very sound, there are only two considerations which might be borne in mind and which might induce us to scale down our debt somewhat. I agree with you that there should be no question of writing off the debt. The two arguments are: (1) the extraordinary difficulties that Burma has had internally owing to civil wars and the like. It is really extraordinary how they have carried on at all and no one can say how long they can do so, though the chances are that they will manage it somehow. A good part of Burma is almost outside their control and their writ does not run there. Sometimes trouble occurs almost at the doorstep of Rangoon. Their oil has not brought much profit, if any, since the war. It is true that they have made much money out of their rice. They have now arrived at a position when this rice business is not going to be very profitable and there is not much else to fall back upon.

U Nu, I know, has been fighting hard in various ways, against the younger and wilder elements in Burma and even in his own Cabinet, generally supporting India's case in various matters. He has had a difficult time and he could only carry it off because of his personal prestige. Politically, it is highly desirable for us to have a friendly and cooperative Burma.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To U Nu¹

New Delhi
November 10, 1953

My dear Maung Nu,

I am writing to you in continuation of my letter² of 30th October 1953 regarding Burma's debt to India. You will forgive me for the delay. I have been touring a good deal during the last few weeks.

I need not tell you that we are approaching this problem in a spirit of great sympathy and friendship for Burma and with a desire to go as far as we can to help Burma. The question has its political, economic and financial aspects for both our countries. So far as the political aspect is concerned, I have only to repeat what I have said above that we want to go to our utmost capacity to accommodate Burma.

We now come to the other aspects. Both our countries, Burma and India, are struggling for survival, if I may put it bluntly. You have had your tremendous difficulties, part of which have been got over and part continue. So far as we are concerned, we have struggled hard on the economic front and have constantly to face some crisis or other which might have far-reaching consequences. The vast problem of rehabilitating seven million refugees has been with us ever since Independence and has been a heavy burden. We have tackled it with some courage and with some success but much remains to be done and the burden continues. It is true that we have made progress in many ways, but we have paid heavily for it and we are likely to pay even more in the future. I need not go into details. Vast river valley schemes and some major industrial undertakings have been started by us and they continue to drain our resources. We are trying to deal with rural areas in our Community Schemes and National Extension Service. All these are considerable achievements. But they do not bring quick results and they mean a heavy burden. There is a great deal of unemployment and under-employment and a continuous addition to it. The basic problem of poverty still remains to be tackled. Our colleges and universities turn out tens of thousands of graduates and undergraduates who find no scope anywhere. Our country is heavily populated and the population grows from year to year. There are far more people than land. All these problems oppress

1. JN Collection.
2. Not printed.

us. We shall find a way out because we are determined to do so, but the struggle is hard and our opponents are many.

We have received some help in the form of loans from the World Bank. We have received help from the US Government also in the past, chiefly in the form of wheat. In view of our foreign policy, we have constantly to face the prospect of this help being withdrawn in future. Our Five Year Plan shows a deficit of about Rs. 300 crores. This is so, taking into consideration the probable help from abroad. If that help stops, as it well might, the gap will be even bigger. We shall somehow have to fill it even though we have to go in for extreme austerity.

Politically, because of our policy in foreign affairs, we stand aloof from the big Western countries. The latest developments are that the United States are likely to enter into a military alliance with Pakistan and pour money there both to build up a huge army and for other purposes.

Most of our States in India are on the verge of bankruptcy and make constant demands upon us which we find it difficult to meet. Natural disasters follow one another. Only recently we have had terrible floods in Bihar, in South India and in the UP. The Bihar flood was almost unique in history and it is said that no flood on such a scale has ever occurred anywhere else.

This is the background that we have. There are constant demands upon us which we find very difficult to meet and a threatening economic situation all the time. Everything that we do has to be put before our Parliament and is scrutinised there with this background in view.

Coming to Burma's debt to India, I understand that there are three outstanding matters. The first is the resumption of payment of the Separation Debt which was fixed after a great deal of detailed consideration in the late thirties. The second is the payment of Burma's share of the pensions of those who had retired from the service of the Government of India before the separation of Burma. The third is the settlement of a number of points mainly between the Reserve Bank and the Government of Burma, arising out of the termination of the common currency arrangements between the two countries. The basis of these adjustments has been prescribed in a detailed Order-in-Council which was issued at the time of the separation of Burma from India.

As you know, we propose to send a senior finance officer to Burma soon to discuss all these matters with your officers.

There is a difference between India's position and that of the United Kingdom. Our dues relate to the period before the war and represent sums due to us which were determined after a detailed examination of the facts and figures and an exhaustive enquiry by an independent three-man tribunal. The final figures were worked out by an officer of the Burma Government, an officer of India and a referee from the United Kingdom. The UK loan to Burma stands

on a different footing. I believe this was given during and after the war and the amount is, of course, much smaller.³ Apart from the UK being in a far stronger financial position than India, it was the UK Government that was morally responsible for dragging Burma into the war and the subsequent damage done to Burma. It is right that the UK Government should make reparation for injury for which they could be held responsible.⁴

The separation debt was originally fixed at Rs. 50.8 crores roundly after taking every factor into consideration. Certain instalments in repayment of this debt were made between 1937 and 1942, leaving on the 1st April 1942, a balance of Rs. 48.15 crores repayable in 40 years. Interest on this has accumulated since then and amounts to Rs. 18.54 crores.

Then there is the liability for pensions. This is really not an inter-state liability, in the sense of the separation debt, but is a share of sums paid to a large number of individual pensioners. It represents the actual amount which we have paid or have to pay to these pensioners from our revenues and which Burma had to pay. The total amount due under this head is of the order of Rs. 6 crores.

The third item results from the termination of currency arrangements from which certain claims and counter-claims flow. This matter has to be adjusted.

Burma's debt to us, like Pakistan's debt to India on separation, represents actual liabilities taken over by us which we have had to pay or are paying still. We are in the unhappy position of having taken these burdens to pay creditors on behalf of Burma and Pakistan. Pakistan has so far paid us nothing on this account, although some instalments are due. In the settlement we made with Pakistan, the amount due to us from Burma was taken into account as an asset. Thus Pakistan's share was increased and her debt to us was reduced to that extent. You will observe that we seem to come out badly on either side of the transaction. If Pakistan's share in the Burmese debt is not taken into account or is transferred to Pakistan, that would make some difference.

3. Under the Anglo-Burmese treaty of 1947 Burma had taken over Britain's obligation to pay 3,300,000 pounds sterling to the Union Bank of Burma in respect of currency redemption while Britain, in turn, had accepted a round figure of four million pounds sterling in a single down payment as final settlement of the Union Government's total indebtedness. The debt which amounted to about 27 million sterling, comprised mostly of army equipment handed over by British forces, when they withdrew on Myanmar's independence, was to have been paid in twenty equal instalments, beginning 1 April 1952.
4. When Myanmar pleaded inability to pay and opinion was sharply divided in the country on the question of honouring the debt Britain, after repeated negotiations, had agreed to reduce the debt by about twenty million pounds sterling.

There is another consideration which is important from our point of view. Not only Pakistan but Nepal also owes us money. Any step which we may take in regard to Burma's debt to us, will naturally produce repercussions on our debts due from Pakistan and Nepal etc. It will thus have far-reaching consequences. In view of our economic difficulties, it will be no easy matter for us to face Parliament, and public opinion in India would be severely critical.

I have placed some of these facts before you without going into too much detail. They will indicate to you not only our very difficult position but also how complicated this issue is, and the consequences that we might have to face.

We are perfectly prepared to consider some kind of revision and a scaling down of the present debt to the extent possible.⁵ We would also gladly consider how to make it convenient for Burma to pay this sum in suitable instalments spread out over a period. Further, it might be possible for us, in this connection, to extend some measure of assistance to Burma under the Colombo Plan towards her economic development. But, to write off the debt would not only be a severe blow to us with far-reaching consequences, but would also be a rather bad precedent, both from Burma's point of view and India's.

I have written frankly to you about our position in this matter. I am sure you will appreciate it. When our financial officers have discussed this matter fully from their point of view, we shall be in a better position to deal with the various aspects of it.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. The total amount of Rs. 71 crores outstanding by Myanmar, included capital debt as well as interest due. Consequent on the separation of Myanmar from India in 1937, the Government of India undertook the responsibility of Myanmar's share of the public debt amounting to Rs. 51 crores. It became in turn Myanmar's debt to India. The debt was to be paid in forty-five equated annual instalments. In addition Myanmar had to pay her share of 7½% pensionary liabilities. The outstanding amount included about forty-eight crores as the capital portion of the debt and Rs. 6 crores as pensionary liability and interest charges calculated on the basis of simple interest for the last eleven years.

4. The Question of Compensation¹

Government of India is taking part in this matter because it concerns Indian nationals.² Essentially, however, it is a matter between the creditor and the debtor and the Government comes in to help.

2. It must be remembered that in Burma (and I would add in India too) there can be little sympathy for the Chettiar creditor in a case where land was mortgaged to them and they foreclosed upon it. Also our own policy is entirely in favour of land reform. We have to welcome, therefore, Burma's land legislation and the only question that arises is that of compensation.

3. The proposal that we should pitch our demand high and then reduce it gradually does not appeal to me.³ Such a high demand will create, right at the beginning, a bad impression and we might make little or no progress after that. What exactly the demand should be, I cannot say without much closer knowledge of the situation. In the previous note, it is said that the Chettiers might not accept any proposal which is below a basic minimum. I am afraid the Chettiers' refusal in such an event would not influence the talks very much. It is the Burma Government that will have to agree or refuse.

4. I think it is perfectly legitimate to grade down the compensation in the case of larger estates. That is what we have done in India, and we can hardly ask for a more generous treatment from Burma....

1. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, 10 December 1953. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. There was the question of adequate and fair compensation for nationalizing more than a million acres of Indian-owned land. As against the market value of Rs 70 crores assessed by Indian land-holders, the Myanmar Government had agreed to pay a only about Rs 1 crore. As this was considered inadequate, the Indian Government sent in December 1953 a delegation to Myanmar to discuss the matter with the Myanmar Government, but the latter declined to reconsider the scale of compensation.
3. The Indian delegation wanted the minimum compensation for the lands should be higher than those presently contemplated. It was understood that once the scale of compensation was fixed arrangements for payments would be expedited.

5. Cable to K.K. Chettur¹

Burmese Ambassador² has just seen me and given me copy of message you sent me yesterday about rice transaction. Please convey following reply to U Nu.

Thank you for your message which your Ambassador has conveyed to me. I am grateful for the care and thought that you are giving to this matter.

It seems to me a little difficult to combine the rice transaction with the debt problems, more especially when latter has not been separately settled. In regard to debt, I think I have informed you that we are prepared to go very far to reduce burden on Burma. The final lump sum that remains can either be paid in instalments or as a whole. To pay it in lump is possible if you choose to do so out of the proceeds from sale of rice. Naturally such payment in lump would be advantageous from the point of view of saving future interest. How far you can pay that in lump will be for you to consider according to your convenience.

As regards rice purchase, I might inform you that we have been offered through private agencies 600,000 tons of Burmese rice at thirty-five pounds five shillings per ton FOB Burmese Port. We would, of course, prefer to deal directly with your Government. If, however, you would agree to our purchasing this from private agencies, we will do so. This might get over your difficulty with other countries to whom you have sold rice at higher price. We are prepared to pay the same price, that is thirtyfive pounds five shillings per ton, on government to government purchase.

If we buy rice from you at sixty pounds, this will mean net loss to us of rupees twenty crores. We have to pass on this rice to our State Governments. They will not accept it at all and we will not know what to do with it. We cannot possibly subsidise it to tune of twenty crores rupees. Neither Parliament nor our State Governments could accept that, more especially when we

1. New Delhi, 11 December 1953. JN Collection.

2. U Kyin.

3. In fact, a lenient terms of settlement of the debt which Myanmar owed India arising out of separation with India in 1937 was signed in April 1954. In March 1954 India made a deal for the purchase of nine lakh tons of rice from Myanmar on admittedly generous terms.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

are offered same quality and quantity of rice at thirty-five pounds five shillings.

I hope you will appreciate our difficulty.

I am anxious to settle both rice question and debt question, but the two have to be considered separately, though in regard to payments, necessary adjustments can be made.

I should like your advice in the matter of the private offer of Burmese rice at thirtyfive pounds five shillings that we have received.

6. To K.K. Chettur¹

New Delhi

January 8, 1954

My dear Chettur,

We have received the following telegram from our Ambassador in Peking:

"Sundstrom new Finnish Minister here seems to have heard from Russian sources that United States recently increasing pressure on Burma to accept military aid, that Government party in Rangoon divided on question and American Embassy working against Thakin Nu. For information. Accuracy not vouched."

I am forwarding this on to you so that you might try to find out, as far as possible, what developments in this respect are taking place. From our point of view, of course, it would be unfortunate if Burma received any American military aid. That would mean Burma lining up inevitably with the US and following Pakistan in this respect.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

7. Rice from Myanmar¹

The question of food purchase from Burma has been continually before us for many months, indeed for nearly a year. It has a long history behind it. If you will look at some of the telegrams that I have sent to our Ambassador in Rangoon, you will get to know part of this story.

2. We have all along been prepared to buy rice from Burma and we have made it perfectly clear that we would prefer to go to Burma than any other place. But we cannot buy rice unless we need it, and we cannot buy it at a price which is out of all proportion to the price prevailing in India. Infact, we have got enough rice, though it is true that the Burma variety of rice is preferred in Travancore-Cochin. We would like to send that rice to them, again keeping the price in view. We are also prepared to replace some of the wheat with rice.

3. Finally, we wanted to enter into a contract for the purchase of, I think, about five lakh tons of rice every year for three years or so. The price question came up again. We offered to buy it at a price which would not involve us in any considerable loss in India. In fact, we were prepared to suffer a little loss. We have had no definite answer to that offer, though one might presume that it has been refused because of the price.

4. At the price that Burma Government wished to sell their rice we would have suffered a loss of some crores of rupees. We would have brought it at a heavier price and we would have had to subsidise the sale of this rice in the States. This subsidy is largely given by the States and the States refuse to accept rice at their higher price.

5. The principal motive for our entering into a contract with Burma for rice was to build up a reserve as our present needs had been satisfied.

6. The recent arrangement with Ceylon for them to give us some of their Burma rice,² which was to be replaced by us a little later by our rice, was for a relatively small quantity. The price question did not arise because we were exchanging it.

7. I do not quite know in what manner we can reopen this question, although

1. Note to Commonwealth Secretary, 21 January 1954. JN Collection.

2. On 30 December 1953, the Sri Lankan Government agreed to grant India's request for 30,000 tons of rice as a loan returnable within three months or as an outright sale at cost price. This was in response to India's demand from the Sri Lankan Government to supply her 30,000 tons of parboiled rice in exchange for an equal quantity of table rice as a stop-gap arrangement to supply parboiled rice required by Bengal and Travancore-Cochin.

it has not been closed yet in a sense. We had actually offered to negotiate a long term agreement under the formula that prices should be fixed each year at the international price level. This year's price has to be fixed and we had suggested, I think, thirty-five. It is there that we got stuck.

8. Unfortunately, the Burmese Government thought that we were deliberately trying to beat them down in price and also imagined that our propaganda that we had enough rice was not based on fact. Later, they found through their own inquiries that in fact we had some surplus of rice this year.

9. You can, of course, discuss this matter with the Food Ministry.

(vi) Sri Lanka

1. Cable to John Kotelawala¹

Thank you for your personal message. I regret greatly the reasons which led to the resignations of Mr. Dudley Senanayake. I hope that he will recover his health soon.

Please accept my best wishes on your assumption of the high office of Prime Minister of Ceylon.² You can rest assured that you will have fullest cooperation from us. Our feelings for the people of Ceylon have been and are of the friendliest and it is our earnest desire that our two countries and peoples should cooperate together in the largest measure to their mutual advantage. We have a legacy of some problems. I am sure that with imagination, understanding and sympathy for each other these problems can be solved. I send you all my good wishes.³

1. New Delhi, 14 October 1953. File No.30(33)/47-PMS.

2. John Kotelawala assumed office after Senanayake had resigned on 12 October 1953, due to ill-health.

3. In this cable Nehru conveyed the following message to Dudley Senanyake: "I have heard with great regret that on account of ill-health you have had to resign the high office of Prime Minister of Ceylon. I hope that you will recover your health soon. It gave me great pleasure to meet you in London and I was looking forward to our meeting again. I hope I shall have opportunities in the future to do so."

2. To John Kotelawala¹

New Delhi
28 October 1953

My dear Prime Minister,

I am writing to you with reference to the correspondence which I have had with your predecessor, regarding the proposed amendment of the Ceylon Immigrants and Emigrants Act 20 of 1948.² Mr. Senanayake's last letter to me is dated the 17th September 1953.

2. You have been so intimately associated with our discussions of this problem — which is only a facet of the larger question of the citizenship rights of people of Indian origin in Ceylon — that it is hardly necessary for me to dilate on it.³ I would only request you to examine the question afresh in the light of the Indo-Ceylonese relationship which we would like to establish for the mutual benefit of both our countries. I maintain that it is not worthwhile tinkering with our major problem in a piecemeal fashion, and thereby endanger the favourable atmosphere that now prevails for its settlement, which all of us have so patiently helped to create in the last few months.

3. As I look upon this question from the broader point of view — and I have every hope that you will do so too—I do not wish to enter into any further arguments on this particular issue of the proposed amendment to your present Act. I shall deal only briefly with the arguments set out in Mr. Senanayake's letter of the 17th September 1953, in the expectation that you will accept the considerations set forth in my letter of the 27th August 1953, to him,⁴ and will agree to a postponement of this piece of legislation.

4. The most objectionable feature of the amending Bill is that contained in its paragraph 5, namely, that of shifting the onus of proof on to the individual to prove that he is not an illicit immigrant. The Ceylon Government's principal argument in favour of this clause seems to rest on the premise that illicit

1. File No.C/53/6561/5, MEA.

2. On 13 November 1953 the Sri Lankan House of Representatives passed a "Bill to amend the Immigrants and Emigrants Act No.20 of 1948 which enabled conferment of citizenship only on those applicants who had been residents of Sri Lanka since 1939."

3. As many as 237, 034 applications for citizenship, involving nearly eight lakhs of people of Indian origin, were made to the Commissioner for Registration in Sri Lanka till 5 August 1951 — the last date fixed for the submission of applications. Till 31 December 1952, 4,498 applications covering 15,569 persons were granted. At the close of the year, an amendment was made in the Indian and Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act, which, in effect, denied citizenship to several thousand persons in Sri Lanka.

4. See *Selected Works*, (second series) Vol. 23, pp. 477-480.

immigration into Ceylon continues to be such a serious problem ("a danger to national existence") that it requires this drastic remedy. I doubt whether this contention is based on realities. You may have noticed that while one day your Inspector General of Police complains of an increase in illicit immigration; on the next, the Controller of Immigration states that the average illicit immigration into Ceylon has fallen to 40-50 per week this year from 200 last year. This gives ground for considering that the fear of illicit immigration is somewhat exaggerated.⁵ I had written to your predecessor, how willing and, indeed, anxious we are, to cooperate with the Ceylon Government as far as possible to stop this traffic. I repeat that assurance and offer to you. But, at the same time, I should like you to consider whether by taking the measures contemplated in the amending Bill you will not in fact be going far beyond what is really necessary, and, in a way, will not directly counteract all that we desire to do to promote Indo-Ceylonese good relations and collaboration by solving the problem of the rights of persons of Indian origin in Ceylon.

5. Then, in regard to our objection to the proposed amendment to section 14 of the Act, Mr. Senanayake thought that it would be welcome to the Indian residents in Ceylon. But he more or less indicated his willingness to drop the proposal if it was not acceptable to us. We are of the opinion that the proposal had best be dropped. We see no advantage in it, but possible difficulties.

6. As I have said earlier, I do not wish to make this letter an argumentative one. My main object is to invite you to resume the promising negotiations that we had started in London for solving the main problem between Ceylon and India,⁶ — that of the citizenship rights of people of Indian origin in Ceylon. I am sure that by the exercise of a little patience, goodwill and imagination, we can solve that problem to our mutual satisfaction. Then, this particular Bill will fall into its proper perspective, and we can deal with it, as it should be, as a purely administrative measure to be mutually agreed upon for a common purpose; and not one that would adversely affect the larger problem, or one that would come in the way of establishing good relations between our two countries.

5. According to the report of the Controller of Emigration, Chennai, while during 1952 the number of illicit immigrants deported from Sri Lanka was 7265 the number fell steeply to 2510 in the first nine months of 1953.

6. At the London talks Sri Lanka put up a formula by which four lakh people were to be given citizenship, of which 2,50,000 were to be granted permanent residence permits, subject to the review of their cases at the end of ten years for citizenship, and 1,50,000 were to be granted temporary residence permits for a specified period in each case. India agreed to all the points, but wanted 50,000 more to be added to those considered for permanent residence permits. No agreement was reached on this point.

7. I therefore repeat the invitation that I extended to your predecessor to visit us in New Delhi, and continue the talks that we had in London, in an effort to find a final solution of the major problem that comes in the way of Indo-Ceylonese understanding and cooperation. I assure you of a very warm welcome here, and look forward to hearing from you of when it will be convenient for you to come.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Unbroken Bonds¹

Mr Prime Minister,² Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, Four days ago you came here, Sir, and we were happy to welcome you as a distinguished guest. I wonder how you have felt during these four days because I remember my many visits to Ceylon³ and whenever I went there I had felt completely at home and among friends even though the many people I met there for the first time. So I was wondering if you had felt that way when you came to India, you and your colleagues.

I suppose that to some extent you did so because India and Ceylon have been bound together in so many ways by geography of course: we are close neighbours; long tradition and legend and epic stories from pre-historic times

1. Speech at the banquet in honour of John Kotelawala, Prime Minister of Sri Lanka. New Delhi, 18 January 1954. From the Press Information Bureau.
2. John Kotelawala, accompanied by two Cabinet colleagues—Education Minister, Minister for Industries and a few officials arrived in New Delhi on 15 January to discuss with Nehru the problem of citizenship of the people of Indian origin in Sri Lanka and he left India on 19 January after signing an agreement with Nehru on 18 January in the matter.
3. Nehru visited Sri Lanka during 22 April-22 May 1931, 16 July-20 July 1939 and 8 January-15 January 1950. See *Selected Works* (first series), Vol.4, pp.520-537; Vol.10, pp.5-40 and *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 14 pt.I, pp.353-359 and 525-537.

have bound us together. And then more than 2,000 years ago we sent you some ambassadors from this country, the Great Asoka sent, as all of you know and many of us know very well, two noble ambassadors Mahinda and Sanghamitta with a message.⁴ And since then, apart from other other things, that great message has bound us together. Of course, many things, have happened during these 2,000 years, politically and otherwise, but then that bond continued and whatever may happen I do not think anything can break that particular bond, apart from other bonds. It seems to me that in the world today it is perhaps even more necessary than at any other time in the world's history to remember that message which went from India to your country over 2,000 years ago. It went not only to Sri Lanka but to many other countries and whether people adopted it as a religion or not, the essence of that message was common to many other faiths and in the world today I would venture to say nothing is more necessary than to understand appreciate and try to live up to that message.

It is an odd thing that when we seem to be surrounded by all kinds of modern developments which are terrible in their power for good and ill and on evil side we see much more at present than the good and, when people live in fright as to what might happen in the future and their lives are crushed and frustrated because of that, to think of this old message of peace, absence of hatred and ill-will, one wonders which of these mighty forces will triumph. One wonder and yet, I suppose there can be little doubt as to which is bound to triumph. And so with all these ancient bonds and the hundreds of bonds which have arisen since then, we in India and you in Ceylon have been tied together whether it is in the origin of our languages and cultures, in religion and many other economic and other issues. Perhaps in the future those bonds are likely to grow rather than lessen because we live in a period when all countries of Asia are going through a new awakening, regaining something of that inner spirit or are trying to do so. There have been political changes of course which are obvious to the world; there are economic changes going on everywhere, but there is something deeper than that, that is, Asia recovering her inner spirit. It is a difficult process and no doubt in the near future it will not be perhaps a very easy one for any of us, but it is an exciting process also—the recovery of something that gave us vitality in the past and you and we and other countries of Asia share in that. And it is essentially a spirit not of

4. Mahinda and Sanghamitta, two Buddhist monks, supposed to be son and daughter of Emperor Asoka of the Mauryan Dynasty, (c269-232 B.C.), went to Sri Lanka in 246 B.C. which resulted in conversion of the island's King Devanampiya Tissa and many others to Buddhism.

opposition to others and hostility to others, but a spirit of friendship to others. But in any event it brought us, the people of Asia, closer together. And in so far as we can, we try to, shall I say, exercise such little influence that we may have in the cause of peace elsewhere and everywhere. So in these matters your country and mine stand together and I have no doubt we stand together, and whatever the future may bring we shall be friends as we are neighbours and we shall try to help each other and above all help each other in maintaining that ancient spirit and that ancient message which long ago went from here to your country and flourished there perhaps much better than in India.

You have come here, Sir, not only as an old friend but as the representative of your country. You came here for us to discuss together certain problems which have occasionally troubled us. There is no conflict between us on any political issue, on any economic, atomic issue or any issues that divide the world, but certain problems arose which are essentially human problems involving the happiness or the unhappiness of large numbers of human beings. And such problems are always a little difficult to deal with, but however difficult they might be if approached in the right spirit of friendship, they are bound to yield solutions. We have met for these last three days and discussed them and I believe we have taken a good step forward in settling these problems.⁵ We have not as you, Sir, will testify, approached these problems in a spirit of haggling or quibbling but in a spirit to understand each other's difficulties and try to meet them as far as possible. And if we have not finally solved those problem, it is because we felt that perhaps we would be on safer and sounder grounds to go a few steps now and a few steps later on. Anyhow, I believe we have laid the foundations for a friendly settlement which will involve as little trouble to other human beings as possible. And I am happy that this is the result of your visit and your colleagues' visit to Delhi and I congratulate myself and, if I may say so, you, Sir, on the result of that visit.

5. The Prime Ministers of India and Sri Lanka signed a pact on 18 January 1954 on the future of the people of Indian origin in Sri Lanka. They agreed to stop illicit immigration; the Sri Lankan Government agreed to prepare a register of all residents who were not already on the electoral register; the registration of citizens under the Indian and Pakistani (citizenship) Act was to be completed by the end of 1955; all persons, so registered, were to be placed on a separate electoral register for ten years and those who did not register their names would be encouraged to register themselves as citizens of India.

4. To P.T. Thanu Pillai¹

New Delhi
January 27, 1954

Dear Thanu Pillai,²

Your letter of 27th January.

... I have asked our High Commissioner in Colombo to meet Members of the Ceylon Indian Congress and to explain to them what the position is,³ as well as give them as much clarification as is required.⁴ I think there is much misunderstanding in this matter and needless excitement.

I suggest that you might meet meanwhile Shri M.J. Desai, our Commonwealth Secretary, who is dealing with this matter and who will be able to remove many of your doubts.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts. A copy was sent to M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary.
2. (b. 1908), businessman; Member, Hindu College Managing Committee, Tirunelveli, 1946-50; one of the founder members of Ceylon Indian Congress; Member of the Working Committee, Ceylon Indian Committee, 1948-49, Hony. Joint Secretary, Ceylon Indian Congress, 1942-44; General Secretary, Ceylon Indian Congress Labour, 1944-45; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-62.
3. On 14 January 1954, the final day of its two days session in Colombo, the Working Committee of the Ceylon Indian Congress, in a resolution, called upon the Governments of India and Sri Lanka to suspend ratification of the Delhi Agreement on the citizenship issue pending clarification on certain points.
4. The main points on which clarification was sought were the intended manner of ensuring disposal of the applications within two years: the position of the applicant under the Indian and Pakistani Citizenship Act holding temporary residence permits; the implementation of the adult registration provided in Clause 2 of the Agreement; the reason for the registered citizens being placed on a separate register and the connection between the language of the area and their being placed on a separate register.

5. To John Kotelawala¹

New Delhi
January 28, 1954

My dear Prime Minister,²

Thank you for your letter of the 25th January, which I have just received.

It was a great pleasure to have you and your colleagues in Delhi and I am particularly happy that our meeting yielded some fruit. I earnestly trust that our agreement will be a forerunner of fuller cooperation between our two Governments in matters of common concern. As you say, the agreement, important as it is, really depends in the spirit in which it is administered. If the right spirit is present, it will undoubtedly strengthen the friendship and coopeartion of Ceylon and India and their respective peoples.

I am happy to read what you have written about our High Commissioner in Ceylon.

You refer to a feeling of uneasiness in the ranks of the Ceylon Indian Congress.² I have myself been informed of this. I hope that this will disappear if they have fully understood the implications of our agreement. Some members of the Ceylon Indian Congress asked me for an interview in order to find out what were the implications of this agreement. I was reluctant to encourage their coming to Delhi. Ultimately, however, I felt that it might help our cause if I met them for a brief while. I have informed our High Commissioner, therefore, that I am prepared to see them briefly when I go to Travancore-Cochin next week.³ But I have made it clear that you should be informed of this. I shall be very busy during my election tour in Travancore-Cochin, which begins each day early in the morning and goes on till late at night. I hope, however, to find a little time at night to meet these people.

With all good wishes and regards to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. As the Ceylon Indian Congress was convinced that the agreement would militate against the interests of Indians it had sought some clarification from John Kotelawala, and C. C. Desai, the Indian High Commissioner in Sri Lanka. Despite the efforts of Kotelawala and Desai the Congress remained unconvinced and decided to carry the issue on with Nehru.

3. Nehru directed S. Thondaman, the President of Ceylon Indian Congress, to meet him on 7 February 1954.

(vii) Egypt and Sudan

1. To K. M. Panikkar¹

New Delhi
October 13, 1953

My dear Panikkar

... It is clear that the UK Government has stiffened its colonial policy everywhere. This was evident in Kenya. The recent developments in British Guiana *prima facie* appear to be amazing. In Egypt, whatever the weaknesses or faults of the Neguib regime, it seems to me that it is the UK Government that is definitely coming in the way of a compromise. Your last letter to R.K.² makes it perfectly clear that Britain was not serious about evacuating the Canal Zone. The proposal that the UK should reoccupy the Canal Zone in the event of any possible war, and in fact whenever they chose to do so, is something which I would never accept if I were an Egyptian. That means that Egypt must inevitably join in a war, whatever its nature.³

I am sorry for the weakness of the Egyptian Government at this stage and for the action they have taken against Nahas and others. Egypt may suffer because of this. But in the long run Britain will suffer a good deal. The UK is losing all the sympathy and goodwill which they got on the Indian settlement. Oliver Lyttelton is perhaps a symbol of the UK policy now. I have the lowest opinion of him and consider him completely unscrupulous. If he and the likes of his continue, he will do great injury to Britain.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to the Secretary-General and the Foreign Secretary.
2. Ratan Kumar Nehru
3. The Anglo-Egyptian negotiations over the Suez Canal issue had broken down in October 1953 because Britain demanded from Egypt much wider commitments than she was prepared to undertake. Egypt insisted that the Suez Canal should be available only when there was a land attack on any Arab country, while Britain demanded that an attack on Turkey should be included as a ground for the return of the British troops. The British also demanded the return of British troops in all cases in which the UN declared a war. Egypt refused to be bound by such a commitment.

2. To Mohammed Neguib¹

New Delhi

28th December, 1953

My dear General Neguib,

Thank you for your letter of the 19th December,² which our Ambassador in Cairo has forwarded to us. I am very glad that the work of Sukumar Sen, as Chairman of the Electoral Commission for the Sudan, has been appreciated by you. The emergence of a self-governing Sudan is a matter of great significance. Any help that we can give will be gladly given.

You have been informed by our Ambassador, K.M. Panikkar, that he will leave Cairo in the near future. We have appointed him a member of a very important commission which, in effect, will consider the refashioning internally of the map of India. This is work of the highest importance and we felt that Panikkar's wide experience and historical knowledge would be particularly helpful. It was not my desire to remove him from Cairo at this stage because of the important issues that are arising and the necessity of our two Governments remaining in the closest touch with each other. But we felt that Panikkar's membership of our Commission for the Reorganization of States was desirable.

We are earnestly thinking of a person to succeed Panikkar as our Ambassador in Cairo. We attach the greatest importance to this post and we shall, therefore, try to choose one of our ablest men in the Foreign Service for it.

With all good wishes to you for the New Year and Warm regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. T/53/1445/37-MEA. Copy to K.M. Panikkar.
2. Neguib, Prime Minister of Egypt, wrote that in conducting the recent elections in Sudan, Sukumar Sen had "discharged a difficult task in a most exemplary manner and...his deep sense of duty and integrity have impressed all sections of the Sudanese people."

(viii) British Guiana

1. Attitude towards British Guiana¹

This telegram from our High Commissioner in London asks for instructions about British Guiana. I do not know what kind of instruction he can expect. Naturally we are very much interested and somewhat exercised about these developments there.² There is no reason why we should accept the UK Government's vague statements about Communist plots,³ unless some definite evidence is available. The record of the present UK Government, and more especially that of the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, is a bad one, and I am not prepared to accept Mr Lyttelton's word for anything, unless there is definite proof otherwise.

You can inform the High Commissioner of our general attitude. He may privately convey it to Mr. Jagan or others connected with him. For the rest, we shall have to await for further developments. If occasion arises, we might take some step.

Normally I might have suggested that our High Commissioner might express our concern to the Colonial Secretary. But we are hardly on friendly terms with the Colonial Secretary and in these circumstances I do not fancy an approach of this kind, at least for the present. The High Commissioner may informally and privately let it be known to the UK Government about our concern and hope that full facts will be published soon.

This is a matter in which the Indian press might well express itself freely. Perhaps some indication of this might be given to selected pressmen.

1. Note to Secretary-General, MEA, 13 October 1953, JN Collection.
2. On 9 October 1952, the British Government intervened in British Guiana suspending the colony's five-month old constitution, vested the Governor with emergency powers, and reinforced troops, acting on the belief that a communist coup engineered by the People's Progressive Party might be in the offing.
3. The Colonial Office in London blamed the crisis on Indian-born Prime Minister, Cheddi Jagan of British Guiana and his American wife Janet Rosenberg, deputy speaker of the Legislative Assembly and executive secretary of the leftist People's Progressive Party. In a statement on 6 October the Colonial Office said that "intrigues of communists and their associates, some in ministerial posts, threatened the colony's welfare and might end in an attempt 'to set-up a Communist-dominated state' which would lead to bloodshed." British forces were sent to preserve peace in society of all classes", the London statement said.

2. Developments in British Guiana¹

I do not quite know what to do with this telegram² from Mr. Cheddi Jagan.³ I think a letter might be sent to him. You might say in this letter that we are naturally interested and concerned with developments in British Guiana and are anxious to have the facts.

As for addressing Parliament, no non-Members address Parliament as such, but informally Members of Parliament are always pleased to meet distinguished visitors.

If Mr. Cheddi Jagan or Mr. Burnham come to India, they will no doubt have every opportunity of meeting people here including MPs. Apart from this, Parliament is not meeting for the next month.

In view of the changing situation in British Guiana, it will probably be desirable for Mr. Cheddi Jagan to go to England first.⁴

1. Note to Secretary-General, MEA, 15 October 1953. JN Collection.
2. Cheddi Jagan, in his cable to Nehru dated 14 October 1953 asked for assistance in the dispute with the British authorities. He also wanted an invitation for his colleague, Burnham and for himself to address the Indian Parliament.
3. Cheddi Jagan (b. 1918). Leader of the People's Progressive Party in Guiana formed in 1950; Prime Minister, April-October 1953; Minister of Trade and Industry, 1957-61 and of Development and Planning, 1961-64; Leader of the Opposition, 1964-73 and 1976.
4. Jagan, along with I.F.S. Burnham, chairman of the People's Progressive Party and former Minister of Education in British Guiana moved to England to put up his grievances before the British people. Though he refuted all the charges, no justice came from the British Government.

3. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon¹

Your telegram 338 about Cheddi Jagan.² You need not raise this question at

1. New Delhi, 18 October 1953. File No. K/53/1411/8103, MEA.
2. Krishna Menon's cable of 17 October 1953 to N.R. Pillai read: "we have had a telegram from Cheddi Jagan asking us to "protest vigorously on behalf of Guianese people" and "demand immediate withdrawal of troops."

this stage.³ We must await developments. In answer to message from Jagan to me. I have told him that he is welcome to come to India if he so chooses, after he had visited England.

3. Krishna Menon mentioned that he had not acknowledged the telegram as it would gain wide publicity, and added that "not only has Delegation no competence in this matter; it does not appear either wise or possible for us to move at all here as at best the matter is one in which friendly and private approach to UK alone appears proper course."

4. Hardening of Imperialist Attitude¹

. . . I am not sure but I understand that Mr Jagan is likely to come to India. There was some talk that Mr Jagan was to come to India, but I do not know; there has been no recent news about it; he may be coming.

It is rather difficult for anyone to criticize a situation without knowing all about it. One can of course express one's opinion generally.

The general trend—I am not talking of British Guiana,—does seem to be a hardening of the attitude of colonial administrations towards their colonial territories. This applies to various countries, not to one only. Naturally from our point of view this is an unhappy development, and, what is more, it cannot be a lasting development. This is noticeable in Africa, whether it is North, or East, or South, or Central, or South-West, wherever you look at, there is that hardening. Apart from the political aspect of it, which is important in Africa, what is very important the racial aspect becomes prominent. The South African Union is the most flagrant example of this. There is no attempt to hide the fact. It is their policy, declared openly, and now you will notice that in the Central African Federation, about which a law has been passed recently, new parties are being built up practically on the basis of the South African policy of apartheid. Other parties repeat the same in more moderate terms.

Now that is a matter—that is, this business of racial discrimination—on which, as you know, we hold strong views. It is a question on which, so far as we are concerned, there can be no compromise with anybody anywhere. It is a different matter that we cannot do anything about it. We cannot go about

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi 15 November 1953. From the Press Information Bureau. Extracts. For other parts of the press conference see *ante* pp. 226-227, 424-427, and 515-517.

crusading about it all over, but I am of the specific opinion that there will be no compromise so far as we are concerned on the question of racial discrimination anywhere. Apart from theory, we are involved in it. There is no doubt about it that Indians in Africa—I am not referring to South Africa but even in other parts—are discriminated against, perhaps not to the same extent as the Africans, but nevertheless any policy that is based on racial discrimination is bound to be resented all the time till it is changed. I cannot say how long it will take. Therefore, condition based on that policy must of necessity be unstable.

It is open to any country, within its own territories, to restrict immigration and the like for various reasons. We may not fully like it, but nevertheless we do not challenge it. But it is a completely different thing for countries, that is, colonial countries, having to experience this policy imposed by a small handful of people at the top in their own country. That is the case in every part of Africa, including the Union of South Africa.

So, looking at the world picture, this hardening of colonial administration seems to be a reversal or an attempt to reverse the policies that came into existence after the Second World War. Colonialism was retreating by compromise in some places, cooperatively in some other places, like India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon, in some places there was trouble, as in Indonesia, but nevertheless it was retreating. Now there appears to be an attempt for the remaining relics of colonialism to dig in its toes, and, in fact, even to go back a little. It is not only a very unfortunate thing, but something which adds to the various instabilities of the modern world.

It is a simple fact that vast numbers of human beings live in Asia and Africa. It is also a fact which must be known that large numbers of them, if not all, are increasingly conscious politically, and are not prepared to submit to conditions which they had endured previously. Therefore, any policy which irritates these hundreds of millions in Africa and Asia cannot be conducive to any stability in the world. The world picture appears to be considered far too much from the military point of view nowadays, forgetting that human beings count and masses and hundreds of millions of human beings still count apart from their lack of military power or influence.

Question: In this hardening process as you described, allegations have been made about American aid in it, especially in British Guiana. Would you give your comments on this?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I know nothing about that. Obviously, I cannot deal with vague allegations unless the matter is publicly known. But what I said was—I repeat—that the whole picture of the world is looked upon more and more from a military point of view, that is, the possibilities of a great war, getting

bases here and there, all over the place, getting positions of advantage to carry on in case war occurs. Well, there is something in it, but nevertheless I say human beings count.

Q: Mr Jagan put great hopes in coming to India and meeting you. Do you think you could give practical aid at all?

JN: We give no practical aid. We are not in a position to give it. When Mr Jagan comes we should meet him of course, and listen to him and talk to him. What we shall do about it would be decided then, whether we do anything about it at all.

5. To Chief Ministers¹

New Delhi

26th November 1953

My dear Chief Minister,

As you know, Dr Cheddi Jagan and Mr Burnham, the ex-Ministers of the British Guiana Government, are in India now. They have been in Delhi for some days and, at the invitation of our Chief Whip, they addressed an informal meeting of all Members of Parliament. The Delhi Congress Committee has also given them facilities to meet people.

They have now drawn up a programme of visiting various centres in India. I enclose a copy of this programme. Generally speaking, the Congress organization will, no doubt, help them. This does not mean that their contacts should be confined to the Congress, because other groups, no doubt, want to meet them. But it is desirable for someone to help in sponsoring their visit. Our general attitude towards the new developments in British Guiana is, broadly speaking, one of sympathy with the people of British Guiana. A large number of them are people of Indian descent. They are employed in the sugar plantations. A report of our Commissioner, who went there, shows how very bad the conditions of these sugar plantation workers are.

It is natural for us to sympathise with any people who wish to improve

1. File No. P.B.28/1953, AICC Papers, NMML. This letter was sent to the Chief Ministers of the UP, Bihar, West Bengal, M.P., Hyderabad, Mysore, Madras and Bombay.

their lot and get rid of a colonial administration and economy. Without going into the details of what happened in British Guiana, it does appear that the Government took a very hasty and extreme step in acting as it did.

Our general attitude towards Dr Jagan and Mr Burnham should be of welcoming them as distinguished people and give them facilities to meet others. We can also, of course, express our general feelings in regard to colonialism and our wish that conditions in these colonial territories should improve politically and economically. That has been all along our policy. We should not publicly enter into the controversy between the British Government and British Guiana.

We have treated Dr Jagan and Mr Burnham here in Delhi in all friendliness and helped them in various ways. I hope that when they go to your State, this attitude will be generally adopted towards them.

Where a question arises of their addressing Members of Assemblies, this can be arranged, but on an informal level.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(ix) African Countries

1. Indians in Kenya¹

I received the enclosed long letter some time ago. I am afraid I have no time to deal with this family. I think you might have an answer sent.

It is evident that the leaders of the Kenya Indian Congress have not liked many of my references to the activities of Indians there or elsewhere in foreign countries. They give with their letter extracts from my speeches. I stand by those extracts completely. I have not criticized any particular Indian. But, as I have said in some of my speeches, I have gone rather out of my way to lay emphasis on a certain aspect lest it might be ignored or bypassed. I attached the greatest importance to them and I did not want any of our countrymen

1. Note to the Cabinet Secretary, 13 October 1953. JN Collection.

abroad to be under any illusion about our policy on this subject. This did not mean any criticism of what the Indians had done in the past.

It is true though that in the past Indians quite naturally, like others, claimed special rights.² That attitude has been largely given up.

In recent months, when the emergency arose in Kenya,³ I certainly had the feeling that Indians in Kenya did not quite play the role they might have done and some of them appeared to succumb to British colonial pressure....

2. The Indian leaders in Kenya were still thinking of "special rights" and were not ready to share the lot of the native Africans.
3. The Kanya African Union, under Jomo Kenyatta, demanded political reforms and more land from the British rulers. This was met with a reign of terror which provoked terrorist acts which were in turn met with the declaration of a state of emergency and the launching of total war against the African people in Kenya.

2. Attitude to Central African Federation¹

Before I got this note from Commonwealth Secretary, I mentioned this matter to Secretary-General and expressed the opinion that we should support the request for the oral hearing for Chiefs of Nyasaland before the Fourth Committee.²

2. Mr Tyabji³ had previously sent a note to me. I have not carefully considered that note yet, though I have hurriedly glanced through it. I shall deal with the general question raised in that note separately and later. The question raised in the telegram from Indiadel, attached, is the limited one of our supporting the oral hearing for the Chiefs of Nyasaland before the Fourth Committee. I do not see how we can refuse such a hearing or not support the request of the Chiefs of Nyasaland in this respect. There is a slight difference

1. Note to Secretary-General and Commonwealth Secretary, MEA 14 October 1953. JN Collection.
2. On 13 April the Chiefs of Nyasaland and the Nyasaland African Congress decided to appeal to the UN against the proposed Central African Federation.
3. Badruddin Tyabji was Commonwealth Secretary.

between our raising the whole question of the Central African Federation⁴ and our agreeing to this hearing. We may later consider fully our general attitude to the Federation; but for us to side with those who are apposed to hearing of the Chiefs of Nagaland appears to me to be not only wrong in principle, but opposed to the general line we should adopt in such cases. We cannot ignore any person who is interested and wants to be heard. What is done after the hearing, is another matter. If we are outvoted in this matter, there it ends. If a majority is in favour of hearing, then for us to side with the minority will be highly objectionable. What the colonial powers do in regard to it is quite another matter.

3. The UK Colonial policy has been progressively deteriorating in recent months. It is clear that—whether in Kenya or Egypt or British Guiana or Central Africa—this policy is of aggressive colonialism. We cannot even passively acquiesce in it, though no doubt we have to take certain accomplished facts for granted.

4. Therefore, I think that we should make clear to our Representative in New York that he should support the request for the oral hearing of the Nyasaland Chiefs. What our further attitude should be in regard to the Central African Federation will be considered later and advice sent to him.

4. The British Parliament passed an Act creating a Federal Union of Northern and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe and Zambia) and Nyasaland as demanded by the white settlers in these territories. The native population opposed the new Federation because it would increase the resources of the white settlers and make their domination over the native people more easy. The representation provided for the native population in the Federal legislature was too small to be effective. The machinery provided to protect the interests of the African population was not adequate. A deputation sent to England for dissuading the British Government from proceeding with the Federal project failed.

3. Policy Towards Africa¹

...4. Africa, though separated by the Indian Ocean from us, is in a sense our next door neighbour. In historical perspective, Indian interests are likely to be bound up more and more with the growth of Africa. From the point of view of the conflict of forces in Africa at present, we are also deeply interested. In Africa we see:

1. Note to Secretary-General, Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary, 16 October 1953. JN Collection. Extracts.

- (i) The Union of South Africa, representing and symbolising the extreme view of European and racial domination. In varying degrees this view is shared by the settlers in other parts of Africa. In the territories adjoining South Africa, this will have even greater effect, but that effect really can be felt as far as East Africa, Central Africa, etc., that is, wherever there is a fairly considerable European settler population. It will not be felt much by the Gold Coast and Nigeria, where there is hardly any settler population.
- (ii) Growth of African nationalism (I would separate North Africa, where the Arab strain is dominant, from this): This is a common feature in varying degrees all over the African continent. We find this functioning in Gold Coast and Nigeria without the complication of the settler issue. In Kenya, this is more in evidence than perhaps elsewhere. The Kikuyu tribe represented this probably more than the others. This nationalism is more especially connected with economic issues and the land problem.²
- (iii) Colonialism. The attempt to hold on to existing colonial territories and to strengthen that hold. So far as the French, the Portuguese and the Belgians are concerned, the attempt appears to be merely to hold on. So far as the British are concerned, there is a more far-reaching policy in evidence of building up a new type of colonial empire in collaboration with the settler elements. A progressive self-government is to be given, but this would be dominated by the settlers. This will inevitably approximate more and more to the South African pattern. The growth of self-governing federations or dominions of this pattern in Africa will not only be highly detrimental to the growth of the Africans in self-realization and in attaining freedom, but will also be a menace to India and to what India stands for.
- (iv) The conflict of nationalism and colonialism in North Africa, that is, chiefly in the French dominated Arab regions.
- (v) The cold war, between the USA group and the Soviet group, has resulted in the USA supporting colonial administrations in Africa and elsewhere, as they are expected to help in the case of real war and to supply operation bases. Negatively, they are supposed to prevent communism in those areas. Normally, the USA in the past has been rather opposed

- 2. The British authorities in their efforts to repress the Kenya people, burnt large numbers of villages, bombed Kikuyu reserves, arrested thousands of Kenya patriots and imprisoned the leaders of the Kenyan African Union. The European community in Kenya demanded the reservation of "white highlands" for whites only and demanded the continuance of British rule and the control of immigration from the East. In October 1953, 169 Kikuyu tribesmen were sentenced to death and twelve were hanged for alleged involvement in a measure.

to European colonialism. But the present war fever there has become the dominant force and this has resulted in the support of colonial and reactionary regimes everywhere.³

5. These various forces at work overlap and support or come in conflict with each other. So far as South Africa is concerned, our policy is quite clear, though it is not a very effective policy and practically all we can do is to express ourselves strongly.⁴ We have, however, succeeded in rousing public opinion all over the world and that is undoubtedly a powerful element in the situation. As regards North Africa, Morocco, Tunisia, etc., we have also played a rather minor and not very effective role in the UN and elsewhere. It is not quite clear what more we can do at present. But it is important that our position in regard to these countries should be perfectly clear and repeatedly proclaimed to the world, in suitable language of course. We must remember always that these countries, as others also, look to India a great deal and that casts a heavy burden upon us. Also that the continuation of colonialism anywhere is both a challenge and a danger to us and to peace in the world.

6. In regard to the Gold Coast and Nigeria, our attitude must necessarily be of friendly cooperation and assistance wherever possible. The extent to which we can help them to develop will depend on circumstances from time to time.

7. The real areas of conflict, ideological and other, is thus East Africa and Central Africa. In Central Africa there is the question of the federation and in East Africa there is the great struggle going on between the Africans and the colonial authorities plus the settlers. The question of the federation is important for us because that represents the very tendency of establishing settler dominions, to which we object and which are bad from the African point of view as well as Indian.⁵ We are not in a position to do much in regard to this federation and

3. The US Government of the explained that the developments of colonies in Africa under her allies could take place only within the limitations imposed by strategic considerations arising out of the impending struggle with Russia and her associate nations.
4. The United Nations had been seized of the problem of racial discrimination in South Africa since 1946, when India brought its complaint of discriminatory legislations and practices against South Africans of Indian origin. In 1952, again on the initiative of India and support of other Afro-Asians, a wider question in regard to the policies of apartheid had been before various bodies of the United Nations, including the Security Council.
5. On 14 October 1953, India expressed her fears in the UN about the interests of the Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland through the establishment of the Central African Federation. Lakshmi Menon, speaking in the sixty-nation Trusteeship Committee, said that the economic, social and other interests of the Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland might suffer through its Federation.

we cannot take up a purely negative and possibly rather artificial attitude of not recognizing facts as they are. Nevertheless, we should not easily acquiesce in these developments and it should be known where our sympathies lie. Where we can help the Africans to develop and organize, we should do so in a proper and unobtrusive way. We should try to avoid taking any step which gives the impression to the Africans there that we have accepted the changes as accomplished facts. Much will depend on what the facts are there. If they accept them, naturally we cannot be more royal than the king.

8. Kenya becomes the crux of the question. What happens in Kenya affects all the surrounding territories and the fight going on in Kenya therefore is of high importance not only for that territory but also for a large part of Africa. From this point of view, our Mission in Kenya is of great importance and we must organize it accordingly. The head of that mission should always be of high calibre and carefully chosen. He should be given adequate help. In our Ministry here we should also organize this part of our work adequately and coordinate other activities such as AIR broadcasts, etc., to that end. We must draw up a list of activities dividing them up in what we can do immediately and what we might do later. Also, what we could encourage others to do on a non-official level. We must not try to lead to a diffusion of our activities and to a wrong impression abroad. Generally speaking, our activities should not be publicised too much.

9. I am not considering here the many points in Mr. Rahman's and subsequent notes. I would say, however, that our dominant approach to the Mau Mau struggle and its repression should be not a negative condemnation. We must condemn violence wherever it occurs whether on the part of Mau Mau or the colonial authorities. But we must always realize that the violence of the Mau Mau is almost an inevitable result of circumstances. A way out should be found to put an end to this active struggle on both sides. There is progressive realization on both sides that something should be done to put an end to the struggle. We should throw our weight on the side of some kind of a settlement which must mean an amnesty and a consideration of the economic and political problems. In the last number of the *New Statesman and Nation*, there is an article by Murumbi.⁶ This is a very good article and the *New Statesman* has given considerable prominence to it. It shows a statesmanlike approach. We should encourage that approach.

10. It is clear that the whole tendency of the present UK Government is towards so-called strong measures and an intensification of colonial control.

6. Joseph A. Murumbi, Kenyan leader.

Apart from Kenya, this can be seen in their recent measures in British Guiana⁷ and their policy in Egypt.⁸ They will be supported in this by the USA and the other colonial countries. It is only to the extent that they meet strong opposition in the local territories that they will be checked. While we cannot do anything directly, India's position is such in the world today that even expressions of opinions from us carry some weight. Therefore, we should be clear in enunciation of our policy and following it up in so far as we can without needlessly getting ourselves entangled in any conflict.

11. I do not understand why it has been thought that we are opposed to any Pan-African Conference.⁹ All that we have said is that we cannot sponsor any such conference, as our doing so would not be good for the Africans and would only embarrass us. But otherwise, we should definitely be in favour of such a conference.

12. The attitude of the Indians in Kenya, etc., is important. There is no reason why we should ignore any section of them or concentrate only on the rich groups or the smaller traders. We should try to influence all these groups and make them realize that their interests can only lie in developing friendly contacts and friendly cooperation of the Africans.

13. As regards our having a separate mission in the Central African territories, or rather in the new federation, I think we should go slow. There is no need for hurry. Our establishing such a mission there would mean a recognition of the new situation. I have no objection in recognizing an established fact, but I think that it would be better to wait for developments there and decide after few months.

14. We should encourage Indian cultural activities in East Africa. In fact, everything should be encouraged which brings together Indians and Africans and makes them understand each other. If we can have more African scholars here, that will be good. If we can send more teachers, doctors, engineers and others there, that is desirable. The All India Radio should be specially interested....

15. The PTI should have proper correspondent there. The PTI want

7. On 9 October 1953, Alfred Savage, Governor of British Guiana, declared a state of emergency, suspended the six-month old constitution and dismissed the first popularly elected Government headed by Cheddi Jagan, with a view "to prevent Communist subversion of the Government and a dangerous crisis both in public order and in economic affairs."

8. The British desire concerning the use of the Suez Canal Zone in times of emergency was opposed to the Egyptian demand for complete unconditional control of the area.

9: In January 1953 Nehru discouraged the convening of an all-African Conference in Delhi. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 21, pp. 546-47.

Government help in various ways. In giving such help we may make a condition that they should keep correspondents in particular places.

16. The Indo-Africa Council has been moribund, but I believe it is trying to wake up. We should encourage it to do so...

4. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi

13 November 1953

My dear Krishna,

I am troubled about the developments in Africa. I know we cannot do much. But the question is not of doing anything effective, but rather of keeping faith with the African people who look to us so much. If they lose faith in us as well as in the United Nations, then they will become completely frustrated.

The advice you gave about not directly raising the question of the Central African Federation again in the United Nations, was, I think, right. In the circumstances, nothing much could have been gained by it, except the ill-will of the UK. On the other hand, this must result in severe disappointment among the Africans and, more especially, the people of Nyasaland.² I hope that you will explain to Michael Scott³ and others how we feel about this matter.

I have received a letter from Michael Scott, a copy of which I enclose.⁴

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. Chiefs of Nyasaland who looked to India for taking up the cause of the Central African Federation, had, when they were in London, called on the Indian High Commissioner who promised to communicate their request Nehru.
3. Rev. G. Michael Scott; British clergyman who represented some tribes of South Africa at the UN.
3. In his letter of 8 November, Michael Scott, while thanking India for raising the question of the Central African Federation at the UN., hoped that India would ensure a "full discussion" and "a strong positive as well as negative policy with regard to South, Central and East Africa" so that "the continent may yet be saved" from racial conflict.

5. Consequences of Racial Discrimination¹

I think that we should not encourage Mr Crocker² or the Australian Government in the idea of their functioning as mediators between India and South Africa. If we do anything of this type, the result is bound to be embarrassing for us. Apart from this, I dislike the idea of asking any country, much less Australia to mediate in this matter.

2. To imagine that Australian attempts at mediation or anything like it will yield the slightest result is I think a misreading of the situation.

3. The general attitude we should take up is to inform representatives of Commonwealth countries informally but with some strength and vigour, that the attitude of South Africa, apart from being wholly wrong and unjustifiable, is most dangerous for the future. That attitude is setting up hundreds of millions in Asia and Africa against the South African Union Government. The racial issues having been raised there affect other countries and we are, therefore, drifting towards a state of affairs when racial passions will be fully roused and it will be difficult to deal with this question with any logic or calm reason. It is obvious that South Africa by its racial policy³ is not going to terrify all the peoples of Asia and Africa. It will only gain the enmity of these hundreds and millions, and the countries that support, actively or passively,

- 1 Note to the Secretary-General and the Commonwealth Secretary, 15 November 1953. JN Collection.
2. Walter Russell Crocker (b. 1902); served with British Colonial Service, 1930-34; with ILO, 1934-40; Served in the Army, 1940-46; Professor International Relations, ANU, 1946-52; High Commissioner for Australia in India, 1952-55 and 1959-62; Ambassador to Indonesia, 1955-57; High Commissioner in Canada, 1957-59; Ambassador, to Nepal, 1960-62; to the Netherlands and Belgium, 1962-65; to Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda, 1965-67; to Italy, 1968-70; publications: *The Japanese Population Problem*, 1931; *Nigeria: A Critique of Colonial Administration*, 1936; *On Governing Colonies*, 1946; *Self Government for Colonies*, 1949; *Can the UN Succeed?*, 1951; *The Racial Factor in International Relations*, 1955; *Nehru*, 1966; *Australian Ambassador*, 1971.
3. In South Africa, the whites had long since acquired self-government which in effect meant that they possessed the right to rule not only over themselves but also over nearly 10 million Africans. They had evolved for their guidance the principle of apartheid which involved racial segregation and a theory of the superiority of the whites over the coloured. Since 1946 when the question of apartheid first came before the United Nations, the Government of South Africa had refused to recognize the competence of the UN to intervene in the settlement of what it regarded as essentially a domestic affair.

the policy of the South African Government, will somewhat share in this displeasure.

4. As a matter of fact, this is increasingly realized in Europe and America and we should press this home. We should not talk of or accept mediation from anybody on this subject. I do not mind how long this conflict lasts. As I stated in my press conference today, there is no compromise on this issue.

6. Indian Leadership in Kenya¹

This letter from Dharma Vira must put me on our guard in regard to Mr. A.B. Patel.² Only today, or perhaps yesterday, I wrote a note saying that I would see him if he wanted to meet me, although I disapproved of his policies and methods in Kenya. But if he is following this definite policy of trying to get something for Indians even at the cost of leaving out the Africans, then I am not quite sure if I shall see him. I suggest that Under Secretary should see him and make our policy clear to him in forceful language. Also tell him that we have thoroughly disapproved of some of his activities in Kenya which were opposed to our policy. He should be asked a straight question as to whether he intends to enter into any arrangement in Kenya which would be at the cost of Africans. If that is so, I shall not meet him and he can be told so.³

Our Commissioner to Nairobi should be informed of Dharam Vira's letter.

1. Note to the Secretary General and the Commonwealth Secretary, 19 November 1953. File No. A II/53/1641/1301, Pt. III, MEA.
2. Dharma Vira, Minister (Commercial), at Indian High Commission, London, in his letter of 11 November 1953, had mentioned that Fenner Brockway, British Labour MP, had sent a message to him saying that A.B. Patel, an Indian Representative on the Kenya Executive Council, was "likely to enter into an arrangement whereby, in the Kenya Legislature, Indians and Europeans would receive equal representations, leaving the Africans to fend for themselves."
3. In a note to the Commonwealth Secretary dated 18 November, (not printed) Nehru wrote: "It would be improper for Indians in Kenya to accept a seat in the so called cabinet and thus associate themselves with the scheme which is fundamentally bad."

7. Colonial Domination and Racial Discrimination¹

The Indian National Congress, in the course of its long history, stood not only for the freedom of India but also for the freedom of other subject countries. It was particularly opposed to the colonial pattern of government which had developed under foreign domination in many countries of Asia and Africa. This system was not only degrading to the people of those countries but was based on an economy which prevented the development of those peoples and impoverished them. On many occasions, the National Congress gave its moral support to the struggle of other peoples for freedom. The great movement for the independence of India, carried on under the leadership of Gandhiji by peaceful methods, became a symbol and an inspiration to other countries similarly situated. Just as India had become the classic land of colonial and imperialist domination and had thus been the indirect cause of other countries also being so dominated, so also the struggle for India's freedom became an example to others. That struggle was not only for political independence, but also for social change and advance. It was also identified with a challenge to the theory and practice of racial discrimination. India's great and beloved leader, Gandhiji, began his career of service and sacrifice for the suffering, the dispossessed and those who were discriminated against, in South Africa, where the doctrine of racial domination had been made into a State policy.

2. These ideals and objectives of the Indian people continued to move them throughout their own struggle and, when Independence was achieved, they hoped that other countries under colonial domination would also achieve their freedom. The current of history which had brought this colonialism to Asia and Africa had turned and the countries of Asia were coming into their own. The independence of India and other countries of Asia was evidence of this reversal of the process which had lasted for over two hundred years. It was hoped that this new process would continue and would lead to the elimination of both colonial control and racial discrimination.

3. The change-over from colonialism to independence was, however, checked and recent events have shown that attempts are being made to reverse this process and to consolidate, both politically and economically, foreign control of many countries in Asia and Africa and even elsewhere. This is

1. The resolution drafted by Nehru was adopted by the CWC on 5/6 December 1953. File No. G-13/1953, AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in File No. A-II/53/1751/31-MEA. and JN Collection.

evident in North Africa, East Africa, Central Africa, in British Guiana and in some parts of Asia. In India, small pockets of foreign territory continue.

4. The Working Committee have noted these developments with anxious concern and consider them a grave peril to the peace of the world. The great popular forces that have been released in recent time cannot be dealt with for long in the manner of the old colonial regimes. Attempts at suppression are bound to be resisted and to create deep and continuing crises. There can be no solution except in a cooperative endeavour to bring about freedom in these countries.

5. The attempt to maintain by law and practice racial discrimination and suppression prevails in its crudest form in the Union of South Africa, and neither the Charter of the United Nations nor repeated declarations of the UN General Assembly have produced any result.² It is a matter for regret that some great nations, who profess democracy and faith in the Charter, have thrown their weight on the side of racial discrimination in South Africa. In East and Central Africa, the doctrine of racial discrimination is not laid down publicly in the same open manner as in South Africa, but in practice this discrimination prevails against Africans and Indians and is resented by both. The Working Committee are of opinion that any kind of racial discrimination is an insult not only to those who actively suffer under it, but also to all others who can come within its scope. This doctrine and practice must, therefore, be resisted and opposed wherever it occurs.

6. The Working Committee have learnt with great distress of happenings in Kenya where a state of emergency was declared nearly a year ago and has continued since then. In a recent trial of a British officer by court martial, the evidence indicated that terroristic methods had been adopted and a very large number of Africans had been killed in this process.³ The British press has

2. The South African Government had enacted discriminatory laws in recent years: (i) The Group Areas Act which, effectively prevented racial groups from co-existing (ii) the Suppression of Communism Act, the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, all of which in different ways destroyed or imperilled freedom of speech and of opinion and (iii) the Press Laws and the Native Urban Areas Act, which together destroyed freedom of movement and created an atmosphere of progressive distrust, fear and resentment.
3. Capt. G.S.I Griffiths of the Durham Light Infantry, was court martialled on a charge of murdering an African forestry worker with a bren-gun. On 27 November, he was acquitted by the court. Allegations were made during his trial that professional killers were offered cash incentives to kill Mau Mau activists.

commented⁴ in strong language and condemned these methods and this competition⁵ in killing. The Committee consider that the use of violence in carrying on a struggle for freedom is undesirable and harmful, and the adoption of such methods by some African groups have injured their cause greatly. At the same time, the Committee are convinced that widespread suppression and killing by powerful weapons of modern warfare, including bombing from the air, of large populations are inhuman and can only aggravate a most difficult situation. This has led already to extreme bitterness and racial hatred on both sides and cannot possibly bring about a peaceful solution, which must be based on mutual tolerance and cooperation among the various racial groups that inhabit Africa, keeping always in view that the interests of the Africans must be given first priority.

7. The Committee had welcomed the introduction of a measure of self-government in the Gold Coast and in Nigeria and had hoped that this policy would be pursued in other parts of Africa also. Their regret, therefore, is all the greater at the reversal of this policy in many parts of Africa. They have noted with surprise the recent deposition of the Kabaka⁶ of Buganda in East Africa⁷ for the offence of claiming independence for his territory within the Commonwealth. In Northern Rhodesia, a new policy of active discrimination against Indians is being followed and Indians have been declared as "prohibited immigrants".

8. The Committee view with particular concern the new phase in Africa which aims at the establishments of so-called self-governing dominions, where all the power is held by a small group of white settlers, and the others, and more especially the vast majority of Africans, are prevented from having their legitimate share in it. This establishment of white dominions in Africa, against

4. On 28 November 1953, *The Times* commented in an editorial: "Evidence of episodes such as rewards to Askaris of five shillings to ten shillings for terrorists killed, of competition between battalions over the number of kills before it went to Malaya, creates a picture which must trouble and be repugnant even to those in this country who are most determined that in Kenya law and order shall eventually prevail." On the same day the *Evening Standard* declared that the British public "call for an immediate step to demonstrate that defence, in Kenya, does not go with deeds, of disgrace."
5. British Commanders in Kenya kept death score-boards of Mau Mau and offered five shillings to their men for every dead body they brought in.
6. Mutesa II (Edward Frederick) (1924-1969), Kabaka (king) of Buganda, 1940-53, and President of Uganda, 1963-66.
7. Kabaka's deposition had arisen because of his demand for self-government and his refusal to appoint members to the Uganda Legislative Council.

the wishes of the inhabitants of the countries concerned, and opposed to their interests, is a new form of colonialism which is full of danger for the development of Africa, and even of Asia.

9. In the cause of democratic freedom of these countries of Asia and Africa, as well as in the cause of world peace, it is essential that this domination by one race over another should cease, and attempts should be made progressively to build up societies where the different peoples can live in friendly cooperation, respecting each other, and the majority of the people of the country have a predominant voice in their own government and their future.⁸

8. - In a note to N.R. Pillai, on 7 December (not printed), Nehru wrote that this resolution "is an important one and it is a notice to the world of what our general policy and viewpoint are in regard to these matters. Copies of this Resolution should immediately be sent by air mail to our missions abroad, more particularly, to East Africa, Cairo, Gold Coast, London, Washington, Paris, Burma, Indonesia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, Syria."

8. Relations with South Africa¹

No reference is made in this Aide Memoire on racial discrimination.² I think a paragraph should be added. This would be the penultimate paragraph. This might run thus:-

"13. The Government of the UK are aware of the deep feeling in India in regard to racial discrimination. The laws passed by the Government of the Union of South Africa and the general practice of that Government in regard to racial discrimination have led to strained relations between South Africa and India. Not only the people of India but the people of Asia generally as well as of Africa have resented this treatment of the non-white peoples in South Africa and this question has been raised repeatedly before the United Nations Assembly. That Assembly has expressed its displeasure at the attitude of the Government of the South African Union. This has had no effect on the policies of the Union Government, which has defied or ignored the decisions of the UN Assembly. In a lesser degree, racial discrimination exists in other parts of Africa and is the cause of increasing bitterness. The Government of the United

1. Note to the Secretary-General, 8 December 1953. File No. A-II/53/1751/31-MEA.
2. The Aide Memoire, presented to the High Commissioner of UK in Delhi on 10 December 1953, dealt with racial discrimination, political and economic situation in the British colonial territories.

Kingdom will appreciate that people who are subjected or who may be subjected to this insulting and humiliating treatment can never accept it willingly. It can, therefore, only result in continuing conflict and increasing bitterness. For people in Asia and Africa, this question of racial discrimination is of vital importance.”³

I have read this Aide Memoire and have suggested above an additional paragraph.

2. I agree with Secretary General that this should only be given to the High Commissioner of the UK in Delhi. Copies of it should be sent to our High Commissioner in London, Shri K.M. Panikkar, and Shri Apa Pant and some of our other important Missions.

3 This paragraph with minor changes, formed part of the Aide Memoire.

9. Travail of Africa¹

I am frightened at the prospect of Africa going through a welter of blood and thereby losing a generation or two generations of lives in this business before it starts on its constructive and creative career. Retain your pride in Africa and do not be disheartened, but the pride should not be overdone lest it should result in vanity.

When you go back to Africa you have to face tremendous problems and shoulder a great burden and responsibility and serve your people and help them to march on the right path by giving them proper guidance. For this purpose, you have to train yourselves thoroughly. Whether you like it or not, the burden of leadership will fall upon you as your country has to grow and it is a big job you have to undertake whether you come to India or go elsewhere for your studies.

The problem of Africa is going to be one of the most important problems. We have lived through a period when the problem of Asia dominated world history but now that process has started in Africa. To see this great historic process going on in Africa, I think of you as a part of the great process that is going on in that continent and what a tremendous responsibility you have to bear as leaders of your country in carrying with you the burden of others.

A variety of reasons has prevented people of Africa from attaining the

1. Speech at the inauguration of an African students conference in Delhi University, 26 December 1953. From the *Hindustan Times*, 27 December 1953. Extracts.

standard of education and even now the opportunities for education there are meagre. But now African students are able to come to India and other countries too for their studies. They will be able to shoulder more responsibilities in the advancement and progress of their country. We are passing through many strange phases of human history. The future of humanity depends on the issues now before the Great Powers. The colonial revolution started earlier in Asia has gone far, but in Africa conditions are different. Nothing can be said how long it will be before the revolution there is complete but it is certain that its pace will gain speed and Africa is bound to play an important role in world affairs.

Many generations in India fought for freedom which was achieved only 'yesterday' from the point of view of history. I advise you to share your experiences and draw your own conclusions. Some of your experiences may be helpful to them in studying things objectively. We have learnt a little of what Mahatma Gandhi taught us. India is a vast country. It has experimented in the past in social adjustments and succeeded in a great measure and failed also occasionally, but the whole social framework has been changing with the growth of society.

I deprecate the idea of a regimented form of uniformity, but unity in amazing diversity is necessary with a sense of understanding and purpose. The world is a very variegated place and each country can contribute substantially to the welfare and prosperity of humanity. Africa gave me a sensation of youth and vitality which are precious to every nation. Asia gives me a feeling of age and the wisdom of ages with its cobwebs coming down to people through 2000 years.

I do not presume to advise you or the people of Africa as to what they should do, but I am convinced that the methods which were adopted in India under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi were fundamentally right and ideal. Non-violence and peaceful methods have become all the more important on account of what is happening in the world today....

10. Developments in East Africa¹

It is obvious that if the UK Government insist, we shall have to call back Shri Apa Pant.² It is clear to me that this insistence of the UK Government is due to

1. Note to Secretary General, 6 January 1954. JN Collection.

2. The British Government had been insisting on Apa Pant's withdrawal due to his overt involvement with the Kenya African Congress, which was deemed as an anti-British manouvre.

pressure from the settler elements in East Africa. These are "the important sections of the East African population" referred to in your note.

2. I rather doubt if this matter can be kept secret. We shall be asked about it in Parliament and I have no desire at all to prevaricate. I am much concerned about this and this is yet another indication of the utterly wrong policy pursued by the British Colonial office under the present Colonial Minister. As a matter of fact, the anger of Mr Oliver Lyttelton is far more directed towards our Government than to Apa Pant. I think we should inform Apa Pant about what the UK Government has written to us. It is only fair that he should know. He need not talk about it to people there.

3. We shall have to think of where to send Apa Pant now. As I have stated previously, I have a high opinion of his ability and earnestness. I would much rather that a person like this even made mistakes in his enthusiasm than that he should function in a static routine way. I should like him to have an important assignment, both because of his worth and to show that we value him.

4. We can talk about this matter further and when we have come to some decision, I should like the UK High Commissioner³ to be told again what we think about this development.

5. I think Mr V.K. Krishna Menon might be informed as he will be going back and seeing Mr Eden⁴ and others.

3. Peter Alexander Clutterbuck.

4. Anthony Eden, the British Foreign Secretary.

(x) United States of America

1. To G.L. Mehta¹

Camp: Madurai
October 3, 1953

My dear Gaganvihari,

...I want to tell you what some of our American friends had conveyed to me. Chester Bowles² has said that our Ambassador in Washington is the least known of the diplomatic Heads there and that he has hardly any contacts with the State Department and only meets Cabinet Ministers very casually. In fact

1. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. A leading Democrat from Connecticut and US Ambassador to India and Nepal, 1951-53.

President Eisenhower said something to this effect. A very important person in Washington is Bedell Smith,³ whom apparently you have not met at all except at receptions. It is quite possible that Bedell Smith might be Secretary of State before long.

I would suggest to you to develop far more contacts with the State Department and principal personages in Washington. This is of course the main function of an Ambassador. People in America have a passion for listening to speeches, but such speeches to them have no great importance. At any rate, Ambassadors should not pay too much attention to such requests.⁴ I would, therefore, request you to stay in Washington and have constant contacts with the State Department people as well as the Diplomatic Corps.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Walter Bedell Smith (1895-1961); US Ambassador to USSR, 1946-49; Director of Central Intelligence Agency, 1950-53; Under-Secretary of State, 1953-54.
4. Nehru was disturbed because Mehta was away from Washington on a lecture tour, when India had to present two important aide memoires to the US Government. In a letter of 25 October (not printed) Nehru pointed out: "I wrote to you because of the impression I got that you attached a little more importance to touring and speaking at other places than was perhaps necessary."
5. In a letter of 4 November (not printed) Nehru reiterated that "Ambassador, on the whole, is not a public figure in the country he is accredited to and his work rather lies behind the scenes."

2. To K.P.S. Menon¹

New Delhi
October 13, 1953

My dear K.P.S.,²

I have seen your letter of September 30 addressed to Ratan,³ with which you have sent a cutting from the *New Times*.

Previously I had seen some reference to what Dulles⁴ did when he came to see me and how his threat was conveyed by me to Peking. As a matter of fact,

1. JN Collection. Copies of the letter were sent to the Secretary-General and the Foreign Secretary.
2. India's Ambassador to the USSR, 1952-61.
3. Ratan K. Nehru, Foreign Secretary since 1952.
4. John F. Dulles, US Foreign Secretary, since 21 January 1953, had met Nehru during his visit to India from 20 to 22 May 1953. For details see *Selected Works* (second series) Vol. 22, pp. 506-512.

this story is completely without foundation. To the best of my recollection, Dulles never took up this line with me and there was nothing for me to communicate to Peking. Dulles in fact tried to be as sweetly reasonable as possible for him. Anyhow, the story published in the *New York Herald Tribune* and the article by the Alsop brothers have no basis in fact, so far as India is concerned.

I was not at all impressed by Dulles when I met him.⁵ A man of exceedingly limited outlook but with some kind of bigoted zeal about it, he is a danger in a position of high responsibility.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. A story was circulated in the American press that a tacit threat of enlargement of war was conveyed by Dulles to Nehru, who in turn passed it on to Peking. See *Selected Works* (second series) Vol. 22, p. 512.

3. To Dwight D. Eisenhower¹

New Delhi
December 10, 1953

Dear Mr President,

I am very grateful to you for your letter of October 5² which Vice President Nixon handed to me a few days ago on his arrival in Delhi. Mr Nixon also conveyed to me your greetings and good wishes. Mr Nixon was here for three days and I had the pleasure of meeting him on several occasions and having long talks with him. I think that both of us profited by these talks. It was my earnest desire to understand the viewpoint which he put forward and I hope that I succeeded in conveying to him how our people in India feel about the important developments that are taking place in our own country and in the world. I am very glad that it was possible for Mr Nixon to come here.

I entirely agree with you that it is important from the point of view of the preservation of freedom and the maintenance of peace that our two countries

1. JN Collection. Copy of the letter was also sent to the Secretary General.
2. Eisenhower in his letter stated that Nixon's visit to India was particularly important to him because of India's growing responsibilities and influence in world affairs and he considered "it highly important to the preservation of freedom that our two countries gain increasing understanding of each other and cooperate in increasing measure." He also stated that he was prepared to respect honest differences that might arise between India and the USA, and he was confident that the two countries would maintain attitude of friendship and trust toward each other.

should understand each other and cooperate to the largest possible extent. As you know, we are passionately devoted to the cause of peace. We are a very ancient country, but we are also young in our present democratic freedom. Having achieved Independence after long years of struggle, we consider it our primary task to preserve our freedom and bring the benefits of that freedom to our people. We have, in effect, to build up a new India. We are at present engaged in this great adventure which absorbs our mind and energy.

In this task, we seek to learn from your great nation and we venture to hope to have your cooperation.

With all good wishes for the coming year,

I am,

Sincerely Yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(xi) Other Issues

1. To S. Radhakrishnan¹

New Delhi
October 28, 1953

My dear Radhakrishnan,

I am informed from New York that a number of Foreign Ministers of the Latin American countries, who were present at the UN Assembly, expressed a wish that you should go to South America on a cultural tour. I do not know what your own ideas about your future programme are, but I like this suggestion of your going to South America. You have more or less covered Europe and North America. South America, though increasingly important, is neglected by us and is rather outside our reach. And yet we have much in common with these countries. I think it would be a good thing if your next extended tour was to the Latin countries of America.

One of the Foreign Ministers from South America pointed out that since Tagore went to Argentina in 1925, no eminent Indian has gone to South America.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Policies Pursued by Iraq¹

This letter from our Ambassador in Baghdad giving an account of the conversation he had with the Prime Minister there indicates confusion in the Prime Minister's mind which is difficult to deal with. There is no indication in the letter that our Ambassador tried to enlighten the Prime Minister at all. Evidently, the Ambassador partly shares that confusion of mind.

2. Here is Iraq very much under the control of the UK, trying to gain the favours of the US and imagining that with some arms it can resist big developments and perhaps balance the two dominating forces. The whole picture is fantastic and shows an utter lack of understanding of the forces at work. It is evident that the whole set-up of Iraq is reactionary and this is bolstered up by foreign aid and influence.

3. What is odder still is that the Prime Minister advises us more or less to adopt his policy in regard to accepting aid. He wants us to accept arms from America and at the same time pose as leaders of the Asian-African bloc. I really am surprised at the inconsequence of all this and the fact that our Ambassador does not seem to realize this.

4. Here is Iraq trying to maintain a government which presumably has no popular foundation, and relying in despair on other people's help—the British, the US, etc. This is really typical of Arab politics. The idea of building up Arab strength and unity by relying on foreign powers and imagining that a small supply of arms will make Iraq strong militarily indicates a type of approach which has little to do with realities.

5. I think you might briefly point this out to our Ambassador.

6. The Iraqi Ambassador came to see me some days ago and mentioned that his Government would welcome a conference, apparently consisting of Arab and other concerned countries in Asia and Africa, to consider these problems of Asia and Africa, more especially Morocco and Tunisia. They wanted India to take the lead in this matter. I pointed out that such a conference might perhaps be helpful, but obviously India could not take the lead in this matter. In fact, the purpose of the conference would be defeated if India took any lead in it. India is already supposed to be the head and front of offence against the European colonial powers and the US. Such a lead, if taken by India, would merely mean that India is playing her game and the real importance of Morocco and Tunisian issues would disappear. I said that it was for the Arab nations to take a lead in this matter, should they

1. Note to the Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary, 17 December 1953. JN Collection.

wish it so. Our attitude in regard to Morocco and Tunisia was quite clear and we proposed to adhere to it. Dr Syed Mahmud has had a letter from the Prime Minister of Iraq, also suggesting such a conference.

7. I think the Iraqi Ambassador appreciated what I told him.

8. The Ambassador then mentioned the visit of the King of Iraq to Pakistan and suggested that he might come to India also for a few days. I pointed out that this might prove embarrassing to him after a visit to Pakistan, as well as to us, and, in any event, we are simple folk and do not go in for pomp and pageantry. The contrast between his reception in Pakistan and our simple reception would be marked. The Ambassador said that they knew all this, but the King would like some quiet *shikar*, etc. I said that I would think about it. The King was, of course, always welcome, but one had to think of the time and occasion for such a visit.

9. On giving more thought to this matter, I am quite clear that it will not be a good thing for the King to come here after his visit to Pakistan. In view of the political situation vis-a-vis the US and the US-Pakistan talks, any such visit at this stage of the King of Iraq would be embarrassing for us. More especially, we do not consider it proper that a visit to India will be just a kind of extension of a visit to Pakistan, which is the major thing.

10. After reading the attached letter from our Ambassador in Baghdad and what the Prime Minister of Iraq told him, I am confirmed in this opinion.

11. I suggest that you send for the Iraqi Ambassador here and talk to him about these two matters, i.e. the proposed conference and the visit of the King of Iraq. Explain to him, as politely as possible, that, in the circumstances, any visit to India from Pakistan would lead to misunderstandings, however informal the visit might be. The situation is far too delicate for any such step to be taken which might add to our difficulties.

12. This might be indicated to our Ambassador in Baghdad also.

(xii) Foreign Possessions in India

1. Stand on Foreign Pockets¹

...I can very much understand your irritation at the continuance of the French,

1. Speech at a public meeting, Palghat, 4 October 1953. From *The Hindu*, 5 October 1953. Extracts.

Portuguese and other foreign settlements in India, which apart from political reasons, are a nuisance, because of the smuggling and other activities that take place. All these foreign spots must go for economic, political, psychological, historical and other reasons.

The only question being considered is in what manner we should proceed about it. We are trying to settle this and other problems peacefully as far as possible and will continue to do so, because, though the problem appears to be small, it is inter-related with bigger issues and bigger countries. You can be rest assured that this problem will be solved in accordance with your wishes....

With freedom came certain responsibilities and obligations. As a free people, we have always to act with the responsibility of freedom upon us. Therefore, we have to decide what we have to do, and I am perfectly clear in my mind that in a country like India we must stick to peaceful action. We have achieved freedom under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership by peaceful action. We may differ in certain matters, but let us differ peacefully. Any other action will endanger our freedom....

2. The Future of Foreign Pockets¹

Foreign possessions, such as Goa and Pondicherry, will have to be incorporated into the Union of India. This is necessary on geographical, historical, economic and sentimental grounds, and on considerations of national security and defence.

A resolution was passed on this question at the Jaipur session of the Indian National Congress.² India will respect the local habits and customs of the people of these foreign pockets after they have formed part of India.

The pattern of local administration of these territories within the Indian Union will be decided with due respect to the wishes of the people concerned. The Government of India wants to settle the question of foreign pockets peacefully. I hope, good sense will prevail and the foreign powers will hand over their pockets to India....

1. Remarks at a press conference in Mumbai, 10 October 1953. From the *National Herald*, 11 October 1953. Extracts.
2. The resolution on 'Foreign Possessions in India' was passed by the Indian National Congress at its Jaipur session on 19 December 1948. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 8, pp. 426-27.

3. An Action Committee for Goa¹

I met some prominent Goans in Bombay including Mr. Braganza de Cunha² and Mr. Peter Alvares, the President of the Goan National Congress. We had long discussions. Ultimately it was agreed to form some kind of a committee of action consisting of seven members.³ Mr. Cunha to be President and Mr. Peter Alvares to be the Secretary. I have already given you a paper to this effect.

2. This committee is not to be a rival organization to the Goan National Congress. But it will be a more or less autonomous body. It will be connected with the Congress which will be the mass organization behind it.

3. In forming this committee, an attempt has been made to give prominence to the Goan Congress, but, at the same time, to bring in various prominent persons. The idea was to put an end, as far as possible, to rival factions.

4. This committee will send us their proposals soon and we shall then consider them.

5. I might add that this committee wants to keep in direct touch with our Ministry here. I agreed to this, but, at the same time, pointed out that they would have to keep in direct touch with the Bombay Government also, or rather with some people in the Bombay Government. I have asked the Chief Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, to take personal interest in this matter. Mr. Lad,⁴ the Chief Secretary, is of course interested.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, MEA, 11 October 1953. JN Collection.
2. He was a Goan freedom fighter who founded the Goa Congress Committee in 1928.
3. The Committee was formed under the Chairmanship of T. Braganza de Cunha, comprising representatives of the main political parties fighting for Goa's freedom, namely the National Congress (Goa), Azad Gomantak Dal, Goan People's Party and the United Front of Goans.
4. Purushottam Mangesh Lad was earlier Secretary, Legal Department and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs, Government of Bombay.

4. To Braganza de Cunha¹

New Delhi

November 10, 1953

Dear Mr Cunha,

Thank you for your letter of the 6th November which I received today on my return to Delhi.

I am glad that you have decided to spend much more time in Bombay. Inevitably, Bombay is likely to be a greater centre of the activities of your Committee of Action than any other place. Your presence there will, therefore, be helpful.

I am glad you are keeping in touch with the Chief Minister and Mr Lad.

As for the suggestion by Mr Peter Alvares that the decisions of the Committee of Action should be approved by the National Congress of Goa, I think that this is not feasible. The Committee of Action should function, whenever necessary, with rapidity and sometimes confidentially. If some other committee has to approve all its actions, the Committee of Action will not be able to function as we intend it to function. Of course, the Committee should keep in close touch with the National Congress of Goa and generally keep it informed of its wider approach to the problem. Your committee should also keep in touch with other elements. Although, undoubtedly, the National Congress of Goa is the most important organization at present of Goans, there are large numbers of Goans in Bombay and elsewhere who are not associated with any organization. Your Committee's approach should be to everybody, though you may give a certain special importance to the National Congress.

As for the Liaison Officer, I have already told you that we have appointed Shri Ashok Mehta.² I am arranging for him to go down to Bombay soon on a date convenient to the Chief Minister so that he can meet you, the Chief Minister, Mr Lad and others. He should meet your full Committee of Action. He can pay frequent visits to Bombay to keep in touch with you. I feel that at this stage if he is permanently stationed in Bombay, no particular good will result from it and some misunderstandings might arise. I recognize fully that you should keep the closest contacts with the Central Government through the Liaison Officer. That should be provided for.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Copy to Morarji Desai.

2. A.N. Mehta was the Consul General of India in Goa, 1949-54.

5. Question of Economic Sanctions¹

...Our general policy in regard to the French Settlements should be somewhat more aggressive. But such a policy cannot produce much effect merely by the application of some petty economic sanctions.² It has to be viewed as a whole. I would have no objection to apply the fullest economic sanctions, provided that these are backed up by other steps inside the settlements and outside. For us to take a major step without this being supported otherwise would not be effective and would merely land us in difficulties.

1. Note to Secretary General, 25 January 1954. JN Collection. Extracts.

2. The coordinating Committee of Pro-Merger Organizations in Foreign Possessions in India urged the Government of India on 19 October 1953 to adopt "stringent economic sanctions" against the governments of foreign possessions.

LETTERS TO CHIEF MINISTERS

I'

New Delhi
17 October, 1953
Vijaya Dashmi Day

My dear Chief Minister,

This month began with the inauguration of the Andhra State.² This was a notable event from every point of view and I was happy to be present at Kurnool and to see the enthusiasm of the Andhra people. The Andhra State has difficult problems to face and it will require all the enthusiasm, goodwill and co-operative effort to make it progress as it should. It was with this end in view that we approached the question of the formation of the Ministry there. We did not think of this as some narrow party issue, but something which would bring as large a measure of cooperation as possible. Among the parties in the Andhra Assembly, the Congress Party was the biggest, but it did not have a majority. The burden for decision, therefore, fell on the Congress Party. All of us were of opinion that Shri T. Prakasam's position in Andhra was so outstanding that his leadership would be of very great help. It was not our desire or his that we should try to injure in any way the Praja Socialist Party. But we did feel that, in the circumstances, Shri Prakasam could best function as an Independent and not formally belonging to any outside party. In the Assembly naturally he would be associated with those who were supporting his Government, that is, the Congress Party. There has been some argument about this matter and we have been blamed for trying to break up the PSP in Andhra. That was not our desire at all. In fact, Shri Vishwanatham³ came into the Ministry without resigning from that Party. It was our desire to have the cooperation also of Shri N.G. Ranga's group—the Krishikar Lok Party. But unfortunately we were not successful.

2. From Kurnool, I went to Madras, Madurai, Coimbatore and some neighbouring regions. This visit to the Tamil country was very pleasing to me and I was delighted to see the enthusiasm of the people as well as the work being done. Indeed, this enthusiasm was rather overwhelming. There was an expression of a contrary view here and there by members of the Dravida Kazhagam. A few of them displayed black flags and shouted "Go back", but they were completely lost in the vast crowds that welcomed me. From the point of view of numbers, the Dravida Kazhagam does not count at all. But I

1. The letters in this section have also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 3, pp. 397-423, 432-486.
2. The new state of Andhra was inaugurated by Nehru on 1 October. For Nehru's speech on the occasion, see *ante* pp. 262-266.
3. T. Vishwanatham.

saw for myself, what I had read previously, that the whole policy of this rather extraordinary organization is built up on communal hatred, narrow-minded bigotry and violence. It represents the worst type of communal organization with no virtue in it of any kind.

3. A little later I visited Bombay for the naval review.⁴ The review in the lovely setting of the Bombay harbour was a great success and it made us proud of our small but efficient Navy.

4. Coming back here to Delhi, we have had the Colombo Conference⁵ and a number of distinguished representatives, including many Ministers, have come from the countries of South East Asia and Commonwealth countries. This conference has been meeting from day to day. Indeed, the officials met for a fortnight before the actual conference.

5. In the Punjab, Chandigarh, the new capital, has been inaugurated by the President.⁶ From all accounts this is going to be an ideally planned city, attractive and adapted to Indian conditions with also the advantages of modern city life. One of the biggest architects in the world, Le Corbusier, was an adviser of the Punjab Government for Chandigarh. I wish that our other schemes of buildings, townships, etc. should also take into consideration the planning and architectural aspects. This does not mean much additional expense, but it does mean paying some attention to beauty. Our engineers are good, but they cannot take the place of architects and planners.

6. You will have learnt with regret the death of one of our young Ministers at the Centre, Shri Surendranath Buragohain, who was Deputy Minister for Works, Housing and Supply. He came from Assam and had more than justified his inclusion in the Council of Ministers. Indeed, I was thinking that he should be given a larger sphere of responsibility. He was one of those quiet persons who was liked by all and who had no critics. His death⁷ was a real tragedy for all of us. Another sad death during this period was of Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar,⁸ the great lawyer and jurist, who helped so much in the framing of our Constitution. He had been ill and confined to his bed for a long time.

7. There was a meeting early this month of the National Development Council⁹ which consists, as you know, of Chief Ministers of States, members of the Planning Commission and some Ministers of the Central Government.

4. On 10 October 1953.

5. The fifth meeting of the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee was held from 13 to 17 October 1953.

6. On 7 October 1953.

7. Buragohain died on 4 October 1953.

8. Aiyar, a sitting member of the Council of States, died on 3 October 1953.

9. The Council met on 6-7 October 1953.

In the course of these meetings, we discussed the question of unemployment and other vital issues before the country. More and more we are driven to consider the basic approach in all our planning. What we have done is, I believe, good and, in any event, it had to be done. But the question always arises whether it is quite good enough to meet the necessities of the situation. There is a dynamism in this situation and it can only be met by an equally dynamic approach. Can that dynamic approach come from our adhering almost entirely to our present economic system and methods? Or, will it be necessary to vary them and adapt them more to the changing conditions of our country? On the whole, we have, as our models, the UK and other Western countries. Some people look with admiration to the Soviet Union or to China. And yet essentially our problems are different from both and cannot be dealt with the methods of other countries, though we can learn much from them. The problems of Western countries like the UK are problems of highly developed industrial systems with a high standard of living. They are trying hard to maintain that standard. We have not merely to maintain the standard that we have got, which is very low, but to raise it rapidly, keeping in view the increasing population. There we have to think in terms not of maintenance but of fairly quick advance, and it is rather doubtful if we can achieve that advance by the methods applied merely to maintain a standard of living. The economic approach will have to be different.

8. Countries like the Soviet Union differ from us in many ways, notably because they have much more land and far less population. We can learn from them certainly but always keeping in view the conditions in our own country and the objectives we have in view. China is perhaps a nearer parallel because it is also a great and heavily populated country. It is difficult to have a correct appraisal of conditions in China, as it is perhaps not easy to have a correct appraisal of even our own country with its great variations in different parts and different groups. But a certain picture does emerge from China which indicates a degree of mass enthusiasm and a concentration of effort towards building up the country. Competent observers tell us that even now we are doing much more in the process of building up in India than has been done in China. We are in fact much more advanced industrially and in regard to communications than China. I was told the other day by a recent Indian visitor to China, who is a good observer, that it will take about ten to fifteen years for China to come up to the present level of India's development. It is difficult to judge of the future in this way because there are many uncertain factors. But it does seem clear that we have an advantage over China in our present state in some ways, while China has the advantage of having a tremendous unified effort, yoking mass enthusiasm in its train. Because of this, they can probably deal with their problem of unemployment more effectively than we can, although standards may be low. In spite of the present enthusiasm in China, their difficulties are not likely to be less than ours.

9. Our approach cannot be dogmatic or a doctrinaire one. It must be pragmatic, keeping always in view the objective, which can perhaps be best stated briefly as a progressively fuller productive employment at a fairly rapid pace. This inevitably would mean greater production and higher standards per capita, provided adequate attention is paid to distribution. A pragmatic approach must be based on a full appraisal of the situation and the fullest available factual data. The Planning Commission has made, to some extent, this approach, but necessarily they were limited by the data available. The only way to get additional data is by scientific surveys, which have to be of the sample variety. Even in regard to the land question with which we are so intimately concerned, we really have not got adequate information. All this means a development of statistical surveys.

10. I have previously drawn your attention to the Appleby Report, which I consider of great importance. Our Cabinet at the Centre has already taken some steps as a result of the recommendations made in that report. We are likely to consider the report still further and deal with certain basic considerations affecting our administrative system. That system, as the Appleby Report itself says, compares favourably with almost any in the world. The standard is fairly high and I must say that, on the whole, an attempt has been made with some success for the individuals in that system to adapt themselves to the changed circumstances. All this is to the good. nevertheless, as Dr. Appleby points out, the system was originally built up for the British Government from a different point of view. It has now to function in a democratic set-up and has to deal with a variety of social and economic problems with which the British Government were not much concerned. Also there is urgency and we have to achieve results rapidly. The present system is not especially fitted for urgent disposal of business and we are constantly lost in long notes and repeated references and petty sanctions which delay and obstruct. Dr Appleby's comments on this, coming as they do from a competent outside observer, are valuable.

11. This leads us to consider the set-up of our Public Service Commissions. These Commissions consist of able men. But they too represent a pre-Independence approach. They were meant essentially for choosing administrators of the old type and they base their choice largely on academic qualifications. They tend, therefore, to perpetuate their own kind and not to bring in that vital dynamic new element which is so necessary. How we are to deal with this problem is a difficult matter. But I think that we can do something with the co-operation of the Public Service Commissions themselves. If necessary, we should be prepared to legislate.

12. During the past six weeks I have written a number of letters to the Pakistan Prime Minister on various matters. I had one reply from him dealing chiefly with my complaint about the hysteria of the Pakistan press. The other letters have thus far remained unanswered. I realize that the Pakistan Prime

Minister has had to face a difficult internal situation and many attacks on his policy from prominent men in Pakistan. In a measure he appears to have succeeded in solving the difficult constitutional issue of representation from East and West Pakistan.¹⁰ That undoubtedly was a triumph for him, but powerful voices are now being raised in East Bengal against this proposal.¹¹

13. An Indo-Pakistan Conference was held in Calcutta. Some results were achieved but the principal points discussed were not decided and we remain where we were. Indeed, in regard to some matters, especially relating to rehabilitation, we had thought that we had come to an agreement when I met the Pakistan Prime Minister. Nevertheless, no progress has been made.

14. In Kashmir, there has been a meeting¹² of the Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly which passed a vote of confidence unanimously in the Bakshi Ministry. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad has also been elected the Leader of the National Conference Assembly Party. The situation in the state has improved very greatly and might almost be said to be normal, though of course there are many undercurrents. It is really astonishing how Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad and his colleagues in the Ministry have, by their policy and hard work, changed the entire picture and outlook in the state within two months. They have done so chiefly because of their economic approach. Some measures which they have taken have had a powerful and favourable reaction among the people. One of these was the removal of compulsory procurement of rice at a low price. This procurement has been a feature in Kashmir for a long time past and has borne down heavily on the people. In other respects also, there is a definite toning up of the administration.

15. In Ceylon, there has been a change of Government,¹³ and Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake, owing to ill-health, has given place to Sir John Kotelawala. It is possible that Sir John might visit Delhi some time in the future for a discussion of the Indo-Ceylonese problem.

16. Many important developments have taken place in the world during the last two weeks. There is, of course, the drama that is being enacted in Panmunjon; in Trieste, there has arisen suddenly a critical situation because of

10. It was announced on 3 October that Pakistan would become a federation with a bicameral legislature constituted on an equal number of members from both wings of the country and with a provision that no important measure could be adopted in either House without at least 30 per cent of the representatives from each of them voting for it. The formula was discussed in the Constituent Assembly in October.

11. The Socialist Party and the Communist Party, describing the formula as a piece of "jugglery", called for fresh elections to declare Pakistan a secular democratic republic with full autonomy for its constituent units, and with Bengali given the status of a national language. The left-wing parties also proposed to oppose the formula jointly.

12. On 4 October 1953.

13. On 14 October 1953.

the UK and the USA deciding to hand over a certain area to Italy. Marshal Tito has taken the strongest exception to this and made it clear that he will take counter steps if any such thing is done.¹⁴ This has embarrassed the UK and the USA Government greatly and it is no easy matter for them to choose what to do now. In British Guiana, the UK Government has dismissed the Government on the plea that it was sympathetic to communism. This has created a sensation even in England and the Labour Party is much exercised over it. The UN General Assembly is carrying on its work rather quietly for the present, because the principal subjects are not being considered in public at least. The most important question, of course, is that of Korea and the Political Conference. Recent developments indicate that probably a pre-conference meeting will be held at Panmunjon to decide about this conference.

17. We have naturally been much concerned with developments at Hind Nagar, the little township where our Indian contingent lives in the demilitarized zone of Korea. A simple issue of giving an opportunity to the prisoners of war to exercise their choice of repatriation or not without pressure has become exceedingly complicated. You will have followed these developments in the newspapers. We need not pay very much attention to the tantrums of the South Korean Government and its rather extraordinary President. But it is a serious matter when the Secretary of State of the US, Mr. John Foster Dulles, refers to the Neutral Commission as a "so-called" Neutral Commission. The US Government takes exception to the Neutral Commission saying that the prisoners are free to go back home if they choose. This is said to be an encouragement to them to go home. I should have thought that the very object and the name of the Commission indicated its purpose. The only thing to guard against is that there should be no pressure or coercion. It is clear that there is a basic difference of opinion in regard to this matter between the USA and most other countries.

18. The last three days at Hind Nagar have been dramatic in the extreme. In so far as the Chinese prisoners of war are concerned, they have appeared before the explainers though under pressure. The North Koreans absolutely refused to come and practically stood in battle array to fight and be shot down. The problem before the Indian Custodian Force was a very difficult one. It was their business to produce these prisoners before the Commission and the explainers. Not to do so was to confess failure and to make the Commission futile. To try to use force to the extent of shooting down a large number of

14. On 11 October, Josip Broz Tito warned that his troops would enter Zone "A" in Trieste as soon as the first Italian soldier set foot there. A day earlier, Italy had rejected Tito's proposal to create two autonomous units in the Trieste territory as it would have cut asunder a part of the Trieste area from the Italian mainland.

prisoners, was not only on the face of it distasteful and undesirable, but would also probably have led to the non-functioning of the Commission. This might well result in some Members of the Commission withdrawing.

19. Faced by this dilemma, General Thorat naturally asked for instructions from the Commission. The consequences of any action that he took were going to be political and far-reaching and it was for the Commission to decide. The Members of the Commission were not unanimous and some of them wanted to refer to their Governments. That is how the matter stands. Meanwhile, we have drawn the attention of the Secretary General of the UN as well as of the USA and UK Governments to these extraordinary developments.

20. I am sure you will agree with me that the behaviour of our armed forces in Korea under General Thorat has been exceedingly fine. They have given an example of calm strength, of dignity and discipline. They have been functioning under the most difficult circumstances, but there has been not a single case of even loss of temper. I am filled with pride of these young men and their officers. The Chairman of the Commission, Lieutenant-General Thimayya, and his alternate, Shri B.N. Chakravarty, and their advisers have also functioned with great dignity and have faced their problems squarely. There is no doubt that they have enhanced the prestige of India and of Indians.

21. In this connection, I should like to draw your attention to an appeal issued by a group of women in Delhi for a fund to send comforts and gifts to our soldiers in Korea, especially for *Diwali*. I hope that there will be a generous response, which will indicate how much we appreciate the fine work they have been doing.

22. There is talk again about a Four-Power meeting and our delegate at the United Nations, Shri Krishna Menon, has also pressed for this. Sir Winston Churchill has again rather vaguely referred to some such meeting. But the United States do not approve of it or indeed of any direct talks on world issues with the Soviet Union. For the present there appears to be little hope of any such meeting. Meanwhile, there is a certain hardening in the position. In the colonial sphere, France, as you know, acted with dictatorial vigour in Morocco and the position there is a bad one.¹⁵ The national movement is being forcibly crushed. In Indo-China the war continues, though certain sections of French opinion are increasingly thinking in terms of some settlement. Apart from the strength of Viet Minh, which is opposing France, there is a growing feeling in favour of

15. In September and October 1953, there was an increase in militant activities in Morocco and an armed organization to fight for national liberation was formed. On 5 October, the leader of the Nationalist Party spoke of the "Moroccan commandos" who were "doing their duty" and appealed to the Arab States to supply arms and money.

independence in Vietnam and the associated State.¹⁶ We have had a visit to Delhi in connection with the Colombo Conference, of representatives of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. This was our first contact with them, as we do not recognize these States. The representatives who came here expressed themselves privately with some vigour against French domination. The King of Cambodia, as perhaps you know, is claiming full independence from the French.

23. The colonial policy of the UK Government has undergone a marked change from the old days of the Labour Government. We have seen this in Kenya and East Africa, in the formation of the Central African Federation, and in British Guiana. Even in Egypt, there has been a hardening of the British attitude, and the success of the Anglo-Egyptian talks appears to be very doubtful. Unfortunately, General Nguib's Government has weakened itself internally by the arrest of Nahas and the heavy sentences on some old leaders. Nahas still continues to be popular in Egypt. Realizing that the Egyptian Government was facing internal difficulties, the British Government has tightened the screw.

24. The position in Africa is of very special interest to us. In a sense, Africa is our neighbour, even though a wide sea separates us. What happens in Africa is of significance to the world, but more especially to India. The development of settler dominions, with so-called self-government,¹⁷ which applies to the white settlers only, would be a dangerous thing for India and of course much more so for the Africans.

25. As we developed our foreign missions abroad, we began by attaching greater importance to the European nations, because they rather fill the news. Of course, some of them are of great importance. But later we began to realize more and more that a country's importance to us has to be judged from our own particular interests and not because of its world position. Thus Nepal is of great importance to us, although it may be an unimportant country in the world. So also our other neighbour countries, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon. Of course, also China. Because of this, there is a gradual shift-over in our viewpoint in regard to the importance of foreign missions and these neighbouring countries are going up in the list and we try to send our more experienced diplomats to them. In the same category as these neighbouring countries we must put Africa, whether it is Cairo or Nairobi, though different reasons apply to either of these.

16. The first National Congress met at Saigon on 12 October to draft the "claims the state will put forward at the forthcoming independence negotiations with France" which had, in July, promised to grant full independence to the associated States; Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos.

17. Nehru had in mind the Union of South Africa, Kenya and the Central African Federation.

26. I am writing this letter to you on *Vijaya Dashmi Day*, which is a day of rejoicing and public festival all over North India. This evening I went to the *Ramlila* celebrations in two parts of Delhi. Each had hundreds of thousands of spectators and there was a gaiety and spirit of fun in the air. As I looked at these vast crowds, men, women and children, putting up with all kinds of inconveniences, dust and pushing about, and yet bent on enjoying themselves, I felt how deep were these festivals and others like them in different parts of India, in the minds and hearts of our people. I liked the spirit behind them. They were joyful and strength-giving and the story ended in the triumph of the good. I thought of our complicated western techniques for propaganda and felt how far short they fell of these old methods of our people. How can we yoke this popular enthusiasm to the cause of building up a new India? How can we make this cause a living adventure for our people? That is the problem before us.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

II

New Delhi
6 November, 1953
Deepavali Day

My dear Chief Minister,

My last letter was addressed to you on the *Vijaya Dashmi Day*. I have chosen another auspicious day to write to you—the *Deepavali*. While I write this letter, others are better employed in having a good time. Our people, in spite of all their disabilities and lack, in many cases, of even the ordinary necessities of life, know how to smile and laugh and enjoy themselves. That is a tremendous trait in a people, for it shows that they have not lost all perspective and have not become the victims of frustration and neurosis as so many have done in the more prosperous countries of the world. American visitors have often remarked to me how surprised they were when passing through Indian villages, with all their squalor and poverty, to see people, and children especially, smiling and playing. All our festivals encourage this spirit of gaiety and fellow-feeling. And so they help us to forget for a while life's problems and difficulties.

2. Life is difficult for a great majority of our people and is a continuous struggle from day to day. We talk statistically or otherwise of unemployment and low standards of living and bad housing and we seek to improve these

conditions, and yet I wonder often how many of us are emotionally aware of these facts, even though they might know all about them on the intellectual plane. We read about a great disaster where hundreds of thousands of people have suffered. We are pained somewhat and then forget it and get busy with our other work. But, if a serious accident to an individual happens before our eyes, we are more powerfully affected, because our emotions are roused by the sight and the nearness of the disaster. So also we are apt to take for granted the poverty of our people as a whole, or some epidemic which strikes down thousands, because it is distant and does not affect us intimately. If anyone near and dear to us or even an acquaintance or a person belonging to our own class suffers, then we feel it much more.

3. I travel a great deal in India and see vast crowds of people. They are friendly crowds and they give me a feeling of basic strength. And yet the sight of a child or a boy or girl without adequate food or clothing or house to live in always produces a sense of shock in me as well as a sense of shame. I compare my own comfort and well being with the lot of that child of India who is our responsibility.

4. Recently I paid a visit to the flood-affected regions of Bihar¹ and I saw vast areas ravaged by floods caused by Himalayan rivers sweeping down in the plains below or by heavy rains. I pictured to myself the extent of this disaster which has affected, to a greater or lesser extent, millions of people. We try to help them and they help themselves. Some succumb, others survive and carry on. In the face of these enormous problems, our efforts to meet them seem small. We cannot allow ourselves to lose our balance because of some untoward happening or play of nature or even of man. Yet it seems necessary that we should have a full realization from the human point of view of these problems and not grow complacent and rather smug, as we are so often apt to do.

5. I have written to you more than once about the Appleby Report. I have done so because it seemed to me that this Report laid bare some of the basic defects in our administrative system. I suppose the greatest defect of all is the feeling it generates of complacency and self-righteousness. Also the way it accentuates the division of class and rank and status. We have suffered enough from the caste system and many of us condemn it; and yet we put up with new social castes and do not think that these are as bad as the other castes of old.

6. Our Cabinet at the Centre has been giving much thought to some aspects of the Appleby Report and we propose to deal with this further. I shall keep you in touch with what we do; but I would like you also to think of these matters in a basic way. Superficial reforms and improvements may do a little good but we have to face a problem which is deeper and it is that consideration

1. On 31 October and 1 November 1953.

that I would invite you to give it. Only yesterday I wrote a note for the officers of my own Ministry (External Affairs). Perhaps you might be interested in this note, and I am, therefore, enclosing a copy of it.²

7. On this *Deepavali* Day, the thoughts of many of us will go to our soldiers in Korea, not only because we are interested in our countrymen, but also because they are connected today with one of the major problems which confront us in the world. Some days ago, a number of women in Delhi made an appeal for a fund for comforts for our troops in Korea, and, more especially, for *Deepavali* gifts.³ The response has been surprisingly good and has exceeded all our expectations. It is not merely the sum that has been collected but the vast number of people who have contributed in very small sums or in kind. That shows the widespread interest in our soldiers abroad and a certain pride in the way these people have conducted themselves in the most difficult of circumstances.

8. At Panmunjon, the tussle for mastery between the two major blocs in the world continues from day to day. It takes the form of unending argument and often of vituperation. A simple issue becomes a major one and often a deadlock ensues. No one is prepared to yield an inch. It seems odd that reasonable and responsible people should waste their time and energy in this way and not approach each other with a more reasonable and accommodating frame of mind. The reason of course does not lie in the petty issue which they discuss but in the basic conflicts that they represent.

9. Two to three days ago, I received a note written by Bertrand Russell. You might be interested in a quotation from it. He says: "A large part of the world is at present divided between two opposite lunacies. When I call them lunacies, I do not mean that it is a sign of madness to criticize the Communist regime or capitalist regimes. What is lunatic is the belief that the evils of either system can be amended by a world war. This belief is not universal anywhere, but controls the most powerful Governments. Each side believes that it is contending for a sacred cause, and that, therefore, the ordinary give and take of diplomatic negotiations would be unprincipled. In this situation, in which the nations march open-eyed towards disaster but do not see how to stop, the neutrals can play a great part and, among neutrals, India can be the leader."

10. Bertrand Russell makes various suggestions for India and other neutral countries.⁴ I rather doubt if any of them is feasible. I realize fully the lunacy that is driving the world to inconceivable disaster, but I know very well the

2. For Nehru's note of 5 November see *ante*, pp. 338-343.

3. See the preceding letter, paragraph 21.

4. Bertrand Russell had wished that the neutral countries "could draw up a completely neutral investigations of the evils to be expected from a world war... or perhaps India alone could draw up... the terms of *detente*, giving no net advantage to either side..."

limitations under which we function and the danger of our getting caught in a morass, out of which it might be very difficult to extricate ourselves. Also, there is a feeling among some big countries that India interferes too much and this rather upsets their plans. There is resentment and even a little jealousy at the importance that circumstances are thrusting upon India. We have not sought that importance and, indeed, have tried to avoid it, but circumstances have been too much for us.

11. I believe that the step we took in sending our troops to Korea has been widely appreciated in India. But there are strong critics of it also who even demand that we should immediately call them back because they have to face difficulties there and might get entangled more and more. This seems to me to be an extraordinarily limited and perverted view. It was not possible for us to refuse this responsibility which meant so much to the world. If we had not accepted it, because of fear, we would have sunk in our own estimation as well as that of others, and we would have helped in aggravating the perilous situation in the world. There was no other country that could do it or that would have been acceptable to both the parties. In any event, to talk of calling back our troops now is to say something that is rank nonsense and the height of irresponsibility.

12. While slow progress is being made in the explanations of the prisoners of war at Panmunjon, there is a great argument going on between the rival factions about the interpretation of the Armistice Agreement. I shall not trouble you with details of this argument and perhaps you know them already. Side by side the preparatory meeting for the Political Conference is also taking place near Panmunjon. It follows the usual pattern of interminable argument and repetition without agreement. It is obvious that if there is no Political Conference, the whole structure of the armistice collapses. What may happen then, is more than I can say. I do not think that any country desires war. But I am inclined to think some countries do not desire peace either. They want to live on the verge of war. If that is their objective, then one can understand how the pettiest differences of opinion become major issues.

13. Korea happens to be the most prominent issue at present and one with which we are more intimately concerned than any other world issue. The situation in Europe and, notably Germany, appears on the surface to be quieter, but there is absolute stalemate there also.⁵ Meanwhile, the other danger zones

5. On 28 September the Soviet Union, in reply to a note of the Western Powers of 2 September proposing a Four-Power Conference on Germany, insisted on discussion of the German problem as a "whole", and not of the question of elections only. The Soviet Union made abandonment of the European defence community treaty an essential condition for discussing the question of German unification when the Western Powers renewed their proposal for a conference in November. The Soviet Union also denounced the alleged remilitarization of Western Germany.

of the world, notably the Middle East, continue to simmer. In Iran, the recent changes have brought about the dominance of Anglo-American interests,⁶ even though there is continuous rivalry between the UK and the USA, and there is not much love lost between them. Probably some temporary settlement between Iran and the UK will emerge. From Egypt, we have contradictory news from day to day. Sometimes it is said that agreement is near, at other times, a complete break has taken place. On the whole, the situation has developed to the disadvantage of the Egyptian Government.⁷ Partly this is due to internal conditions in Egypt and the consequent stiffening of the UK attitude. The Egyptian leaders, I have no doubt, would like a settlement. But, for the present, they are very angry at the British attitude. They are also rather angry with Pakistan. It is said that attempts are being made, no doubt at the instance of the UK, or the USA, to bring about some kind of an alliance between Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey and Iran. This would be a modified MEDO under the sheltering care of the UK, and the USA appears to be playing a fairly important role in this. The old idea of MEDO did not take shape chiefly because the Egyptian conflict was not settled. This indirect approach of having an Arab State associated with Pakistan, Turkey, etc., is meant to bring pressure on Egypt. This has angered the Egyptian leaders. In the Sudan, elections are taking place.⁸ They will continue for some weeks, I think.

14. From Egypt it is a step to the other countries of Africa where political awakening has taken place and is being met by stern repression. Kenya continues to be in a state of high emergency. I read the other day that 15,000 Africans had been killed by the colonial authorities in the course of this emergency. It is true, I think, that some wisdom is gradually dawning on the colonial Government as well as the European settlers there and they are beginning to realize that they will not be able to solve their problems in this way. The Africans, on the other hand, also have begun to feel that the way of violence will not yield any results. They have learnt through bitter experience. The Central African

6. President Eisenhower announced on 15 September an immediate grant of economic aid of \$45 million to Iran in addition to the \$23 million announced on 3 September. This was hailed as a demonstration of American goodwill to General Zahedi's Government since it reversed the earlier refusal of aid to Iran made by Mossadeq in 1953. On 31 October, M. Abdullah Entezam, Iran's Foreign Minister, welcomed Anthony Eden's announcement of 20 October proffering Britain's friendship to Iran.
7. On 21 October, Egypt announced the failure of the talks with Britain on the Suez issue. The differences centred round the question of a base for British troops in the canal zone. Egypt was willing to provide a base only in case of an attack on any Arab country, while Britain demanded it to repulse any attack on Turkey or in the event of a world war.
8. The elections took place from 2 November to 5 December 1953.

Federation has come into existence by an Act of the British Parliament,⁹ in spite of the protest of the Africans there.¹⁰ They will probably submit to it in a measure, but only very reluctantly and not for too long. In Morocco and Tunisia, the French colonial power apparently dominates the scene by virtue of its armed might.

15. There is, however a growing feeling in France that their colonial policies, especially in Indo-China, will not succeed.¹¹ There has even been some kind of vague approach made for a negotiated peace with Ho Chi Minh. France would probably have got out of the Indo-Chinese war long ago simply because it could not shoulder the burden. But the USA, in view of their larger policies, will not permit France to walk out.¹²

16. To come back to India. Lucknow has been very much in the news because of the student problem and the conflict of the students with the State authorities. I have previously written to you how greatly concerned I am about our students. I do think that large numbers of them are fine material, if well tackled and dealt with. But something has gone absolutely wrong in our educational system and the university authorities seem to be quite incapable of controlling their students or winning them over to a measure of cooperation. We could allot blame as we like to the students or to the university authorities or to others; but that does not solve the problem. Discipline is essential, but the discipline must in a large measure be a willing discipline. It is a tragedy to see bright young lives being wasted in this way and becoming more and more frustrated.

17. The present tragedy in the North East Frontier Agency, not far from our Tibet border, has suddenly made the public aware of the difficult problems we face in these regions. A platoon of the Assam Rifles was ambushed and attacked and practically the whole party was killed. We have taken immediate

9. The Federal Constitution of Rhodesia and Nyasaland came into force on 23 October 1953.
10. Violent demonstrations took place in Nyasaland from 20 August to oppose formation of the Federation.
11. During the debate in the French National Assembly on 23 and 27-28 October, M. Giovoni, a Communist member, described the French policy in Indo-China as "unconstitutional, contrary to the national interest, ruinous and hopeless," and accused the Government of "selling French blood for dollars." Some other members of the Opposition also urged that Vietnam should be declared an independent country despite Bao Dai's opposition.
12. On 30 September, the United States agreed to give \$385 million, in addition to the \$400 million already allotted to France, to meet the war expenses in Indo-China. The joint communique spoke of France's "heroic efforts" to "stem Communist penetration in South East Asia."

measures and adequate forces have been despatched by the land route. Communications are so bad that it takes nearly three weeks to get there. Therefore, we have also sent some paratroopers by air and other action by air will be taken if necessary.

18. You will have followed the activities of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly which has decided to declare Pakistan as an "Islamic Republic."¹³ This indicates the vast difference between our outlook in India and the dominant outlook in Pakistan. From all accounts, the internal political situation in Pakistan is very fluid and changes might take place before long. In the Frontier Province new elements are coming to the top and the old autocrat of the province, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, has been practically pushed out.¹⁴ There are strong rumours that Dr. Khan Saheb will be released soon and might even occupy some high office.

19. Mahatma Gandhi taught us that hunger-strike was a weapon. He warned us always about it and it was from a sense of self-purification that he used it. But now it has become a weapon which is often used for other purposes by ill-intentioned people. Students hunger-strike to enforce some demand on their universities. People have indulged in this to press for a linguistic province and Master Tara Singh threatens to do so, so that some trivial change might be made in regard to the Sikh scheduled castes. It is really extraordinary how our politics are developing in curious directions. If it is difficult for us to understand them, how much more difficult must it be for a foreigner.

20. There has been a so-called crisis in our textile industry, where cloth piled up and number of mills threatened to close.¹⁵ I do not feel much sympathy for these textile mills, who make enormous profits when the going is good, but who, when profits go down, are not prepared to face the situation. In the jute mills of Bengal also, astonishing profits had been made in the past. They have not been reflected in any way in bettering the condition of the workers. Retrenchment takes place as soon as business is not too good. The Government of India have taken some steps in regard to the textile industry and, for the moment, it appears that the mills will carry on.¹⁶ Personally I do not think there was any real crisis.

13. On 2 November 1953.

14. Abdul Qayyum Khan was defeated in the election for the Presidentship of the NWFP Muslim League.

15. Accumulation of cloth produced over three month's had created a crisis in the textile industry in Ahmedabad resulting in closure of 2 mills and the threat of closure by 12 others, affecting about 12,000 workers.

16. The Government on 24 October announced tax reliefs on export of cloth and in the excise duty on superfine cloth and also the payment of compensation to the workers who had been retrenched.

21. Parliament will meet on the 16th November. This will be a short session because it must end before Christmas. I am glad to say that we have given special priority to the social reform Bills, relating to Hindu Law, which are pending.

22. Probably you know that we have decided to decontrol wheat and coarse grains, the only restriction being on their inter-State movement.¹⁷ Even in regard to this exception, it is intended that inter-State movement should be permitted under licence and through trade channels. This step has been possible because of the general improvement in the food position in the country. This improvement is particularly noticeable in regard to rice. The necessity for importing rice is no longer an urgent one. Prices of rice tend to fall and we have to keep watch over this. In particular, because of inter-State barriers, prices may fall rather steeply in some of the surplus States. It would be desirable for State Governments to take prompt action to procure quantities required by us to meet the needs of deficit States, as well as to create a reserve at prices which are reasonable and which might help in preventing any steep fall from occurring. Such a steep fall would neither be in the interests of the agriculturists nor of the general economic interest of the country.

23. Tomorrow I am going for a three day visit to the Punjab. In the course of my visit I shall see Chandigarh, the new capital, which is taking shape now and which has attracted a great deal of attention in some foreign countries as a model and beautiful city. I shall also visit the Bhakra-Nangal. There is going to be a joint police tattoo at Phillaur, where teams from Pakistan will join the Indian Police. It is interesting and pleasing to see how easily Indians and Pakistanis fraternize, given a chance, in spite of our political conflicts.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

17. This was announced on 5 November.

III

New Delhi
15 November, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you on the eve of our Parliamentary session which begins tomorrow and is likely to be a very heavy one.

2. I have recently paid a three-day visit to the Punjab. I went to Chandigarh, the new capital, to Bhakra-Nangal, Ludhiana, Phillaur and Jullundur. This visit

heartened me, both from the point of view of the great public works we are undertaking at Chandigarh and Bhakra-Nangal, and the popular response to my visit. There were vast and enthusiastic gatherings everywhere I went. It is true that one should not be deluded by these big gatherings into thinking that all is well. Nevertheless, there is much in them and they create a feeling, among the people who come there, of strength and solidarity. Some of our controversies, within the Congress or outside, are given a great deal of publicity in the press and create an impression of increasing disruption. It is, therefore, good to see for oneself that there are strong unifying forces at work also and the disruptive forces, though undoubtedly present, are often exaggerated. The impression I get of East Punjab is that it is a stout, energetic and progressive State, which is going ahead at a fair pace.

3. Much has been said in the press about some Sikh controversies. There is the talk, from time to time, of a Punjabi-speaking province. In this case, as in the case of other demands for a linguistic province, any kind of agitation at this stage seems to me completely inappropriate, since we are appointing a commission to go into the larger question all over India. In the Punjab, of course, there are special considerations because it borders on Pakistan.

4. There has also been reference in the press to Master Tara Singh's demand for certain Sikh backward groups to be included in the list of scheduled classes.¹ This demand has absolutely no substance in logic or fact. Quite apart from the decisions arrived at, with the approval of the Sikh leaders, when the Constitution was framed, the question is such a trivial one that it is surprising that it should be raised in this way. The East Punjab Government announced some time ago that all special privileges given to the scheduled castes (except the standing for election from a reserved seat) will be extended to the other backward classes including such Sikhs as might be affected by this. Thus the only question that remains is whether a few persons from these particular Sikh backward classes (they are not many) can stand for election from the reserved seats. Voting, of course, is, in any event, by all from a joint electorate. General elections in the Punjab will not take place for another three years. the question thus does not arise at present and anyhow Master Tara Singh's demand would affect only a handful of persons. I imagine that Master Tara Singh will not carry out his threat of a hunger-strike.² In any event, we are not going to submit to it. It has been the misfortune of the Sikhs to have as one of their prominent leaders, Master Tara Singh, whose outlook is excessively narrow and limited. His record of the past dozen years or more has shown a remarkable consistency in doing the wrong thing which has done harm to the Sikhs. Before the partition, he

1. See preceding item, paragraph 19.

2. Scheduled for 1 November, it was postponed to 14 November and again put off.

flirted with the British Government, the Congress and the Muslim League by turns with the result that no one trusted him.

5. It might interest you to know that the other Sikh leader, Sampuran Singh Raman, who started a hunger-strike for a Punjabi province and was arrested, has quietly broken his fast in prison.

6. Chandigarh is gradually taking shape. It is fascinating to see this new city rising up. Thus far, not many buildings have been put up and the place does not resemble a city but has rather a number of isolated buildings. But even these buildings are cunningly devised and branch off, in many ways, from the static conceptions of architecture to which we have been accustomed. I have no doubt that Chandigarh is going to influence our buildings all over India in future.

7. Bhakra-Nangal is a tremendous affair. The very size of it is impressive and to dare to take up such huge undertakings is by itself in favour of our country. It shows confidence in oneself and in our future.

8. At Phillaur, there was a joint police tattoo³ in which the East Punjab Police and the West Punjab Police participated. Last year the West Punjab Police had invited the East Punjab Police to Lahore. This was a return invitation. The tattoo was extraordinarily well done and the standards exhibited were high. I was particularly struck by the high standards of the East Punjab Police. But what was far more interesting to me was the fraternization between these two police forces, which were one six years ago and then separated. They were evidently happy to meet each other and to talk about old times and common friends. Nearly 500 of the West Punjab Police had come over, from their senior officers downwards. Oddly enough, both the police forces had exactly the same kind of uniform and even the same inscription on their shoulder lapels—PP. This was deliberate and both provinces had decided not to change them but to keep this as a symbol of their own old unity. There were two Ministers of West Punjab also present⁴ apart from other senior officers. Altogether, it was a pleasant and heartening function, and, as I witnessed it, I thought again of the fundamental commonness of our people with the people of Pakistan, in spite of our political differences and controversies at the top.

9. You must have heard of the tragedy that occurred in the North East Frontier Agency, not far from our Tibetan border, where a small military party of ours was ambushed by the local tribal people and a number of persons were killed. This place is far in the interior and not easy of access. It has been and is still unadministered territory. We are gradually spreading out our administration there. We have already got a check post at the Tibetan border. The people in

3. On 8 November 1953.

4. Muzaffar Ali Qizibash and Abdul Hamid Dasti.

this area are a branch of the Dafla tribe and are rather primitive. They had a quarrel with a neighbouring tribe. And it was more as a result of this quarrel that they attacked our little force which had porters from the neighbouring tribes. I think that our officer-in charge of the platoon was somewhat careless and did not take enough precautions. His little group was suddenly overwhelmed and stabbed. He himself was killed and a large number of the local porters were also killed. Probably the number of deaths was about thirty. Some people were taken as hostages.

10. It was essential to take effective action. But the place is so inaccessible that it would normally take months for a small force to reach there. We decided, therefore, to send para-troopers, who landed by parachutes and prepared an airstrip. Even this airstrip was several days march from the scene of occurrence. All this involved considerable delay and we were anxious to take action as soon as possible to prevent the neighbouring tribes being frightened or overawed by the hostile group which had attacked our men. Also there was the question of our rescuing the hostages.

11. The question of bombing from the air was considered. It was easy enough to do so and destroy the villages of these hostile tribes. Our instinct was, however, quite naturally against this type of indiscriminate bombing. After much thought we gave up this idea of bombing from the air and are concentrating now on the land forces. Some small aircraft will accompany the land forces to give them such support as may be deemed necessary. Several columns are marching from various points in order to encircle that area in so far as this is possible. Our strict orders are to inflict as little damage as possible, but, at the same time, to be firm in punishing the guilty. It will probably be another week or so before these troops reached the affected area.

12. At Panmunjon there appears to be a complete deadlock. The Northern Command insists on certain groups of prisoners to be brought up for explanation and to have as much time as they like to explain to them. The prisoners of war refuse to come except in the order they themselves indicate and also resent prolonged explanations. As the Commission has decided not to use force to drag these people out, no progress can be made and there have been no explanations since November 5. I understand that the Repatriation Commission is now drawing up the appraisal of the situation and communicating it to both the Commands. They intend to point out that unless the two Commands come to some other agreement on the subject, nothing more is likely to be done.

13. There is undoubtedly some truth in what the Northern Command says that these prisoners of war have been indoctrinated for three years by the other side, and they have been organized in such a way in POW camps that it is difficult for them to express themselves freely. hence the necessity for separating the so-called agents of Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee from among them and giving full time for explanations. On the other hand, it does appear that

these explanations do not produce too much effect. Those prisoners of war who wish to be repatriated say so immediately. Others behave after a set pattern, which has obviously been previously rehearsed.

14. Meanwhile, a new development is taking place. There have been charges of murders in the POW camps. These have been investigated and in one case at least, the investigation has established that there was definitely a murder and a conspiracy. A court martial is likely to be held early in December.⁵ This case will probably attract a good deal of world attention because the two Commands will be affected by it and, to some extent, their prestige might be involved, more especially that of the UN Command.

15. In the other talks at Panmunjon, preparatory to the Political Conference, some slight progress appears to have been made. It is difficult to say if this means much. But I think that, on the whole, the chances are that the political conference will be held. Both parties, or rather both the world groups, have definitely hardened recently and yet neither wants to be made responsible for a final break.

16. Panmunjon is a true mirror of international affairs today. How reasonably intelligent people and great countries can quarrel indefinitely over trivial questions is amazing. But behind those trivial questions lie fear and hatred and a continuing attempt to overreach the other party. Neither has the slightest faith in the other. Only a fear of actual big-scale war keeps them from flying at each other's throats. As I have written to you previously, I have little doubt that since Stalin's death, Russia had softened both in her internal and external policy. So has China. Because of this, there appeared a chance of some settlement between the two groups. In fact, this led to agreement on the POW issue in Korea. The UK Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, seized the occasion to make an appeal for a top level conference of the four or five Powers. But the USA disapproved of this and the proposal faded out.⁶ The USA evidently thought that the changes in Russian policy were due to internal weakness and this was just the time to show strength against the USSR. This analysis might have been partly correct. Certainly the Soviet Union had a bad time in East Germany and partly in Poland and Czechoslovakia. Their policy there failed and they had to change it. I rather doubt if there was any other type of internal weakness in the Soviet Union. Anyhow, even if there was some weakness, it was not enough to compel them to submit to any terms. The US hardening resulted in the Soviet Union also hardening its attitude. There appears now to be no chance of any high-level meeting between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers in

5. Scheduled for 10 December 1953.

6. On 14 May, Eisenhower made the US participation in the proposed high-level discussions conditional on some evidence of good faith.

the near future and the Western Powers are meeting by themselves to consider the future of Germany.

17. While these developments in Korea or in Europe are of vital importance to all of us, because on their issue depends peace or war, something has happened or is happening, which is of particular interest and importance to us. The recent decisions of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly of naming the country the "Islamic Republic of Pakistan" and also otherwise giving a religious turn to their Constitution are significant and are bound to have undesirable consequences both in Pakistan and India. When Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan had talks with me in 1950, I discussed this matter with him and he assured me that there would be no differentiation among the citizens of Pakistan. In fact, some reference to this was made in our joint communique. I have no doubt whatever that the present decisions of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly do differentiate and create two classes of citizens, the Muslims and the non-Muslims, the latter having some kind of an inferior status and less opportunities. It might be explained that this will only apply to a few persons. But this is not so in fact because the whole atmosphere will be such as to deny opportunity to the non-Muslims and make them feel frustrated. I am not much concerned as to whether there has been a breach of the Prime Ministers' Agreement of 1950. But I am certainly concerned about the consequences of this decision of Pakistan, in India especially. This will make our task more difficult and will create unfavourable reactions and encourage communal elements.

18. I do not like the emergence again of these communal elements in India. I have had many instances of the Hindu communal organizations becoming more aggressive and indulging not only in indecency and vulgarity but also in violence. We cannot be indifferent to this kind of thing. Perhaps you do not know that there has been a continuing stream of Muslims going to Pakistan via Rajasthan and Sind. This is not a legal movement in the sense of passports, etc. Nevertheless, some hundreds go daily and have been going, in varying numbers, for the last three and a half years. The fact that they go there itself indicates that the conditions they live in are not agreeable to them and the future they envisage for themselves in India is dark. There are of course a number of causes for this. I have already mentioned to you one major reason—the gradual closing of Services, appointments, etc. to them. This restriction is not legal, but in practice it has the same effect, whether it is in the Army or the civil services. Their trade also suffers and possibly there is also the language difficulty. They are learning Hindi, but the standard of Hindi they learn is naturally rather low at present and so they cannot pass the test as easily as others. But, above all, there is a certain atmosphere of slight hostility which unnerves them and comes in their way.

19. On the Muslim side, there has been a very undesirable development recently. It was on a small scale, but it was vicious. There was a convention

recently of some Muslims in Aligarh, presided over by a well-known and rather undesirable person from Calcutta. Very objectionable speeches were delivered there and an attempt was made to start a new organization more or less on the lines of the old Muslim League. We have to watch these developments carefully and not permit them to grow. But, ultimately it is upto us to create an atmosphere in which our minorities can live with the assurance of full and equal treatment. If we do not succeed in doing this, we fail.

20. In the Jammu and Kashmir State, the Praja Parishad, which gave so much trouble earlier in the year, is again raising its head and voicing threats. Any person with a minimum of intelligence can see that any such action by the Praja Parishad will do great injury to the cause of India in the State. Kashmir is passing through a very difficult and critical stage of its existence and no one can be certain of its future, although we certainly hope for the best and work for it. At this moment, for these narrow-minded people of the Praja Parishad to create further difficulties is little short of treason, though it may not be legally such.

21. I come now to another subject of extreme importance to us, that is, the impending military pact between Pakistan and the USA. We cannot come in the way of such a pact between independent countries. But we are affected by it very greatly and, therefore, we cannot ignore it. For the last many months there have been vague talks and references in the newspapers about MEDO and the like. The present development does not relate to MEDO but is something perhaps worse. Apparently, the ground has been prepared for it during the last few months in various ways and now we might be on the verge of seeing its finalization. American newspapers and journals have been full of it. They talk, with evident satisfaction, of building up a vast and well-equipped army in Pakistan. *The New York Times* suggested a figure of one million men. An important weekly journal, *The U.S. News and World Report* says that "Pakistan looks like the answer to a prayer" because it will supply this vast army to fight communism in the Middle East. The Americans cannot think of anything else but of getting bases all over the world and using their money power to get manpower elsewhere to fight for them. As it is, it would be interesting to jot down on the map of the world all the places where there are American bases at present, in Europe, Africa, Asia and Australia apart from the Americas. The military approach is dominant in US politics and there is an almost total unawareness that human beings count and might even make a difference. The major problems of Europe and the Far East ultimately turn now on the rearmament of Germany and Japan, both supposed to provide manpower for this great fight against communism. Meanwhile, masses of people in various parts of the world, notably Asia and Africa, who are far more interested in their own freedom than in communism or anti-communism, resent these developments.

22. In any event, a military pact between Pakistan and the US changes the whole balance in this part of the world and affects India more especially. The US must realize that the reaction in India will be that this arming of Pakistan is largely against India or might be used against India, whether the US wants that or not. Possibly they think, as indeed some of their newspapers say, that India might be frightened in this way and made to line up with them in her wider policies. In effect, they imagine that such an alliance between Pakistan and the US would bring such overwhelming pressure upon India as to compel her to change her policy of non-alignment. That is rather a naiive view because the effect on India of this will be the opposite, that is one of greater resentment against the US. We are not accustomed to act under threats or compulsion or coercion.

23. Although this development is undoubtedly serious, there is no need for us to get excited about it and nothing is going to happen suddenly. All this takes time and much will no doubt happen before the full consummation of the US pact with Pakistan. Even in Pakistan itself, there will be considerable resentment and opposition, although it may not be strong enough to bring enough pressure on the Pakistan Government. It is clear that if a number of bases are given by Pakistan to the US, Pakistan becomes in a sense an American colony and certainly a satellite country to the US. This may appear to be an addition to the military strength of the USA, but it will also lead to their weakness in other respects. It is evident that the US, like the UK of old, prefer backward and reactionary regimes because they can deal with them more easily. I suppose they might well be rather pleased at the prospect of Pakistan becoming an "Islamic Republic" and perhaps the leader of Western Asia. The viewpoint has been well publicized that Islam is against communism and that is enough for the US. The United Kingdom failed in its policy in the Middle East because it relied on these reactionary elements. The US is hardly likely to succeed where the UK failed.

24. Something that has saddened me, more than I can say, has been the recent student trouble in the UP and, more especially, in Lucknow and Allahabad. When I first heard of the Lucknow trouble, I said in Patna⁷ that I would sooner have our universities closed down than to continue in this way. I meant it then and I still mean it, though of course that is no solution of the problem and is only a negative approach. Since then, I have refrained from saying anything about this matter and I just do not know what to say. There is no point in using empty words unless there is an effective policy to back them.

7. On 1 November, Nehru suggested that the system of basic education, favoured by Mahatma Gandhi, be introduced in place of the existing system of university education. For full text of the speech see *ante*, pp. 35-45.

But I feel very sad and concerned. What has happened in Lucknow brings no credit to any of the parties concerned. The students, I think, have behaved disgracefully, but the university authorities have little credit left and I doubt if the students have the slightest respect for them. Police action may have to be undertaken from time to time, but that is no solution. The fact is that our universities are going down at a fairly rapid pace. The Vice-Chancellors, or some of them, are not upto the mark, nor are some of the other Professors. They can neither control nor inspire respect. They try to show strength occasionally and usually at the wrong time and then meekly submit. As for the students, some of them at least have been behaving like gangsters. Only yesterday there was a story of their stopping a railway train and generally indulging in violence and destruction somewhere near Allahabad. Many of them make a practice of travelling by train in groups without tickets. We talk of discipline but we are facing something even worse than indiscipline—it is indecency and a complete disregard of any code or standard. The surprising and depressing fact is that political leaders and others come out suddenly and become champions of these students whenever such a crisis occurs and blame the Government or the police. I do not mind their blaming the Government or the police. But I do think it extraordinary that they have no word to say in criticism of the attitude, and actions of those students who had been behaving in a way which would put many hooligans to shame.

25. In this connection, the fact that some of our State ministers hold executive offices in universities has come to my notice. Two Ministers at least are treasurers in universities. I think this is completely wrong. Ministers must not have any executive office in a university and should, as far as possible, not be intimately concerned with its inner working.

26. As I have said above, I have really nothing to suggest because I do not want to say things in the air. But it is about time that our leading educationists as well as others who are responsible should give the most earnest thought to this matter and not merely talk, as all of us, including me, have been doing, giving advice to all and sundry. However upset I might get with the students' behaviour, I cannot treat them as some alien body hostile to us. They are our own sons and brothers and relatives. I can only treat them as I would treat my own son if he behaved in that way. I do not think I would tolerate any serious misbehaviour in him but, at the same time, while being perfectly firm, I would be friendly and not make him think that I had become hostile. I would never submit to any course of action in this matter which I considered wholly wrong. It is quite absurd for all this trouble to arise over a trivial affair like the composition of the university union. Personally I am quite convinced that a compulsory membership of the union is wrong. The trouble is obviously more deep-seated.

27. I would not like to end this letter on a note of depression. Yesterday,

Delhi, and possibly some other places also, observed Children's Day. There was a vast gathering of children, about fifty thousand of them, in the National Stadium. I had never seen the place so full. Probably all of the children present were under ten years of age. It was a joy to see them, evidently enjoying themselves in the various items of the programme they had put up. In the afternoon there was a children's *mela*, and the whole city of Delhi was full of marching groups of little children brightening the atmosphere and making grown up people forget for a while their troubles and conflicts. It was the India of tomorrow and the day after, on the march, and the picture of this future was heartening.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

IV

New Delhi
1 December, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,

I wrote to you in my last letter about the proposal for a military pact between the USA and Pakistan. Since then, many statements have been made in America and in Pakistan about this pact. Persons of high degree have spoken and one would believe them but for the fact that they do not speak in the same voice. There are two principal reactions in Pakistan and, to some extent, in America. One is of surprise and resentment that I should have said something about this matter without enquiry; the other is that I should have the temerity to interfere in the affairs of another independent country.¹

2. While there have been many denials, contradictions and angry comments about the statement that I made in a press conference in regard to this proposal for a military pact, I do not remember a single denial or indeed any comment even on the many news items and comments on this subject which had appeared in the American press before ever I spoke. Indeed, I made my statement after I had read detailed accounts of this proposed pact in responsible American

1. In its editorial of 18 November, *Dawn* commented that "Pandit Nehru's attempt to interfere in our affairs can have no effect on our foreign policy except perhaps of doing incalculable harm to the good neighbourly relations" which should exist between the two countries.

newspapers and periodicals. As a matter of fact, there has been vague talk of Pakistan associating itself in military alliances with some Western Powers for a long time past. There was MEDO, then there were other permutations and combinations. Lastly, there came this news of a bilateral pact between the US and Pakistan. At an early stage, when MEDO was talked about, we had something to say about it. But since then, I have refrained from referring to this matter in public. When, however, responsible persons and newspapers in America referred to this in detail as to something already done, or on the point of being done, I could remain silent no longer, for, as I said, it was a matter of the gravest concern to us. It was fortunate that I said so then because this attracted the world's attention and people realized that India was also concerned in this matter and would react strongly to it. The result of this apparently has been to put a check to further progress. There can be no doubt that talks about a military pact have been taking place between Pakistan and the US for many months. They nearly came to a head. Now I presume that they have been postponed for a more favourable moment.

3. I need not point out to you the consequences of such a pact on India. They are obvious. The tension between India and Pakistan would grow and all the attempts at greater friendliness between these two countries would be sabotaged. Some people think that this new danger would make us think again about our foreign policy, and the pressure and fear of coming events might induce us to give up our attitude of non-alignment to power groups. This is a complete misreading of the situation. The policy that we have been pursuing has not been based on temporary advantage or fear but has grown out of our national way of thinking with its roots in the long past. It is the inevitable result of the state of affairs in Asia and in the world. That policy we are going to adhere to, even though our frontiers may have to face a new threat. It would be unfortunate that Pakistan should gradually lose her independence and become a satellite and almost a colony. That would be a reversal of the great process of the liberation of Asia which is one of the striking developments of the modern age.

4. It is not realized in many foreign countries that whatever troubles we may have to face, fear is not one of them. Great nations with vast power at their command are afraid of each other. Perhaps it is because we have no such great power that we are not afraid. Our present generation has faced a great imperial power with little else than a stout will to free itself. We grew unaccustomed to this psychology of fear under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and we have not entirely forgotten that lesson yet.

5. We have seen the gradual withdrawal of the British power from Asia. Other countries have also been compelled by circumstances to give way. There is still, however, colonial domination in Indo-China and Malaya. The British have sought to build up a new colonial empire in Africa. A new pattern is

being set there, the pattern of white dominions. We see this process in East Africa and in Central Africa. There is no essential difference between the policy pursued in the Union of South Africa and the successive steps that have been taken in some other parts of Africa. The language is somewhat different and more moderate. But the aim is almost identical, that is, the establishment of some kind of Dominion Governments with permanent rule of a small white minority. This is not so inconceivable as people might think, for any State today has great power and can coerce to its will on large masses of people. We live at the threshold of the atomic age and the jet aeroplane, but our thinking continues to be of a past age. If large parts of Africa develop in this way, the small white minorities might well be capable of suppressing the indigenous people and making them function according to their will. That will be bad for Africa but it will also be bad for India. It will mean a constant challenge to us and to our growth. Only the waters of the Indian Ocean will separate us from Africa and in these days of the jet aircraft, this is no barrier.

6. There has been a very definite hardening of the British Government in its colonial territories. In Kenya, the horror continues and no one quite knows how many tens of thousands of persons have been slaughtered there by land or from the air. Our consciences have grown dull and we do not react to these vast killings now as we would have reacted to something infinitely smaller previously. One might almost think that a deliberate attempt is being made to exterminate a considerable section of the population. In British Guiana, whatever mistakes might have been made by Dr. Jagan's Government, the action that the British Government took was out of all proportion. It symbolized the new colonial policy.

7. While the British colonial power is trying to consolidate itself in Africa, it has practically been driven out from Western Asia. This, of course, has been largely due to the growth of nationalist movements there. But it is an interesting fact that the USA are trying to take Britain's place in that region. In spite of the grand alliance of the US, UK, France and other countries, there are many points of conflict between the parties and among them is this attempt of the US to push out and replace the UK in Western Asia. The US are firmly established in Turkey.² They are now advancing, politically, financially and otherwise, on other Islamic countries. They are entrenched in Saudi Arabia,³ so

2. On becoming a member of NATO on 18 February 1952, Turkey was assured of military and economic aid by the United States.

3. Saudi Arabia, which was already receiving aid from the United States, entered into discussions with the US on 18 and 19 May 1953 for the development of her oilfields.

also in Tripoli⁴ where there are large American bases. In Iran, they are trying to gain a firm foothold. If Pakistan also comes into this American orbit and allows military bases to be established, American military and financial power will hold almost this entire belt of Islamic countries. That will be a curious development in the process of the liberation of Asia. This was pointed out to the Egyptian leaders who realized that by this expansion of American power, the greater part of the Islamic world was being encircled and brought under the military and financial control of America. Thus to the north and west of Egypt, American power was extending. To the south in Africa, British colonial power has entrenched itself in a new way. Most of these countries, and certainly Egypt, are alarmed by these developments and dislike greatly a military pact between America and Pakistan, because such a pact would put the lid on all this. But all these countries are weak and helpless. On India falls the burden of stopping this rot. This is not merely an ideological position but one which is full of dangerous implications in the future. I believe India can do it, not by force of arms, of course, but by refusing to submit to these pressures and by making it clear to the world that she will continue to follow her policy. India's strength, apart from such internal resources that we might have, comes from the fact that she represents in this matter the wishes of vast number of people in other Asian countries, who dare not give expression to them. But if a clear lead is given others follow. Even in the present instance we see this happening. We shall have to keep up this pressure from our side.

8. The Government of India has taken steps to draw the attention of all countries with which we have diplomatic relations to these undesirable and dangerous developments and has made it clear to them what our own policy is going to be. Generally speaking, the Asian countries have welcomed India's stand. But, even in other countries, there has been some appreciation of it. In this particular matter, the UK also does not approve of these expansionist tendencies of the USA.

9. I have referred to American expansionism which has resulted today in American bases being spread out all over the world in every continent and in every sea. I believe that there are nearly forty such bases in various parts of the world. On the other hand, there is the expansionism of the Soviet Union and

4. Libya gained independence on 24 December 1951 and signed a twenty-year treaty with Great Britain in July 1953 by which she received massive economic aid in return for providing military bases to Britain. It was reported that Libya and the United States had commenced negotiations for an American air base at Tripoli in exchange for economic aid.

the newly integrated and powerful State of China. We have to guard ourselves against that also. There is no present fear from either of them to India. But we have to prepare for the future. We cannot do so by starting an armament race with any countries of either bloc. We cannot afford that and it is the wrong way. We can only rely ultimately on various factors, the chief amongst which is internal cohesion and strength of will and mind. Another factor is the balance of forces in the world. As you know, we have a frontier with China now extending to 1900 miles. It is the most difficult frontier region of the world, with the Himalayan mountains, skirted from one side by vast forests and very difficult country and, on the other, by the inhospitable land of Tibet. It is not an easy frontier for anyone to cross. At the same time, frontiers do not count in the atomic age. Our best policy with every country is one of friendship and firmness in defence of our rights. We are soon going to have talks with the Chinese Government about certain problems in Tibet. Those problems relate chiefly to trade, pilgrimage and certain old-time privileges that we have there. None of these are of any great consequence once we recognize the sovereignty of China in Tibet. What is of essential consequence is our frontier and by that we will stand. Indeed, we do not propose to discuss this matter. In our talks with the Government of China, we hope to be friendly and at the same time firm.

10. In the Middle East, one of the great attractions, of course, is oil, and it is the desire to control these oil-fields that drives America on and on.

11. It is in this context of world conflicts and expansionism that we have to consider our own internal problems. For us, as for any other country, the question is one of survival. That survival depends certainly on our economic progress, but even more so on our capacity for political and psychological cohesion. And yet disruptive forces function everywhere and there is little realization of the changes that are being brought about in the world by the coming of new and powerful weapons. Whatever the weapons may be, ultimately the human being counts. We have to build up those human beings in India and make them realize that they have to function together and to work hard. All this business of communalism, provincialism and all the other barriers that separate us seem so trivial in this perspective. The behaviour of our students appears to be crass folly and dangerous nonsense. The conflicts for power and position in various parts of India seem wholly petty and out of place. Faction has been the curse of India in the past. The big question for the future is how far we can rise above that faction and build up a united and wholesome country. We take pride in our past and we are entitled to do so, but a very thin line separates this from smugness and self-complacency. The fact is that while we have many virtues, we have tremendous failings, and the biggest failing of all is to imagine that we are superior to others.

12. Sometime ago, our Planning Commission received a critical note from

a very eminent American educational authority, Dr. A.E. Morgan.⁵ Dr. Morgan was the Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority. He was also a member of the University Education Commission which was presided over by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. He is one of those few men who are not only authorities in their speical fields but have a wide knowledge of life and its problems. His comments, therefore, were of peculiar interest. They relate chiefly to education and to industry, more especially, cottage industry. There are many passages in them to which I would like to draw your attention, because they are thought provoking. But I do not propose to burden this letter with long extracts. I hope to send a copy of his note to you separately within a few days. I would invite your special attention to it, because it deals with some of our most important problems.

13. At long last, some compensation, or rather rehabilitation grant, has been paid to certain categories of displaced persons from West Pakistan. These categories include those who are in the greatest need of help. Our Rehabilitation Ministry would have paid this long ago but for the fact that we were hoping to come to some agreement with the Pakistan Government. If such an agreement had been arrived at, the whole problem would have been viewed in a different light and we could have gone much further in the way of help to the refugees than we are in a position to do today. Most of our schemes and proposals have been held up because of this lack of agreement. I confess to feeling somewhat frustrated in this matter because most of our approaches to the Pakistan Government yield no result. From time to time they fling out a charge that we have broken some agreement. Our Rehabilitation Minister suggested that this whole question might be examined by some impartial judge. That was not accepted. There is something frivolous in the way the Pakistan Government has behaved in this matter. Even when joint decisions are apparently reached something happens to prevent their ratification or implementation. Obviously, there are some forces at play in Pakistan which do not want a settlement of this problem. Partly this may be due to their dislike of a settlement, as some individuals want to keep up the tension between the two countries, partly to the fact that some influential persons are in possession of valuable evacuee properties; but it is, I think, chiefly due to fear in Pakistan that, if there was a settlement, they might have to pay a very large sum of money to India. We realize, of course, that Pakistan is not in a position to pay any large sum and even an agreement to do so could not be implemented. We are prepared to face this situation and apply some reasonable standard. If, however, there is no hope

5. (1878-1975); American civil engineer and educator; President, Antioch College, Ohio. 1920-36; Chairman, Tennessee Valley Authority, 1933-38; member, University Education Commission, India, 1948-49..

of a settlement on this issue, then, necessarily we shall have to go ahead by ourselves.

14. The problem of the refugees from West Pakistan has not been wholly solved. But we have gone a long way towards solving it, and probably in another twelve months or so, only the hard core of it will remain. In Bengal, however, the other problem of refugees from East Pakistan is still in a somewhat fluid condition. Progress has certainly been made and the general situation is quiet, but much remains to be done. A trickle of evacuees from East Pakistan continues to come to West Bengal. The numbers are not great. On the other hand, a fair number of Muslims cross over to Pakistan from India, via Rajasthan and Sind, daily.

15. Why do these Muslims cross over to Pakistan at the rate of three or four thousand a month? This is worth enquiring into, because it is not to our credit that this should be so. Mostly they come from Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan or Delhi. It is evident that they do not go there unless there is some fear or pressure on them. Some may go in the hope of employment there. But most of them appear to feel that there is no great future for them in India. I have already drawn your attention to difficulties in the way of Government service. Another reason, I think, is the fear of the evacuee property laws. I have always considered these laws both in India and in Pakistan as most inequitable. In trying to punish a few guilty persons, we punish or injure large numbers of perfectly innocent people. We must not judge merely by the cases that come up before us or those against whom proceedings are taken. The pressure of the evacuee property laws applies to almost all Muslims in certain areas of India. They cannot easily dispose of their property or carry on trade for fear that the long arm of this law might not hold them in its grip. It is this continuing fear that comes in the way of normal functioning and normal business and exercises a powerful pressure on large numbers of Muslims in India, especially in the North and West. Cases have been reported to me where undoubted injustice has been done. But I was told that the law was the law and nothing could remedy that injustice. Other cases have come to me where the officers in charge have been reported to have behaved with extreme discourtesy. That is bad and it gives a bad name to our country and our Government. I hope that in your State you will take particular care that this does not happen and, indeed, that, if these laws are to continue, they should function as leniently and rarely as possible.

16. Should these laws continue? A normal answer would be that this is a reciprocal matter and we are perfectly prepared to do away with them if only Pakistan did likewise. This is not a satisfactory answer, because that means that the initiative lies with Pakistan and not with us. Pakistan's whole approach and policy are different from ours. What they do may fit in with that policy, but the same thing may injure our policy. I think that time has come for us to face this

issue and put an end to the future working of these evacuee property laws in India. After all, there are plenty of foreigners in India from Europe, America and elsewhere, who have perfect freedom to dispose of their property as they like. Why should that freedom be denied to people in India even though some of them might go to Pakistan later? It cannot make much difference in financial terms, but it does make a big difference from the political and psychological points of view. We cannot rub out what has already been done under these laws. The vast properties that are held by the custodians will continue to be held by them till some other arrangement is devised. But we certainly can say that all future functioning of these laws must stop and no one will be proceeded against whether he remains here or goes to Pakistan. If we take this step, as I think we should, it would bring tremendous relief to large numbers of Muslims in India and have a very good political effect, both in India and Pakistan.

17. I have nothing fresh to report to you about the talks going on at Panmunjon, whether in relation to the POWs. or the Political Conference. We are especially concerned with the former because we hold the prisoners. We cannot hold them indefinitely and yet the process envisaged in the Agreement of explanations has come almost to a full stop. In fact, that Agreement has broken down in an important respect. The only course that appears feasible now is for the matter to be referred to the parties to the Agreement, that is, the UN Command and the Northern Command. Meanwhile, some bad cases of murder in the POWs camp have come to light and there is likely to be a court martial at Panmunjon within the next few days.

18. As for the Political Conference, very slow progress is being made. It does appear that both parties wish to avoid a breakdown. But the new technique which might well come to be known in future as the 'Panmunjon technique', is of interminable talks, interspersed with abuse, and no agreement. India's name is bandied about and the latest proposals from the UN side suggest that India should be one of the observers at this conference.⁶ As at present advised, we have no intention of accepting this kind of a secondary role. In any event, we shall not accept any invitation to join this conference unless it is a joint invitation from both the parties.

6. The US representative, on 29 November, suggested that the Soviet Union should take part not as a neutral but as a member of the Communist side, and that India, Sweden, Switzerland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Pakistan and Chile be invited to attend the conference as "non-voting observers". The same day, the Communist delegates rejected the US proposals and suggested New Delhi as the venue of the conference where India, Soviet Union, Indonesia, Pakistan and Myanmar should also be represented as "neutral nations". The presence of the neutral countries as mere observers was agreed to by the UN side on 8 December.

19. I have referred above to the conflict between the respective interests of the UK and the USA. This is likely to lead to curious results. In the Middle East, the USA is trying hard, and largely succeeding, in replacing the UK. But, even in the Commonwealth countries, this process is continuing slowly. You know that Australia and New Zealand have entered into a pact with the United States.⁷ This is often referred to as ANZUS. The UK was excluded from this, much to the annoyance of the UK. Indeed, Sir Winston Churchill said last summer that he did not like the ANZUS pact at all. ANZUS meant that New Zealand and Australia, for all their ties with Britain, had been pulled into the American sphere of influence. Canada inevitably is, to some extent, within that sphere although it is strong enough and wise enough to continue to play a more or less independent role. Thus, the Commonwealth tends to disintegrate although it might keep its outer form intact. The Union of South Africa adds no strength to the Commonwealth and is a thorn in its side. Thus, in spite of the grand alliance called the NATO these internal contradictions and conflicts continue. They are evident in the case of Germany. A number of Western European countries are anxious to have trade and other relations with the eastern Communist countries. The facts of life and the logic of geography make this necessary, as the British Chancellor of Exchequer said at the last Commonwealth Conference. But America does not approve of this and America's voice generally prevails.

20. France is in a bad way, bled to death in Indo-China, wanting to get out of it and yet not being allowed to do so. The French Premier,⁸ for the first time, went as far as to say recently that he was prepared to have an armistice with Ho Chi Minh. America disapproved of any such proposal.

21. If the Western European Powers, closely bound as they are to the United States, pull in different directions, what would be the fate of Asian countries tied up in this way? They have neither the prestige nor the power of these European countries. They would thus succumb completely to the dominant power whose aid they seek. This picture is being repeated on both sides, that is, the Communist side in Eastern Europe where a number of countries have become camp-followers of Soviet Russia, and in the rest of the world where also a number of countries tend to become satellites of the USA. In Asia, it will have even more unfortunate results and a new, though not very obvious, domination may well develop. The recent current of history in favour of Asia's liberation

7. The Pacific Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand, and the United States (ANZUS) was signed on 1 September 1951 and came into operation on 20 April 1953.

8. Joseph Laniel (1889-1975); Deputy, National Assembly, 1916; Secretary of State for Finance, 1918; Minister for Posts, 1951, Minister of State, 1952-53; Prime Minister, 1953-54.

will be reversed. This cannot be reversed for long and trouble will occur. The more I think of it, the clearer it seems to me that, not only correct policy is to keep far away from these alignments, the alternative is not only entanglement in war but the giving up of our freedom in peace.

22. I have made a brief reference above to the continuing horror in Kenya. This has suddenly been exposed by a recent court-martial which has brought out some facts which have shocked British opinion. Africans, and notably Kikiyus, have been shot down as if they were wild animals and each battalion has kept a score board of "Kills." Apart from the inhumanity of this, it passes one's comprehension how any responsible person or Government can think that this is the way to achieve peace and stability. In East Africa again, in a part of Uganda, an important ruling chief, the Kabaka of Buganda, has just been deposed⁹ and exiled by the British Colonial Office because, it is officially stated, he ventured to ask for some kind of independence, even though that independence was to be within the Commonwealth.

23. I shall come to pleasanter topics. As you know, the food situation in India has improved greatly. We have had bumper crops, especially of rice. This is due partly to good rains and partly to the introduction of the Japanese method of rice cultivation. This method, wherever tried, has been remarkably successful. Indeed, it has been found that that method can be applied with advantage, with some variations, to wheat and other crops. This holds promise for the future. It does not mean, of course, that we should be at all complacent. We cannot expect good rains every year and, let us never forget, that the population grows from year to year and day to day and therefore the number of consumers grows. But we have come to grips with the problem and are controlling it.

24. I should like to draw your attention to certain reports we have received about the MRA—Moral Re-Armament. When a large contingent of MRA people came to India, it received a welcome from many people. I was a little restrained in this matter, because I knew something of the past history of this movement and how it had definitely a political angle. Reports have reached us from Africa and elsewhere of how this movement is being used for political purposes and often wrong purposes. I think we should be chary of getting tied up in any way with this movement.

25. I have just been reading some letters of Thomas Paine.¹⁰ You will remember that Thomas Paine was not only a man of letters but a person who played as important part both in the great French Revolution and in the American Revolution. In a letter dated January 1783, written in America, he said:-

9. The British Government withdrew recognition to the Kabaka on 30 November on the charge of being non-cooperative with the British Government on major issues and declared a state of emergency in Buganda.

10. (1737-1809).

It would perhaps be quite as well were we to talk less about our independence, and more about our union. For, if the union is justly started, our independence is made secure. The former is the mother, the latter the infant at her breast. The nourishment of the one is drawn through the other, and to impoverish the mother is famishing her offspring.

Is there a country in the world that has so many openings to happiness as this? Masters of the land, and proprietors of the Government, unchained from the evils of foreign subjection, and respected by sovereign powers, we have only to deserve prosperity, and its attainment is sure.

But it ever was and probably ever will be the unfortunate disposition of some men to encumber business with difficulties. The natural cast of their mind is to contention; and whatever is not to their particular wish, or their immediate interest, is sure to be magnified with infinite calamities, and exhibited in terror. Such men can see the fate of empires in the snuff of a candle, and an eternity of public ruin wrapt up in every trifling disappointment to themselves. They build their hopes of popularity on error and accident; and subsist by flattering the mistakes and bewildering the judgement of others, still unable to discover the truth or unwilling to confess it, they run into new inconsistencies, or retreat in angry discontent.

These words, written soon after the thirteen States of North America became independent, have some bearing on us today.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

V

New Delhi
31 December, 1953

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you the last day of the old year, and it will be in the fitness of things if I wished you a happy New Year and a record of achievement in the year to come. And yet, as I look around at the world scene, I have no sense of exhilaration, and I cannot honestly say that the next year will lead to an easing of the tensions of the world.

2. Perhaps I have been affected by a number of tragic accidents during

recent days or weeks. We have had one serious tragedy in which our night mail aircraft crashed killing all the passengers on board.¹ That was a personal tragedy also because two good friends and comrades of old days, Raghunandan Saran² and Hariharnath Shastri,³ were involved in it. A number of Air Force accidents have also taken place resulting in the death of some of our fine young men, notably one of the best known pilots of them all, Nam Joshi,⁴ Day before yesterday, yet another tragedy hit us and took us completely unawares. The Nepalese Ambassador, General Bijaya Shumshere Jung,⁵ died in his bath by electric shock. He was perfectly healthy and was one of the most popular figures in our diplomatic circles here. He had a powerful electric heater in his bath and somehow this gave him this terrible shock which killed him instantaneously. His death is a loss in many ways, but more particularly to Nepal which has a lack of competent men.

3. Since I wrote to you last, much has happened, but I would like to confine this letter to some of the more important events. Two of these are of outstanding importance for us—the proposal for the US to give military aid to Pakistan and the developments in Korea. Only recently I spoke at considerable length in both the Houses of Parliament on those two subject.⁶ I do not wish to repeat here what I said then and I would suggest to you to read, if you have not already done so, my first speech in the House of the People which explained the situation we have to face.

4. It is a serious situation, though it is not necessary for us to be alarmed about it, or indeed about anything external to us. But we have to be wide awake and vigilant and that is why I considered it necessary that our people should be informed of these events.

5. We are especially involved in Korea because of our Chairmanship of the Repatriation Commission and our custodial force. Also because very often the burden of decision rests upon us. The other four members of the Commission divide up equally and the Chairman has to give his vote this way or that and this is the deciding vote. On every important point there is now a difference of opinion and even in regard to the factual report, which has recently been

1. An Indian Airlines plane crashed near Nagpur on 12 December 1953 killing all the ten passengers and three of the four members of the crew.
2. Congressman and industrialist from Delhi.
3. Congressmen from UP and Trade Union leader and member, Lok Sabha, 1952-53.
4. V. Nam Joshi (1915-1953): India's test pilot at Hindustan Aircraft Factory, Bangalore.
5. Nepalese Ambassador to India, 1951-53.
6. For Nehru's speeches, on US military aid to Pakistan on 23 December and on Korea in the House of the People, see *ante*, pp.

presented to the two Commands, there was no full agreement. Explanations to prisoners of war have stopped, although our own view was that it would be desirable to continue them. Of the ninety days provided for explanations, only ten or eleven were so utilized. The results is that main purpose of the Commission has not been fulfilled and a vast number of POWs have not gone through the process of explanation. Also, the Political Conference has not come into existence and there appears to be no great chance that it will meet. Therefore, the conditions laid down in the terms of agreement have not been fulfilled.

6. You may have read a summary of the report presented by the Commission to the two Commands. This reveals a sad state of affairs. The South Korean Government covers itself, if I may say so, with discredit. Others are also to blame.

7. Of even greater importance to us is the US military aid to Pakistan. The newspapers are full of reports and surmise and rumour and it is a little difficult to disentangle truth from fiction. American newspapers go very far indeed in discussing bases in Pakistan. The Pakistan Government, however, as well as the US Government, have denied any military pact or the transfer of bases.⁷ The denials may be accepted, but they mean very little. Once free military aid comes to Pakistan under some agreement, that itself is as good as a military alliance, and whether any bases are transferred or not, it is easy to do this within a day or so, of a few bases here and there but rather of the fact that with this military aid, Pakistan itself becomes a base. Reports reach us of large number of American technicians and the like going to Pakistan.

8. I feel very distressed at this, not because I am afraid of any attack on India but because this means the loss of Pakistan's freedom and that country becoming progressively a satellite of the United States. There will be no escape from this. The whole pattern in South Asia changes and our own problems have to be viewed afresh from this new point of view. It must be remembered that this major change does not depend upon the quantum of free military aid given. Even a small quantity will bring about that political change and Pakistan will become definitely lined up with the Western Powers and a region of cold war now and shooting war perhaps later. Our efforts to come to a settlement with Pakistan about various matters in dispute will have to be given up for the present because the whole context is changed. Behind Pakistan will stand a

7. Zafrullah Khan said on 10 December that there had been no more than conversations with respect to military equipment for the Pakistan army and the US Ambassador to India denied on 14 December that there had been a military agreement between Pakistan and the United States.

great and powerful country, the USA. In fact the giving of military aid to Pakistan is an unfriendly act to India.

9. Some attempts have been made to justify this by saying that India has entered into some secret pact with China and the Soviet Union. This of course is a complete fabrication. We do not enter into secret pacts, or indeed military pacts of any kind, with any country and we do not propose to do so, whatever Pakistan and the US might do. It almost seems to me that one of the reasons behind the US action, apart from the military reason of having more bases, was to bring pressure to bear upon India to give up her independent policy. These great countries, the USA, and the USSR, have got so used to imposing their will on others that they cannot understand how any country can refuse to submit. They can only think in military terms or in financial terms. We in India are neither a military power nor a rich country. How then can we resist these pressures? That was the argument.

10. And yet any person with the least insight into the Indian mind or knowledge of our recent past history, should know well that we do not react favourably to pressure tactics. Indeed, the effect on us is the reverse of what is intended. Whatever other mistakes we might make and whatever steps we might take, we are not going to change our basic policy because of pressure from other countries. If we succumbed to this pressure, we would be doomed as an independent nation. We have not struggled for our freedom and achieved it in order to follow this ignoble path. Indeed, the reasons to adhere to an independent policy are even greater today than they were in the past.

11. No immediate danger, of a military kind, confronts us, that is to say, nothing of that type is going to happen suddenly. It may even take a year or two before Pakistan has absorbed this military aid in full measure. Though actual danger may not be near, potential danger begins immediately and we have to take difficult decisions about our future course of action. We cannot enter into a race of armaments with a country backed by the great might of the USA. Apart from this, we are not constituted that way. We should certainly make our defence forces as efficient as possible. We may fill in some loopholes. But we do not propose to divert our resources from peaceful purposes of development to military ends. That would weaken the country instead of strengthening it. Ultimately our strength lies in our unity of purpose, firm determination and the progress we make. I think that India will not fail whatever trials might be in store for her.

12. Among the consequences of this military aid to Pakistan is the possibility of such loans and other help that we may get from America for our developmental programmes to cease. Indeed, it is for us to consider whether it is in consonance with India's dignity to accept any kind of aid from the USA when they are arming and militarizing Pakistan at a rapid pace. We cannot allow ourselves to be bought off in that way. This leads to the conclusion that

we shall have to rely on our own more or less unaided efforts to make good. The problem before us, as laid down in the Five Year Plan, was difficult enough even if aid came. Without aid, it will be far more difficult. But, it may be, that this very difficulty will rouse up our people to greater efforts, to austerity, and to pour such resources as they have in right channels.

13. Apart from these major topics, I referred in my speeches in Parliament to the new turn that colonialism had taken.⁸ Instead of withdrawing, it was trying to entrench itself. During the last few days, there has been a conference of African students in Delhi.⁹ All these students were Government of India scholars. Their very presence brought home to us this new colonialism which is trying to create white dominions in Africa. British policy in such matters is not uniform. Even now in the Gold Coast and Nigeria in West Africa, there are some signs of progress, but in other parts of Africa, there has been terrible repression. The French Government also is holding fast to Morocco and Tunisia and crushing all opposition. And yet, in Indo-China, Ho Chi Minh's forces have gained some further victories and France is being bled white.¹⁰ She may count as one of the great powers still, but, in reality, she has neither the strength nor the capacity to function as such.

14. Four days ago, I went to Fatehgarh Sahib, a famous *gurdwara* in Pepsu. You may have read of the incidents that took place there. There was nothing much in them actually and perhaps the newspaper reports were slightly coloured because journalists tend to give a somewhat exaggerated picture of such happenings. Nevertheless, what happened there was serious enough. It was a deliberate attempt by the violence of a few to prevent the great majority from functioning. That is not only violence but violence of the fascist type, and Master Tara Singh openly declares that that is his policy. It is impossible for any Government to ignore these challenges, based on violence. Master Tara Singh played an important part at Fatehgarh. the real organizer, however, is supposed to have been Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala, the man who was the Chief Minister of Pepsu for some time till President's rule came in. Gian Singh organized all this and then quietly slipped away. He did not even have the courage to do himself what he was advising others to do. Soon we shall be having general elections in Travancore-Cochin and Pepsu. If large-scale violence takes place during these elections, it will be difficult to hold them.

8. See *ante*, pp. 558-570 Nehru's speech in the House of the People on 23 December 1953.
9. Nehru inaugurated a conference of the meeting of the African students' held on 26 December 1953 at Delhi University. See *ante*, pp. 639-640.
10. Viet Minh forces on 26 December split the French army in Indo-China by a lightning strike from the China Sea to the Thailand border and, with the capture of the frontier town of Thakhek, cut the last supply line by land of the French and the American arms to Northern Laos.

15. The Prime Minister of Ceylon has made a proposal¹¹ that the Prime Ministers of India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon should meet from time to time, at least once a year, to discuss common problems informally. Such a proposal is, on the face of it, good, and I have expressed my agreement with it. But there can be little discussion about any problem when there is vital difference in approach. The fact that Pakistan aligns itself completely with one of the great military blocs necessarily makes it subservient to the policy of that bloc and, more especially, that of the USA. Pakistan's foreign policy has largely revolved round some specific issues like Kashmir. For this purpose they seek the help and sympathy of other countries. They have not been much concerned with world issues as a whole, but they look upon themselves as a leading nation of the Middle East and Western Asia. Thus, any talks about international affairs with them are likely to flounder on this preliminary approach. Our attempt has been to have as large an area as possible free from the prospect of war. Burma, and to some extent, Indonesia, have agreed to this approach. Some other countries in Asia have been sympathetic to it. Even Egypt has turned more and more towards this policy. In fact, the Arab-Asian group in the UN to some extent represented this area of peace. Pakistan's acceptance of military aid from the US breaks up this Arab-Asian group and enlarges the possible area of war. Thus, Pakistan's policy is basically opposed to our policy. The Prime Minister of Pakistan, rather naively, tells us that the strengthening of Pakistan means the strengthening of India's defences.¹² As a matter of fact, this military aid to Pakistan may be helpful to the western group of nations in case of war, but it brings danger nearer to Pakistan.

16. It is interesting to study the reaction of Asian countries to the US-Pakistan talks about military aid. Practically every country in southern Asia as well as Egypt has criticized Pakistan and disliked the idea. Some of them have considered it dangerous for the peace and freedom of Asia. Press comments from even Turkey, which is so closely associated with the US, have not been very favourable to this proposal. While this is so, we must not build too much on this resentment in Asian countries. Nearly all these countries are weak and are susceptible to pressure tactics. The United Kingdom Government evidently does not view with favour these developments in Pakistan, although much has not been said in public against them. What is happening is that British influence not only in Pakistan, but in the countries of Western Asia, is gradually being replaced by American influence. That is not to the liking of the United Kingdom.

17. We have recently had some talks about Kashmir at the official level between representatives of India and Pakistan. A conference of this kind at this

11. On 23 December 1953.

12. Mohammad Ali had said this on 26 December 1953.

stage did not have much meaning, because the whole context of our discussions has changed. Nevertheless, I did not wish to cancel it at the last moment. But I made it clear to the Pakistan Government that these talks would be strictly informal and I would not consider it a formal conference. As was to be expected, the talks have yielded no particular results. Some people have suggested that I should meet the Prime Minister of Pakistan. I do not see what purpose such a meeting could serve at this stage. I am very fully occupied during the next two months or so, but apart from this, I do not propose to have a meeting with the Prime Minister of Pakistan, till we know exactly where we stand in regard to American aid for Pakistan.

18. Since I wrote to you last, I have paid a visit to Calcutta where, as usual, I had one of the biggest public meetings that I have seen.¹³ There were many other functions too and, on the whole, I had the sensation that things were not so bad there as had been made out. I performed the opening ceremony of an Indian Marine Engineering College¹⁴ where a number of smart young boys were under training. I visited also the Indian Statistical Institute founded and fathered by Prof. P.C. Mahalanobis.¹⁵ I have been watching this institute for many years since its early beginnings in a small way. It has now grown enormously and has become a real international centre of work. There were professors and students there from many other countries. In talking with them, I found that this Indian Statistical Institute was considered to be one of the best in the world and, certainly, the outstanding one in the whole of Asia. This was not a question of mere size, but much more so of the quality of work that was being done there. I was much impressed by it. More and more, we shall have to rely upon statistics, in the widest sense of the term, for our planning and other work. There can be no planning without adequate information. Take even our attempts to deal with our land system. It is easy to lay down principles, but it is much more difficult to translate them into action without adequate data about the size and nature of holdings. It was for this purpose that the Planning Commission suggested a land survey. That, no doubt, is essential. But there is always a danger in our getting entangled in vast undertakings which absorb a great deal of time and energy. Therefore, the normal way of getting information is now by what are called sample surveys, which give fairly accurate information. The Indian Statistical Institute has specialized in this work and is, indeed, one of the pioneers. In trying to collect statistical information, we should always remember that we must not get lost in unnecessary details. We have to be clear as to what particular information we require for our purpose and get it without spreading out all over the place. I say this because there is a tendency in our

13. For Nehrus speech at this meeting in Calcutta on 13 December see *ante*, pp. 59-65.

14. For Nehrus speech on this occasion on 14 December, see *ante*, pp. 66-68

15. Statistical Adviser to the Government of India from 1949-1955.

secretariats to issue long circular letters asking for every kind of information, without thinking of what is really important and what is not. The result is not only delay and expense, but a mass of detail which hides important facts.

19. The Finance Minister said yesterday that the general economic position in the country was good. I entirely agree with him, though I realize that problems of unemployment and the like are serious. We must see both sides of the picture and not forget the fact that we are making good progress in production on many fronts. This is a sure index of progress. Whether that progress is rapid enough or not is another matter, and we should always try to push it forward. We are just half-way through the first Five Year Plan stage and the time has come when we must give earnest thought to the second major stage. We have said that this should be based principally on planning from below and we have to devise adequate methods for this. Planning is not merely a question of allotting priorities, although this is important, or of taking up additional avenues of work, but it is a coordinated view of the Indian scene and basic policies and objectives. Therefore, we have always to be thinking of this changing scene in India and the world and adapt ourselves to it.

20. I am leaving today on a rapid, but fairly extensive tour. I visit Jalgaon for the All-India National Trade Union Congress session, then to Bombay to lay the foundation-stone of the new institute for fundamental and atomic energy research, then to Hyderabad for the Science Congress. I proceed next to Bangalore to see new developments in the Hindustan Aircraft Factory. From there, I go to Nagpur, Wardha and Sevagram. I shall return to Delhi on the 6th of January. It is no easy matter to leave Delhi at this stage when important decisions have to be taken from day to day.

21. I wish you and your State hard work during the year to come and achievement in the great tasks that have fallen to the lot of our generation in India. May we all face them with strength, faith and courage and not be deflected from the right path because of adverse circumstances.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

VI

New Delhi
18 January, 1954

My dear Chief Minister,
My last letter to you was written on the last day of 1953. This is thus the first

letter of the new year. A new year always makes one look back on the record of the past year and, even more so, look forward to what one hopes to do in the future that is unfolding itself. My mind is full of thoughts and ideas which I should like to share with you. But I write in some haste on the eve of going to Kalyani for the Congress session,¹ and I have, therefore, to restrain myself somewhat from burdening you with too long a letter.

2. Looking back at this past year, I have a sense of satisfaction at what has been achieved, for the record of what has been done is a long one and would do credit to any country. And yet, the record of what we intended to do or what we should have done and have not done, is also a fairly long one. Also, in spite of the progress we are making, it is not clear to me that we are gaining substantially in the race between the forces of construction and those that would pull us back. We are apt to grow complacent because of the hard work that we put in and often the results that we achieve. It is difficult for us to be objective about our own work or achievements. And yet, the only way to test our work is from the strictest point of view, and nothing is more harmful than complacency. How can we be satisfied or content when the vast problem of unemployment is with us, with all the human suffering that it involves.

3. A distressing feature has been that we do not spend even the moneys allotted and sanctioned. This is apparent both in some of the Departments of the Central Government as well as in the States. This indicates that it is not lack of money that is coming in our way but something else, whatever that may be. Sometimes, it may be a lack of technical personnel or sheer competence. That does not seem to me to be the major reason. Inevitably, I come to the conclusion that our administrative apparatus and methods of procedure are out of date and not suited for conditions which require rapid action. We continue to function in the old ruts and there is little sense of urgency. Even when there is that sense, it is checked and balked by the innumerable traps that our procedure has laid down. These rules of procedure were drawn up long ago under entirely different circumstances and for different objectives. It is not surprising that they do not meet the needs of the situation that we have to face. You will remember the criticism that Mr. Appleby made in his report. The old rules are not in line with a democratic set-up, but, what is more, they are meant for leisurely times and not for a five-year developmental plan to be worked out with speed.

4. Both the Central Government and the States have discussed these matters repeatedly, but we do not seem to get a move on to any appreciable extent. What then are we to do? There is no particular point in planning, if

1. The Working Committee met at Kalyani in West Bengal on 19 and 20 January, followed by the 59th session of the Indian National Congress from 21 to 24 January.

implementation for this is going to be inadequate. Even in regard to our community projects, the States have been unable to spend the moneys sanctioned and there is quite a big gap in this respect. Last year, Rs.8 crores were sanctioned and somewhat less than two crores were spent, this too probably on overheads. This year, Rs. 22 crores have been sanctioned and I doubt very much if we will spend even a major part of that sum. We cannot complain of the people, for, wherever the right approach has been made, the results have been extraordinarily good. The National Extension Programme, barely four months old now, has undoubtedly caught the imagination of our people and some kind of a movement is growing up around it. If our governmental work does not keep pace with the demands made upon it by this movement, then we shall suffer in more ways than one.

5. It is thus a matter of the first priority to revise our rules, procedures and regulations, so as to bring them in line with a democratic set-up and remove or change everything that comes in the way of speed of execution. This question was considered by our Cabinet a few days ago² and it was the unanimous opinion of all Ministers present that we must give this revision of our old rules a high priority. I am having this matter taken up immediately and I should like you to do likewise, so far as your Government is concerned.

6. I have mentioned Mr. Appleby's name above. He is here in India again at our invitation. I should like to profit by this visit of his to the largest extent possible. If you want him to go to your State, please intimate to us and prepare the ground for his visit by collecting all relevant data. He has not too much time at his disposal, but it may be possible for him to visit some States, if he can do really good work there.

7. Since I wrote to you, I have paid visits to Bombay to lay the foundation-stone of the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research,³ to Hyderabad for the Science Congress and many other important engagements,⁴ then to Banglore, Nagpur, Wardha and Sevagram.⁵ This tour was a very hard one for me, but it was satisfying also. More especially, it was good to pay visit again to Gandhiji's old hut, where we had met so often before and which was so full of memories.

2. On 16 January, the Cabinet laid stress on the need to change the rules governing the Civil Services to suit the new conditions. The Cabinet also discussed the relationship between the Finance and the other Ministries, the questioning of the Ministers' decisions by the executive heads and the delays caused in the implementation of the projects by outdated procedures. It recommended the setting up of the Office and Methods Division and a Department of Personnel in each Ministry and Department.
3. On 1 January 1954.
4. On 2 January, Nehru inaugurated the Science Congress and the next day addressed the Kasturba Trust and the Bharat Sevak Samaj workers at Wardha and Nagpur respectively.
5. On 4 and 5 January 1954.

8. Apart from the major economic issues that are before us, two important matters have affected the public greatly. One is Korea and the other is the proposed military aid to Pakistan. About Korea, I shall not say much, because full news is being published in the newspapers. In view of the major interests involved and our own intimate concern and responsibility, we gave long and anxious consideration to these questions. Broadly speaking, we were in agreement with the argument put forward on the part of the Chinese and the North Koreans, that is, that explanations should continue. Thus far, only a small fraction of the total number of prisoners of war have had these explanations given to them and have made a choice this way or that. Thus, in regard to the majority of POWs the process laid down in the Armistice Agreement has not been complied with.

9. On the other hand, there is a strict time-limit laid down in the terms of reference and we cannot exceed that except by consent of parties. That consent was not forthcoming and so all that we could do was to express our views clearly and then to restore the prisoners to the respective detaining sides. In our view, it will not be correct for either side to release any prisoners who have not had explanations given to them yet. But it appears highly likely that the UN Command will release them, which really means handing them over to the South Korean Government or the Formosan Government. This is a very, unfortunate development, but we are powerless to prevent it. As I write to you, I do not exactly know what will happen, but probably after the 23rd January, most of these prisoners will have been handed over and only a few hundreds will remain with the Indian Custodian Force. These will consist of about three hundred prisoners, whom the Northern Command refuses to take back, and about two hundred or three hundred POWs who have declared their intention of going to some neutral country.

10. The Commission and the Indian Custodial Force have to continue functioning in Korea till the 22nd February as they have certain other duties also to perform. By that date they have all to return. We are now making shipping arrangements for their return gradually in the months of February. It is not easy to get ships for this purpose.

11. You will have seen that the President of the UN, Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit, has asked the member-States to agree to reconvening the General Assembly on the 9th of February. This was done at our request. This question has not been decided yet and replies from the member-States are being awaited.⁶

6. The General Assembly could not be convened as the majority of the member-nations opposed it.

12. The other important issue, and one which has exercised very much the imagination of India, is the proposal to give military aid to Pakistan by the USA. We do not yet know what this will lead to, but whether much aid is given or not, this has undoubtedly produced a new situation. American policy is so much governed now by military considerations, to the exclusion of other important factors, that it is difficult to judge where it will go to. The importance of a person like Senator McCarthy in the public life of America is itself significant of much that is not good. Anyhow, we have to consider what we should do in the circumstances. Obviously, we cannot go in for having a race in armaments. I think this is an ideal opportunity for us to concentrate popular enthusiasm on developing India rapidly, in agriculture, industries, etc. We can even utilize this opportunity to get large-scale developmental loans from the public. I am merely mentioning this matter to you now so that you might think on these lines. Perhaps, I shall write to you more fully later on this subject. Meanwhile, care must be taken to prevent communal feelings or any anti-Pakistan sentiments from spreading. Pakistan is economically and politically in a difficult position and we should not make her feel desperate. Indeed, this is a test for us. If we continue to be friendly to Pakistan and divert our energies towards nation-building activities without getting excited or alarmed, that itself will be a great triumph for us.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Ajanta Paintings¹

I should like to congratulate the Unesco on their volume on Ajanta, the first to be devoted to Asian art in the Unesco World Art Series. Ever since the Ajanta frescoes were rediscovered and became generally known, they have exercised an increasing influence on our thought and on Indian art generally. They bring out not only the artistic traditions of fifteen hundred years ago or so, but make vivid the life of those distant periods. The women of Ajanta are famous. History becomes human and living and not merely a record of some distant age which we can hardly understand.

Thus the appeal of Ajanta is not merely to the artist or the expert, but to every sensitive human being. Anyone who would understand the past of India must look at these frescoes which have exercised such a powerful influence not only in India but in distant countries also. If I were asked to name three or four places of paramount interest in India, which gave some glimpse into India's mind in successive ages, I would mention Ajanta as one of them.

I therefore welcome this production and congratulate not only the Unesco but my young colleague, Madanjeet Singh,² who has brought his ability and labour to the performance of this task.

1. Drafted on 13 October 1953. JN Collection. Foreword to Madanjeet Singh, *India: Paintings from Ajanta Caves*.
2. (b. 1924); participated in the freedom movement, served in the Indian Foreign Service for many years; Special Adviser to the Director-General, Unesco, Paris, since 1998; author of several books including, *Himalayan Art*, *Indian Sculpture*, *The White Horse of Vishnu's Dream*, his memoirs (1976), *This My People* (1989) and *The Timeless Energy of the Sun* (1978).

2. To Victoria Ocampo¹

New Delhi
30th October, 1953

My dear Senora,²

A few days ago I received your letter of the 24th August, 1953. For some reason, it took a long time to reach me. Perhaps, it started on its journey long after you had written it.

Need I tell you how happy I was to receive your letter and, thus, to come in some kind of contact with a person whom I had admired?

I have read and re-read your letter because you have done me the honour to write to me about your inner feelings and because there was much in it, which brought you rather near to me. There was the bond of Gandhiji, and there was also the struggle of sometimes not falling in complete line with Gandhiji's thought. After all, it does not matter so much how far we may differ intellectually about certain matters. Sometimes we are drawn by some inner urge. I was drawn that way to Gandhiji, although I did not understand some things that he said or did, and could not quite bring myself to agree with them. But the urge was much more powerful than the cold working of the mind.

It is now nearly six years since Gandhiji died and I have a curious sensation about him. On the one hand he seems some dim historical or even mythological figure; on the other hand, he seems to be very present and pervasive, a kind of sentinel watching and warning. He has become enmeshed in the tapestry of India which has been woven for these many thousands of years and, no doubt, generations of our people will adore him and think of him. And yet I wonder how far they will think of what he stood for or try to follow what he taught. Something will remain in the inner consciousness of our people, gently moulding them. At the same time, he will become some distant ideal to which we pay reverence and then pass by.

In the present day context of the world, with all its hatred, violence and conflicts, my mind turns to him repeatedly and the thought of him gives some strength and solace, and yet it also saddens me, for I feel how far we are from what he wanted us to be.

1. JN Collection.

2. Argentine writer and publisher; founder-editor, *Sur*, a literary magazine, 1931; Head of Management, Teatro Colon, Buenos Aires, 1933; Founder, Argentine Women's Union, 1936, its president, 1936, 1938; President, Commission of Letters of National Foundation for the Arts in Argentina; authored many books including, *Tagore en las barracas de San Isidro*, 1961 and *Anotologia de Jawharlal Nehru: Selecccion Y Prologo*, 1966; translated the works of, Albert Camus, William Faulkner, Graham Greene, Dylan Thoms, John Osborne.

You spent 26 days in prison, but, as you say, it is not the period that counts but what one goes through that period. For my part, looking back at my own life, I would not have it other than it was and the most worthwhile part of that life was what most people would call unhappy. Yet it was not unhappy at all in the true sense of the word, because the individual was forgotten to a large extent.

It would give me great pleasure to meet you if that were possible. I have never been to South American and I would like to go there; but I am a prisoner of my duties and responsibilities and cannot go where I want to. Should you come to India, you will be very welcome here.

You refer in your letter to the reading of my *Autobiography*. I do not know if you have seen any other book of mine. I am taking the liberty to send you two of them: one is *The Discovery of India* which was, in some sense, a continuation of the *Autobiography*. It was written entirely in prison like the other book. The other is called *Mahatma Gandhi*. It is not an original work, but rather extracts about Gandhiji from my other books or speeches. Perhaps these might interest you.

I send you my deep regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
13th November, 1953

My dear Krishna,

... It seems to me that the most difficult job in the world is to deal with human beings, especially those one has to work with. It is relatively easy to deal with opponents. The greater part of my time is spent in trying to compose differences. I have not only to deal with Central Government, the Planning Commission and all the various activities in Delhi, but with nearly all the State Governments, where there is almost a continuous tug of war between different groups. Sometimes I deal with them as Prime Minister, much more often as Congress President. I have to spend hours over the most trivial happenings and I write long notes. Sometimes questions of disciplinary action turn up and again I

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Extracts.

have to spend hours over them, interviewing numbers of people, advising them, soothing them or, sometimes, shouting a little at them. There are quite a number of our State Governments where there is continuous trouble—Hyderabad, Mysore, Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat, Punjab, etc. In some of our major States, there is a different type of trouble, but that is bad enough. Rajaji, for instance, does not get on well at all with the Congress organization in his State. He has become so sensitive that the slightest criticism upsets him and he expresses himself so strongly in public which again makes matters worse. Morarji Desai has to struggle hard against the Maharashtra group.

In the UP, conditions generally are bad. The recent student affair was a bad show altogether. The students behaved, or rather some of them, as typical gangsters. The university authorities came out of the whole show with no credit at all, and the State Government did not cover itself with glory. And so, I could refer to other States too.

You can imagine the circumstances in which I function, trying all the time to keep together all kinds of destructive elements which threaten to fly apart. Fortunately, I have some influence with various groups, apart from my general influence, and in a measure I succeed. I really do not know who else could succeed even in this measure. The amount of time, I have to spend over these petty conflicts, is prodigious.

This is not a peculiarity of our governments or of the Congress here. The same destructive tendency is in evidence, sometimes even more so, in other groups. I wonder if it is a characteristic of our people or whether it is a natural result of circumstances after Independence....

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

4. Valmiki Ramayana¹

Shri N. Chandrasekhara Aiyar² has done me the honour of inviting me to write

1. Foreword to Valmiki *Ramayana*, English version by N. Chandrasekhara Aiyar, 22 November 1953. File No. 9/148/53-PMS.
2. Judge, Supreme Court of India, 1950-53; Chairman, Delimitation Commission, 1953-55.

a foreword to this English version of the Valmiki³ *Ramayana*. I am afraid I am no scholar and my knowledge of Sanskrit is exceedingly meagre. But it does not require a knowledge of Sanskrit, desirable as that is, to admire this great epic of our race, which has moulded the thoughts and emotions of uncounted generations of people in India during past ages. From the peasant in the field and the worker in the factory to the high brow and the scholar, the story of Rama and Sita⁴ has been a living one.

Among our great festivals, which spread joy and comradeship amongst all our people, there is none which is so popular, more especially in Northern India than the celebration of the story of Rama and Sita. Valmiki wrote his immortal epic and, in later days Tulsidas,⁵ writing in homely language, made this story a part of the texture of the lives of our people. A story and a book which has had this powerful influence on millions of people, during some millennia of our changing history, must have peculiar virtue in it.

Ever since my boyhood, I have been fascinated by this India of ours. It has been a mystery often, a revelation sometimes, and the more I have sought to understand her the more I have been impressed by her powerful personality which has endured through the ages. In a sense, my life has been a quest, an attempt to understand this great motherland of ours with its infinite variety and its basic unity. No one who sees a part of India only and not the rest can have a full picture of her. No one who sees the present only and has no realization of the panorama of her past, can understand her, or our roots which go deep down into the past of the history of man. Innumerable weeds have grown up from time to time. But they have never succeeded in uprooting those deep roots which have fashioned our destiny for good or ill. Out of that distant past, which is history, and the present, which is the burden of today, the future of India is gradually taking shape.

We must have an intellectual understanding of these mighty processes of history. We must have even more an emotional awareness of our past and present, in order to try to give a right direction to the future. I do not think any person can understand India or her people fully without possessing knowledge of the two magnificent epics that are India's pride and treasure.

I am glad that Shri Chandrasekhara Aiyar has prepared an English version of this immortal story.

3. Valmiki, the legendary author of the *Ramayana*, a great epic in Sanskrit composed circa 3rd century BC. He is represented as taking part in some of the scenes, as, for example, receiving the banished Sita in his hermitage, and rearing her twin sons.
4. Rama is the hero and his wife Sita, the heroine of the *Ramayana*. He is regarded as the ideal man and she the ideal woman and wife.
5. Tulsidas (1532-1623); a poet of Banaras and author of the *Ramcharit-Manas*, a popular Hindi version of the Sanskrit *Ramayana*.

5. To Ellen Roy¹

New Delhi
December 29, 1953

Dear Ellen,²

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd December.

I was happy to see Roy after many years though it made me sad to think how much he had suffered lately on account of his illness. I am glad he is much better now. He can, of course, write to me when he likes but he need not be in a hurry. He should concentrate on getting well first.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. (1904-1960); nee Ellen Gottschalk, came in contact with M.N. Roy in Berlin in 1928 and became a close associate in his revolutionary activities in Europe. She came to India in 1937 and married M.N. Roy after his release from jail and became his collaborator in his political work. Contributed many articles in *Independent India* and *The Radical Humanist*. She was murdered by robbers at Dehra Dun where she remained after Roy's death and was editing his papers and manuscripts.
3. M.N. Roy, who had been ailing for three months, died on 25 January 1954 in Dehra Dun, following an attack of cerebral thrombosis.

6. Subhas Chandra Bose¹

It is not enough to remember our great men on occasions like these. We should emulate their code and principles of life to improve the future well-being of our fellow men.

It is a happy augury that the Indian National Congress is being held in West Bengal after a long time to coincide with the birthday of Netaji. The Congress and the people of India are proud to offer their homage to the great freedom fighter.

1. Speech after garlanding a life-size clay statue of Subhas Chandra Bose on the fifty-eighth year of his birth, Kalyani, 23 January 1954. From *The Hindu*, 24 January 1954.

To me Subhas was like a younger brother, and a brave and beloved co-worker. He had endeared himself to me within a very short time.

Netaji advanced the country's struggle for freedom immensely by the formation of his Indian National Army, which Indians would cherish for long. His part in the fight for independence was extensive, starting from his college days. His achievements, particularly the formation of the INA with the people of all communities, gave a new message of unity to his countrymen. In our jubilation on such occasions we are likely to overlook this message of hope and salvation.

We must not be forgetful of the salient feature of Netaji's teachings, that of national integrity and unity. With the attainment of independence our struggle had not ended and we must not be complacent about it. We have to go forward with our work of reconstruction to uplift the country and society.

The *Jai Hind* slogan of the INA of Netaji, has been accepted by the people of India as a form of honouring their motherland. Though started from outside the borders of the country, the freedom movement and the return of the INA men put this cry on the lips of everyone of us.

Not only *Jai Hind*, but also our national anthem were the gifts of Subhas Bose. When the INA men returned to India it was known that Netaji had adopted Tagore's *Jana Gana Mana* as the national anthem. The question of having a national anthem arose after India achieved her independence. When we heard *Jana Gana Mana* sung by the Azad Hind men, it went right into our hearts. What a wonderful song it was. Its superb melody and the rich ideas conveyed by it immediately appealed to us and the Constituent Assembly and later our Parliament decided to have it as our National Anthem. In foreign countries too *Jana Gana Mana* is highly appreciated.

GLOSSARY

Akhand Bharat	greater India
Bharat Mata ki jai	victory to Mother India
bhoodan	gift of land; refers to a movement initiated by Vinoba Bhave
chaprasis	official messengers
dewali/deepawali	festival of lights
dhoti	a long piece of garment worn round the waist, down to the feet
hats	markets
Jai Hind	victory to India
jatha	a group of individuals
khadim	junior priest in a gurdwara
kismet	fate
maha	great
mantra	invocation
mela	fair
mohalla	locality
morcha	picketing
panchayat	village council
pradesh nyayalaya	provincial court
rashtra	state
samyukta	united
sanyasa	renunciation
shramdan	gift of labour
sewadar	priest in a gurdwara
shariat	Islamic law, deriving from the Quran, the Sunna and traditions
yagna	sacrifice and oblation
yuvaraj	crown prince
vijaya dashmi day	a day in celebration of victory of good over evil

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The present volume of the *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* draws upon the period 1 October 1953 to 31 January 1954 and seeks to capture the growing involvement and the increasing stature of India in the world community. The volume also reflects the increasing complexity of the problems—social, economic and political—faced by Nehru, as he endeavoured to create for the common folk a new life of material prosperity and cultural enrichment within the country.

The skilful fashion in which Nehru combined intellectual reflection with concrete initiatives puts him in a rare category among the statesmen of the 20th century. Nowhere is this umbilical link between theory and practice reflected better than in the first section of this volume, entitled "General Perspectives", which draws upon Nehru's dialogue with ordinary Indians, peasants, workers, artisans, the intelligentsia and others, as he moved across the land, holding out the vision of a liberal and progressive society...

The foreign policy of the Republic of India, rested upon a creative endeavour by Nehru to place before the world community, the revolutionary principle of non-violence, as formulated by Mahatma Gandhi, as a basis for recasting relations between sovereign Nations, weak or strong, large or small. The experience of colonial societies in Asia and Africa, made the prospect of a Gandhian recasting of the world community, so Jawaharlal Nehru believed, a particularly worthwhile endeavour.... The projected military arrangements between the United States and Pakistan, therefore, not only threatened India's unity and her secular identity, as reflected in her umbilical bonding with Kashmir as a constituent State of the Indian Union, they also threatened to undermine a likely realignment of the world community, through novel principles, which endeavoured to eliminate violence as a factor in global politics....

There was, perhaps, a high-minded idealism in the Nehruvian vision; as, indeed, there was a moral loftiness in the worldview of his mentor, Mahatma Gandhi, that was difficult to realise, or sustain, in the long run. Yet such ideals provide the healing balm for that anguish which would otherwise strip humanity of all hope for a better future....

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